SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE SILVER JUBILEE VOLUMES.

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ORIENTALIA—PART 2.

गुणदोषौ बुधो गृह्णन्निन्दुक्ष्वेडाविवेश्वरः ।
शिरसा श्लाघते पूर्वं परं कण्ठे नियच्छति ॥

The desire for knowledge, like the thirst of riches, increases ever with the acquisition of it.—*Laurence Sterne.*

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TO THE HONOURABLE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE, KT., C.S.I.,

ON THE OCCASION OF THE SILVER JUBILEE OF HIS ATTAINING THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF LAWS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA, THIS VOLUME OF ESSAYS CONTRIBUTED BY HIS FRIENDS AND ADMIRERS IN INDIA AND ABROAD IS INSCRIBED WITH AFFECTION, RESPECT AND GRATITUDE FOR HIS SPLENDID SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING.

1894—1919.

A. M.*

(25TH MAY, 1924.)

Farewell great Worker ! Dreamer of great dreams !
Who dared to gaze back in the depths profound
Of India's glorious past ; who sought and found,
In our beloved Motherland, the streams
Of Holy Gaṅgā, that, from Śiva's hair
Descending, offer'd draughts of Wisdom rare
To thirsting souls of men. Now underground
This Gangā flows : how drag her out once more
To surface, whereby, as in days of yore,
Our land become a place of pilgrimage,—
This was the only thought that did engage
Each moment of thy life. God-giv'n thy store
Of gifts thou didst for India freely pour ;
Come back,—for Service greater than before.

* Reproduced with permission from the *Calcutta Review*, July, 1924.

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THE LAKṢMAṆASENA ERA.

HEMCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI, M.A.

The universal belief among scholars is that the Lakṣmaṇasena Era originated in the Sena Dynasty of Bengal. According to one group of scholars[1] the era marks the accession of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal, son of Vallālasena (Ballāl Sen), who is represented by Dhoyī as ruling in the city of Vijayapura. Professor Kielhorn has proved that the first day of the era was October 7, A.D. 1119, and the first current year, as reckoned from the era, was A.D. 1119-20. Consequently Lakṣmaṇasena must have ascended the throne in A.D. 1119, and died before 1170, as an inscription of the year 51 of the era speaks of his reign as *atīta* or past.

According to another group of scholars[2] the era commemorates the accession or coronation of a predecessor of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal who himself ruled in the last quarter of the twelfth century A.D.

Both the views are open to serious objections. The first theory is opposed not only to the evidence of certain passages of the *Dānasāgara* and the *Adbhūtasāgara*, two works attributed to king Vallālasena (Ballāl Sen), the father of Lakṣmaṇasena, but also to the testimony of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī* which was written by Minhāj-i-Sirāj in A.H. 658 (A.D. 1260).

Two manuscripts of the *Dānasāgara* contain the following passage.[3]

nikhila-cakra-tilaka śrīmad-Ballālasenena pūrṇe
śaśi-navadaśamite śakavarṣe Dānasāgaro racitaḥ.

One of these manuscripts is in the India Office collection and in this the date is given in numerical figures also. The other is in the

[1] e.g. Kielhorn (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIX, p. 2); R. D. Banerji, *J. & P. A.S.B.*, Vol. IX, 1913, p. 273, *et seq.*; S. Kumār (*Ind. Ant.*, 1913, p. 188).

[2] e.g. M. Chakravarti, *J. & P. A.S.B.* (N.S.), Vol. I (1905), p. 48, *et seq.*; V. A. Smith, *The Early History of India*, Third Edition, p. 418.

[3] *J. & P. A.S.B.* (New Series), Vol. IX, 1913, p. 274.

possession of Babu Nagendra Nātha Vasu. This manuscript contains two more verses elucidating the date.

A manuscript of the *Adbhūtasāgara* now in the collection of the Bombay Government, contains the following verse :—

śāke khanavakhendvabde ārebhe ādbhūtasāgaraṁ
Gauḍendra-kuñjarālāna-stambha-bāhur mahīpatiḥ.

The agreement of the dates from two different works seems to prove beyond doubt that Vallālasena (Ballāl Sen), father of Lakṣmaṇasena, was alive in the Śaka years 1090-91, i.e. A.D. 1168-69. Consequently it has to be admitted that Lakṣmaṇasena ascended the throne, not in the year A.D. 1119, but after A.D. 1169.

The passages of the *Dānasāgara* and the *Adbhūtsāgara* quoted above have been rejected as late interpolations by Mr. R. D. Banerji.[4] The evidence of Minhāj-i-Sirāj cannot however be dismissed so summarily. According to the narrative contained in the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī*, written by Minhāj in A.H. 658 (A.D. 1260), Rāe Lakhmaniya (Rājā Lakṣmaṇa) was ruling in Bengal at the time of the Nūdīah raid of Muhammad bin Bakhtyār, which took place after A.H. 589 and "some years" before A.H. 601, i.e. between A.D. 1193 and 1205.[5]

The second theory seeks to reconcile the dates of Vallālasena (Ballāl Sen) and Lakṣmaṇasena given in the *Dānasāgara*, the *Adbhūtasāgara*, and the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī*, with the initial date of the Lakṣmaṇasena Era, as determined by Kielhorn, by attributing the establishment of the era to a predecessor of Lakṣmaṇa. But this theory ignores the fact that the era of A.D. 1119 is distinctly called *Lakṣmaṇābda* and *Lakṣmaṇasena varṣa* in several ancient manuscripts discovered by Paṇḍit Haraprasād Śāstrī.[6] Again, it does not satisfactorily explain why the word *atīta* is used in reference to the *rājya* of Lakṣmaṇasena in the Bodh-Gayā inscription of the year 51 (A.D. 1170).

There is another important fact which has been ignored by both the groups of scholars mentioned above. The Sena kings of Bengal never use the era which they are said to have established. All the inscriptions of this dynasty hitherto discovered are dated in regnal

[4] *J. & P. A.S.B.* (New Series), Vol. IX, 1913, p. 275.

[5] Smith, *The Early History of India*, Third Edition, pp. 416-17.

[6] *J. & P. A.S.B.* (New Series), Vol. II, 1906, p. 16; cf. '*A Catalogue of Palm-leaf and selected paper manuscripts belonging to the Darbar Library, Nepal*, pp. 33, 51.

years. Even the records of Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena, the two sons of Lakṣmaṇasena, form no exception. The copperplate inscription of Vijayasena is dated in the year 31.[7] The Naihāṭi grant of Vallālasena is dated in the year 11.[8] The Tarpaṇadīghi and Ānulia grants, and the Dacca Caṇḍī image inscription of the time of Lakṣmaṇasena, are dated in the year 3.[9] The Madanapāḍa grant of Viśvarūpasena is dated in the year 14.[10] The Edilpur grant of Keśavasena is dated in the year 3.[10] These dates do not suggest a continuous reckoning. A glance at them is sufficient to show that they are the regnal years of the reigning monarchs, and not years of the Lakṣmaṇasena Era.

On the contrary we find that the era is used in Bihār and is associated with a line of Sena kings who are described as lords of Pīṭhī. The Jānībighā inscription records the grant of a village to the Vajrāsana for the residence of the Ceylonese monk, Maṅgalasvāmin, by king Jayasena, the lord of Pīṭhī, son of Buddhasena.[11] The inscription bears the date, the year 83 of the Lakṣmaṇasena Era, the 15th day of the bright half of the month of Kārttika. Mr. Jayaswal has pointed out that the commentator of the Rāmacarita explains the word *Pīṭhīpati* (lord of Pīṭhī) by *Magadhādhipa*.[12] Consequently Jayasena was a king of South Bihār.

Another epigraph discovered at Bodh-Gayā [13] mentions Buddhasena, father of Jayasena, describes him as *Pīṭhīpati*, and represents him as a contemporary of Aśokacalla, king of a Himālayan district, two of whose inscriptions found at Bodh-Gayā bear the dates 51 and 74 of the Lakṣmaṇasena Era.[14]

In his *Catalogue of Palm-leaf and selected paper manuscripts belonging to the Darbar Library, Nepal*, Paṇḍit Haraprasād Śāstrī notices some fifty-seven manuscripts which contain colophons dated in the

[7] R. D. Banerji, *Bāṅgalāra Itihāsa*, pp. 290-91.

[8] R. D. Banerji, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIV, pp. 156-163.

[9] R. D. Banerji, *Bāṅgalāra Itihāsa*, pp. 297-98.

[10] R. D. Banerji, *Bāṅgalāra Itihāsa*, p. 323, *J.A.S.B.*, LXV, Part 1, p. 15; *J.A.S.B.*, VII, Part I, p. 46; and *J. & P. A.S.B.* (New Series), X, 104.

[11] N. G. Majumdar, Patna Museum Inscription of Jayasena, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLVIII, 1919, p. 47.

[12] *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. IV, p. 267; cf. also *Bāṅgalāra Itihāsa*, p. 257, n (43).

[13] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLVIII, 1919, p. 45.

[14] Kielhorn, 'A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India'; Ins. Nos. 576 and 577, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 79.

Lakṣmaṇa Samvat, ranging from the year 91 (in the manuscript No. 400, p. 15) to the year 558 (No. 1076 (ক), p. 31). Most of these manuscripts are written in Maithila (Northern Bihāri) characters and the earliest dates (91, and 116) are found in the Maithila manuscripts. The evidence of these records and that of the Bodh-Gayā and the Jānībighā inscriptions leaves no room for doubt that the earliest use of the Lakṣmaṇasena Era was confined to the province of Bihār.

In his note on "Trikūṭa and the so-called Kalachuri or Chedi Era," [15] Dr. Fleet observes: "Any era may be introduced into a country in which it was not founded. But no era can have been founded in a country in which it was never used." We have seen that the Lakṣmaṇasena Era was never used in Bengal by its alleged founders, the Sena kings of Vijayapura. The earliest use of it was confined to Bihār where we have epigraphic evidence of the existence of a line of Sena kings who actually used the era. It is fair to conclude from this that the origin of the Lakṣmaṇasena Era is to be sought not in the Sena dynasty of Vijayapura (Bengal) but in the Sena dynasty of Piṭhī (Bihār). King Jayasena was ruling in the year 83 of this era. His father, king Buddhasena, was a contemporary of Aśokacalla who lived in the years 51 and 74 of this era. The parts of the Bodh-Gayā and Jānībighā inscriptions which contain the dates 51, 74 and 83 run as follows [16]:—

Śrīmal-Lakhvana (kṣmaṇa)-senasy=ātītarājye Saṁ 51.

Śrīmal-Lakṣmaṇasenadevapādānām=atītarājye Saṁ 74.

Lakṣmaṇasenasy=ātītarājye Saṁ 83.

The most important point in these dates is the use of the word *atīta*. Professor Kielhorn remarks: "During the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena the years of his reign would be described as *Śrīmal-Lakṣmaṇasena-devapādānāṁ rājye* (or *pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājye*) *Saṁvat*, after his death the phrase would be retained, but *atīta* prefixed to the word *rājye*, to show that, although the years were still counted from the commencement of the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena, that reign itself was a thing of the past." [17] The founder of the Lakṣmaṇasena Era whose reign was a thing of the past in the year 51 (=A.D. 1170) cannot be identified

[15] *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 568.

[16] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLVIII, 1919, p. 171. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, pp. 29-30.

[17] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIX, p. 2.

with Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal, the son and successor of the author of the *Dānasāgara* and the *Adbhūtasāgara*, who was driven out of Nūdīah by Muhammad bin Bakhtyār at some date subsequent to the taking of Delhi by the Muhammadans in A.H. 589, which is practically equivalent to A.D. 1193, and prior to Muhammad's expedition into the hills of the N.E. frontier, called Tibbat (Tibet) by the author of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī*, which took place in A.H. 601 (August 1204—August 1205).

If the founder of the Lakṣmaṇasena Era was not identical with king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal, he must have been the founder of the Sena dynasty of Pīṭhī. This explains why his reckoning is perpetuated by king Jayasena of Pīṭhī, but is never used by any Sena king of Bengal, not even by Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena, the sons and immediate successors of king Lakṣmaṇa of Bengal. This also explains why the era is used in the records of Bodh-Gayā and Mithilā from the first century of its existence, but never appears in a Bengali manuscript till 171 years had elapsed from the time of the founder. The era is not connected with a Gauḍa king till the year 432.

THE ORIGIN AND CHARACTER OF THE PURĀṆA LITERATURE.

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The word *purāṇa* indicates 'old' in all the Sanskritic languages of India. In its use as a noun, *Purāṇa* signifies the branch of religious literature, which records, or rather once recorded, the deeds of gods and men of very olden days. The name *Purāṇa*, as a special branch of the sacred literature, occurs perhaps first in the Atharva Veda. The very Ṛks of the Atharvan, in which we meet with the word *Purāṇa*, should be critically considered, to get a clear notion of the character of the Purāṇa literature of the Vedic times. In Prof. Lanman's translation, the 23rd and the 24th Ṛks of the 7th Sūkta of the 11th book of the Atharva Veda, stand as follows: "Both what breathes with breath and what sees with sight: from the remnant (ucchiṣṭa) were born all the gods in heaven, heaven-resorters". "The verses (Ṛk), the chants (Sāma), the meters, *the ancient* (*purāṇa*) together with the formula (Yajus): from the remnant were born, etc., etc." The learned editor of the Harvard Oriental Series is not correct in his translation of the word Purāṇa, by the phrase "the ancient." This word, in association with some names, relating to the ancient sacred lore, must signify a specific branch of the holy literature. The 4th Ṛk of the 6th paryāya of the 15th kāṇḍa of the Atharva Veda, may be compared to clear up the misconception. The Ṛk says:

"He (the Prajāpati) moved out, etc. After him moved out both the Itihāsa (the narrative) and the Purāṇa (the story of eld) and the Gāthās (songs) and the Nārāśaṅsis (eulogies). Verily both of the Itihāsa and of the Purāṇa and of the Gāthās and of the Nārāśaṅsis doth he become the dear abode who knoweth thus."

I have given here as well the translation of Prof. Lanman. The learned professor has translated here the word *Purāṇa* by 'story of eld', while the vague phrase 'ancient' occurs for it in the translation of other Ṛks just quoted above. The mysterious origin of the Purāṇa (the story of eld) along with the gods and the *mantras* as narrated in the verses, points to its hoary antiquity and to its recognised place in the sacred literature of the Ṛsis. We proceed now to

examine other facts, to establish very clearly and distinctly, that the rank and honour which Purāṇa enjoys, in the Atharvan, is not peculiar to that Veda alone, but that it is in the tradition of all the Vedas, that the Purāṇa is a branch of the Vedic literature, and that it is as old and as sacred as the Vedic *mantras* themselves.

If we refer to those post-Mantra treatises such as the Brāhmaṇas which were composed with the distinct object of explaining the spiritual significance and utility of the Vedic ritual, we get many practical directions, as to how the sacrificial rites should be performed, in order to secure the highest spiritual benefit. Generally speaking, the Sāma Veda, the Ṛg Veda, and the Atharva Veda Saṁhitās are uniform in character, being collections of *mantras* such as have to be recited at the *yajñas*; the Yajur Veda Saṁhitā takes partly the character of a Brāhmaṇa, in that the directions regarding the sacrificial ceremonial have been given in it in some detail. The Brāhmaṇas and similar other works forming the post-Mantra literature, are devoted mainly to furnish explanations and to point out the religious importance of the Vedic *mantras*; in these works, we get clear ideas as to how and for what object the *yajñas* should be performed. For example, it has been elaborately given in the Bṛhaddevatā, how to perform a *yajña* in an efficacious manner, the sacrificer must know (1) which *devatā* is to be invoked on what occasions, (2) what *mantra* has to be uttered to suit the occasion, (3) how the words of the *mantras* should be correctly pronounced and chanted, (4) the name of the Ṛṣi who saw or discovered the *mantra*, (5) the circumstances under which a *mantra* or a *sūkta*, having been uttered by a seer, a special object was once secured, and (6) the proper ritualistic method or form to be adopted in the performance of the *yajña*. The *mantras*, as compiled in the early Saṁhitās, are therefore of no practical use even to the learned priests, if they fail to know or learn the *vidyās* just now enumerated. The *vidyās* of my enumeration are found generally mentioned in three groups, viz. (1) the knowledge of the proper god, (2) the knowledge of the proper *mantra*, for the special sacrifice, and (3) the knowledge of the details of the rituals, to suit each particular occasion. That the *phalaśruti*, or the history of the efficacy of the *mantras*, falls under the third head, will be made clear later on.[1] I need hardly state, that

[1] I am inclined to suppose, that the Brāhmaṇa priests were called *trayī* or *tebijja* (Pāli form) because they had to learn the three things mentioned above. It is not the

in ritualistic works, there are details under each head of the above knowledge, and there are many practical directions or *vidhi*, regarding the forms of sacrificial ceremonies.

We have seen, that as a part of the ritual, it was absolutely necessary for a priest to know the history of the origin of the *mantra*; we shall presently see that it was necessary for a priest to recite at the *yajña*, how by the chanting of the *mantra*, its original seer got out of many worldly dangers and difficulties. The readers may refer to the excellent edition of the Artharva Veda Saṁhitā by Prof. Lanman, wherein the special purpose for which a *sūkta* is to be chanted, has been prefixed to each and every *sūkta*. For easy reference, I specially name the Bṛhaddevatā, critically edited by Prof. Macdonell, wherein the Purāṇa history and the practical utility or *phalaśruti*, relating to various *mantras*, have been severally set out. I cite here just one example, to show the relation of the Purāṇa to the *mantra*; how Dīrghatamā was born blind, has been stated in a story form in the fourth chapter of the Bṛhaddevatā (verses 11–15). It has then been stated (verse 16) that some hymns or *mantras* (viz. Ṛg Veda I, 140–56) were revealed to Dīrghatamā, and he got back the use of his eyes. It has been stated, that knowing this history, the Ṛks revealed to Dīrghatamā should be recited to regain good eyesight. Thus it is very clear, that at the time of the performance of the *yajñas*, recitation of the history of the *mantras* was an inseparable part of the ceremony, and that the knowledge of the Purāṇa or the origin of the *mantra*, was essential with the Vedic priests. Some more facts will be adduced presently, in support of these two propositions. The stories as constitute the *Purāṇa*, under the Ṛg Veda *mantras*, have been related in the Bṛhaddevatā. There cannot be any doubt that this story-literature, absolutely necessary for the performance of the *yajñas*, was designated as Purāṇa or Purāṇetihāsa.[2]

To illustrate that many *sūktas* of the Vedic Saṁhitā cannot be

place where I can discuss the question, that the appellation *trayī* had originally no reference to the three collections of the Vedic *mantras*, but referred wholly to the three *vidyās* the Brāhmaṇas had to acquire, to perform a *yajña*, be it according to Sāma or Ṛk or Yajuḥ or Atharvan rites.

[2] The custom of the present day, that at the time of the *śrāddha* or other such ceremonies, a Paurāṇika has to sit apart to read some Paurāṇika text, is after the oldest tradition of the Vedic ritual. Now the Purāṇas are not read to explain or glorify the *mantras*, but merely because it is a long-standing custom to do so.

properly understood, if the Purāṇa stories relating to them are not referred to and read, I refer the readers to the 95th *sūkta* of the 10th maṇḍala of the Ṛg Veda collection. The *sūkta*, as it stands, does not inform us who Purūravā is, and under what circumstances he is addressing persuasive words to a nymph; the Purāṇa of Purūravā and Ūrvaśī, as narrated in the 7th chapter of the Bṛhaddevatā, or in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (which has been called a *saṁvād* or dialogue by Yāska and *itihāsa* or story by Śaunaka), must be read for the explanation of the *sūkta*. No matter whether the stories constituting the Vedic Purāṇa were compiled separately like the *mantra* Saṁhitās, or whether they were merely retained in memory by a special class of priests, it is absolutely certain that the Purāṇa literature always existed by the side of the holy *mantras*.

We get in the introductory chapter of the Mahābhārata, that the custom of reciting Purāṇa to the priests, who were initiated and ready to perform a holy sacrifice, was not forgotten; for, the Paurāṇika Ugraśravā asks the Ṛṣis in the following words to ascertain whether they were in a fit state to listen to the narration:

"kṛtābhiṣekāḥ śucayaḥ kṛtajapyā hutāgnayaḥ
bhavanta āsane svasthā bravīmi kim-ahaṁ dvijāḥ?" (15).

As to the fact that the Vedas have to be explained by the Itihāsa and the Purāṇa, a line occurs in the very introductory chapter of the Mahābhārata:

Itihāsa-Purāṇābhyāṁ Vedaṁ samupabṛṁhayet (267).

The orthodox tradition is, that Vyāsa divided the Veda in the early years of the Kaliyuga, and became the progenitor of the Purāṇa literature. We need not concern ourselves here with the question as to when and under what circumstances the different Vedic Saṁhitās were compiled; but there can be no doubt, that once it became necessary to divide the Veda, or more properly to classify the Vedic *mantras*, from the ritualistic point of view. When this division or classification had to be made, Purāṇetihāsa could not but form a separate branch under the Vedas. The account we get by tradition is therefore not wrong, that the Purāṇa, as a literature, arose out of the work of classification or division of the Vedas, no matter whether the author of that work of classification or division be called Vyāsa or not. Since *vyās* means, in Sanskrit, "to divide into parts" or "to arrange", the sage of the olden times, who was principally instrumental

in bringing about the aforesaid distribution and arrangement, can be safely said to be the progenitor of the Purāṇa, as a special branch of the sacred literature.

That the Purāṇa, as a sacred literature, was both taught and learnt by the Brāhmaṇas, along with the Vedic *mantras* and the other correlated sciences, is distinctly mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XI. V. 7, 1; XIV. V. 4–10). There is similar mention also in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (II. 9–10). The Upaniṣads have referred to Itihāsa-Purāṇaṁ as a subject studied by the orthodox Vedic scholars; the old Chāndogya Upaniṣad of the Sāma Veda school states that the Itihāsa-Purāṇam is the fifth Veda in the division of the Vedas:

Ṛg-vedo Yajurvedaḥ Sāma-veda Ātharvaṇaś-caturtha Itihāsa-Purāṇaḥ pañcamo vedānāṁ vedaḥ" (VII. 1. 4).

From the remarks made before, regarding the Purāṇa literature, it is clear beyond any doubt, that the Purāṇa literature was bound to be recognised as the fifth Veda, when the Atharvan collection was recognised as the fourth division of the Veda.

When the Mahābhārata was compiled as a Saṁhitā, with the nucleus of the Bhāratī-kathā, all the stories that existed at the time of the compilation in the name of Purāṇetihāsa, were included in, or intertwined with, the Kuru-Pāṇḍava story. It is for that reason that Mahābhārata-Saṁhitā claimed for itself the title 'the Pañcama Veda,' and that the people considered that title to be quite legitimate. It is quite wrong to suppose, that the Mahābhārata-Saṁhitā took some time to be recognised as the fifth Veda; the very character of it secured for it this honour, at the very date of its compilation.

We have noticed, that the Purāṇa has been in association with the Itihāsa from a remote past. There are many instances in the Mahābhārata, where the Purāṇa has been spoken of as a depository of Vedic śruti (nānā-śruti-samāyuktaṁ). We meet also with such passages in the Mahābhārata, where in narrating some legends or vaṁśānucaritaṁ, it has been stated by way of an introductory remark, that "mayā śrutaṁ idaṁ pūrvaṁ Purāṇe puruṣarṣabha", or "atrāpyudāharantīmaṁ Itihāsaṁ purātanaṁ", or "śruyate hi Purāṇe'pi Jaṭilānāma Gautamī", etc. These instances show, that the Purāṇa handed down the 'vaṁśānucaritaṁ', and other historical accounts, from generation to generation, and its character as the history not only of the gods but also of men, was established at the time of the com-

pilation of the Vedic Saṁhitās. Being the history of the gods and the Ṛṣis, the Purāṇa literature had to deal with the original or primary creation, the secondary creation or the creation of the world men were living in, and the Manvantara-revolutions; again, as associated with Itihāsa, it had to narrate the stories of the ideal epoch-making rulers, and to maintain the records of many Rāj-families of note. In this combined character, the Purāṇa of the olden times cannot possibly much differ from the modern Purāṇas; for the definition of the Purāṇa, we get in almost all the Purāṇas, that the subject referred to above, must be delineated in a Purāṇa. I quote the definition as it occurs in the Vāyu Purāṇa:

> kīrtanaṁ......
> sargaś-ca pratisargaś-ca vaṁśo manvantarāṇi ca
> vaṁśānucaritaṁ ceti Purāṇaṁ pañca lakṣaṇam (IV. 10-11).

Though I could not cite any direct proof from the oldest Vedic literature, in support of the statement that Purāṇa, associated with Itihāsa, had the character of a history, I think the evidence furnished by the post-Mantric literature as well as by the Mahābhārata goes, to some extent, to establish my view. We should not forget, however, that Purāṇa is found mentioned, linked with Itihāsa, even in the Atharva Veda. That the history of the mighty kings, from the remotest antiquity, was maintained in the very work, in which the history of the creation was preserved, is pretty clear from the accounts of Megasthenes. We get recorded in the fragments of the accounts of Megasthenes, that when he came to India, the Indians narrated to him their previous history, as well as the history of the creation of the world. Arrian records in his *Indica*, that Megasthenes reported, that the Hindus reckoned 6042 years from the earliest day to the time of Candragupta. It must also be noticed, that Arrian has remarked in his *Indica*, that it was a matter of wonder with him how Megasthenes could give an accurate account of 118 tribes and 58 rivers of India, without visiting most parts of that country. This points to the fact, as noticed by the late Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, in his introductory essay, "The Epic and the Paurāṇic Notes" [*J.A.S.* (*Bom.*), *Extra*, 1905, p. 67], that Megasthenes must have got before him a regular catalogue of rivers and tribes. Non-mention of the character of the Purāṇa itself as Itihāsa, in any Vedic Samhitā, does not prove that the Purāṇa did not assume the character of a history; we have

mentioned just now, that even in the Vedic references, Purāṇa appears always in the company of Itihāsa. It is curious to note, that though Purāṇa is found mentioned in the Atharva Veda and in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, this word does not occur in any *sūtra* of Pāṇini, which is certainly a later work. The readers can easily see how unsafe it is to establish any proposition, on the evidence of Pāṇini's mentioning or not mentioning any word in his work. It may however be mentioned, that the Vārtika and the Mahābhāṣya both mention it in association with the Itihāsa.

In what form and state the Puraṇetihāsa of olden times continued to exist till its complete absorption by the Mahābhārata Saṁhitā, cannot be definitely stated. It appears to me highly probable, that as for each Veda there are Brāhmaṇas, Anukramaṇis, and Upaniṣads, the Purāṇa (the story *cum* history of eld) for each Vedic school was also separately organized. The Purāṇa given in the Bṛhaddevatā fails to explain many allusions of the Atharva Veda; and a separate book of allusions for the Atharva Veda as such, must be presumed to have existed. I adduce one fact in support of my supposition.

We get in the Śatapatha and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇas, that the Ṛg Veda proceeded from Agni, the Sāma Veda from Sūrya, and the Yajur Veda from Vāyu, when Prajāpati performed *tapas* to get the Vedas (Śat. Brā., XI. 5-8, i; Ait. Brā., V. 32-34). The Chāndogya Upaniṣad also gives us the same story:

Prajāpatiḥ lokān abhyatapat; teṣāṁ tapyamānānāṁ rasān prābṛhat agniṁ pṛthivyā, vāyum antarīkṣāt, ādityaṁ divaḥ (1). sa etās-tisro devatā abhyantapat; tāsāṁ tapyamānānāṁ rasān prābṛhat agneḥ ṛco, vāyoḥ yajūṁṣi, sāmāni ādityāt (2) (IV. 17, 1-2).

The names Vāyu, Agni, and Sūrya for the three extant Purāṇas seem to have their origin from the Vedas, to which their once existing originals belonged. I adduce some internal evidence, from the Vāyu Purāṇa itself, to show that this Purāṇa really belongs to the Yajur Veda which is said to have been breathed out by Vāyu. It is well known to scholars, that a departure from the original Vedic religion was first made by the Yajurveda, by presenting the old gods, in a new or modern form. In the 16th chapter of the Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā of the Yajur Veda, we get those epithets, for the Vedic Rudra, which have become the special names of Śiva; *Īśāna*, *Mahādeva*, and *Śaṅkara*, are such names as could be given to all the Vedic gods; but the Yajur Veda appropriates them specially for the god Rudra. (I must note, that in

the Ṛgveda, the epithet *Iśāna* signifying a leader has been specially applied to Rudra in one Sūkta, II. 33). The Vāyu Purāṇa begins with the śloka which glorifies the characteristic Yajur Vedic names of Śiva:

prapadye devam-Iśānaṃ śāśwataṃ dhruvam-avyayam,
Mahādevaṃ mahātmānaṃ sarvasya jagataḥ patim.

Despite the fact that the new Vāyu Purāṇa has been said to have originated with a Lomaharṣaṇa, the Yajur-Vedic tradition of the origin of the *mantras*, etc., has been retained in the 11th verse of the first chapter. I must remind the readers, that according to the Yajuḥ-account, Brahmā-Prajāpati is the principal deity, from whom everything is considered to have proceeded. In accordance therewith, it has been stated in the Vayu:

Purāṇam sampravakṣyāmi Brahmoktaṃ Veda-sammitaṃ.[3]

It is the Yajur Veda which first declared the land of Kurukṣetra to be specially holy. It is stated in the Vāyu Purāṇa, that Lomaharṣaṇa narrated this Purāṇa to the Ṛsis at Kurukṣetra:

dharmakṣetre Kurukṣetre dīrghasatraṁ tu ijire, etc.

The use of the word *Purāṇa* in the singular form in the Atharva Veda does not show, as Jackson holds, that originally there was but one collection of the story-literature. The use in the singular may simply point to the reference to a class of literature considered collectively. Similarly the plural form 'Itihāsapurāṇāni' in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka does not also support the view, that there were necessarily many treatises on the subject; this use in the plural may be interpreted as intending to signify many stories, that might have been collected in a single work. The reference to Purāṇa (be it in singular or plural) in a particular Brāhmaṇa, affiliated to a particular Veda, must be presumed to have reference to a special collection of the stories.

It seems almost certain, that the extant Purāṇas did not exist previous to the time of the collection of the Pauraṇic stories in the Mahābhārata-Samhitā; for the present Purāṇas differ in many essential points from the Paurāṇic stories given in the Mahābhārata. To explain this situation, the earliest known mention of a Purāṇa by name may be

[3] The *Harivaṁśa* has for it—"etat te kathayiṣyāmi Purāṇam brahma-sammitam" (III, 33. 5).

discussed. This earliest mention is of a Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa in the Āpastamba Dharmasūtra (praśna 2, paṭala 9. khaṇḍa 24, 5 and 6); here on the authority of the above Purāṇa, the continuation of the seed of the Pitṛs has been spoken of. Since the Mahābhārata-Saṁhitā clearly declares that it incorporates all the Purāṇas extant at the time of its compilation, and since the extant Bhaviṣya Purāṇa differs in many points from the Paurāṇic narration of events disclosed by the Mahābhārata, the Bhaviṣyat of Āpastamba's reference cannot be held as identical with our present Bhaviṣya Purāṇa. I should note, however, that the subject relating to the continuation of the seeds of the Pitṛs occurs in the modern Bhaviṣya Purāṇa. I have thrown out this suggestion, that the pre-Mahābhārata Purāṇas might have existed with the names of Vāyu, Sūrya and Agni Purāṇas, to signify the Vedas to which they were attached; but by this suggestion, I do not mean, that a Purāṇa, thus affiliated to a Veda, could not possess a name or title other than the name, which would have been directly appropriate. It is true, that references to the Purāṇas in chapter 191 of the Vana Parva and in chapters 5 and 6 of the last Parva of the Mahābhārata, are to the Purāṇas now extant. But that these chapters are very late additions, can be detected by even a superficial reader. The question however is discussed below. The Mahābhārata-Saṁhitā postdates itself, when it refers to the political condition of India, of a time when the name of the Saṁhitā became widely known (*vide* Vana Parva, chapter 188, 35–36). Again it may be observed, that though Yudhiṣṭhira had the fullest advantage of hearing from Mārkaṇḍeya what would happen in the Kali Yuga, he asked Mārkaṇḍeya over again the same question regarding the future events of the Kali Yuga, at the commencement of Chapter 190 of the Vana Parva. The facts stated in chapter 190 are mere repetitions of old facts of chapter 188, with additions of things, which make the chapter bad from a chronological point of view. The 'Rāśi-cakra' or the Zodiac for instance, unknown to the whole of the Mahābhārata literature, is mentioned in verse 91. Chapter 191 is, again, a continuation of chapter 190; in this chapter occurs the following verse:

> etat te sarvam-ākhyātam-atītānāgataṃ mayā
> Vāyu-proktam-anusmṛtya purāṇam ṛṣi-saṁstutam.

It may be, that this reference is to an old Purāṇa of the Yajur Veda school, but as the Mahābhārata-Saṁhitā absorbed all the Purāṇas, and assumed the title of "the fifth Veda", it is not likely that,

consistently with its character, it would cite the authority of any other book; in the next place, the quotations made from the Vāyu Purāṇa show, that a careless man inserted some new chapters at a very late date to speak with some vehemence of the evil effects of the time he lived in. For, on the authority of the Vāyu Purāṇa, it has been stated in the 49th verse of the aforesaid chapter 190, that girls will bear children at the age of 5 or 6, while in reality it has been stated in the Vāyu Purāṇa (chapter 58, verse 58) that in the evil days of Kali, girls will bear children before attaining the sixteenth year. There are two different readings of this *śloka* in the Vayu Purāṇa, and I quote it with both the readings:

> praṇaṣṭa-cetanāḥ puṁso muktakeśās-tu cūlikāḥ
> ūnaṣoḍaśa-varṣāś-ca prajāyante yuga-kṣaye.

In the second reading of the *śloka*, we get "dharṣayiṣyanti mānavān" for the words "prajāyante yuga-kṣaye."

The second reading appears to me to be correct, as the last words of this reading are quite in keeping with the meaning of the first portion of the *śloka*, where capturing of men by female charms has been spoken of. Practically, however, both the readings indicate the same thing, that girls were not considered to be of marriageable age before they became 16 years old, by those who adhered to the ideal rules of the Brāhmaṇas. That this was the custom in olden times, can also be gathered from a passage in the *Suśruta*, which could not very likely recommend any rule, which was not in accordance with the orthodox Smṛti rules. The *śloka* runs thus:

> ūnaṣoḍaśa-varṣāyām-aprāptaḥ pañcaviṁśatim
> yadā dhatte pumān garbhaṃ kukṣisthaḥ sa vipadyate,
> jāto vā na ciraṃ jīvet, jīved-va durbalendriyaḥ,
> tasmād-atyanta-bālāyāṃ garbhādhānaṃ na kārayet.
> (X. 13).

This statement, regarding the evil effects of bearing children before attaining the sixteenth year, shows however, by implication, that deviation from the rule was much noticed by the author in the society of his time.

The mention of the 18 Purāṇas, in the last two chapters of the very last Parva of the Mahābhārata, is quite singular; for the Mahābhārata-Saṁhitā does not disclose this knowledge elsewhere, even where there has been special enumeration of different branches of knowledge and of different Śāstric treatises. The last or the sixth

chapter may be easily disregarded, as the Mahābhārata is said to have ended with the fifth chapter. The fifth chapter also seems to be a late addition; for, in the first place, the Svargārohaṇa concluded with the fourth chapter, and in the second place, the fifth chapter has been improved by quotations, from other previous chapters of the book; for example, the *ślokas* 68 and 69, are the same as 395 and 396 of Chapter II of the Ādi Parva. From the very fact that many Purāṇas, including the Vāyu, name the Mahābhārata-Saṁhitā, it is proved conclusively, that neither the group of the 18 modern Purāṇas, nor the Vāyu Purāṇa, could exist at the time of the compilation of the Mahābhārata.

I have shown, that (1) the Purāṇa, as a branch of sacred literature, did exist in the Vedic days, bearing exactly that character which is attributed to it in the extant Purāṇas, and (2) that till the time of the compilation of the Mahābhārata as the fifth Veda-Saṁhitā, the extant Purāṇas were not in existence, at least in their present shape and form. Again, on reference to the mythology of the Hindus, as it was by about 140 B.C., it can be stated, that the modern Purāṇas, with their pantheon of new gods, could not come into existence in the second century B.C. Gods like Durgā, Gaṇeśa, and the Paurāṇika Śiva, were not known to the Mahābhāṣya of 140 B.C., or to the modern Manu-Saṁhitā, which has not got a greater antiquity.

As it is of great importance to know when, because of some tribal influences, non-Aryan gods came to be honoured in the Aryan society, and in consequence thereof, new Purāṇas on the basis of older ones had to be brought out, I discuss below the history of two important deities, viz., Durgā, and Śiva in the form of a 'Phallus'.

Durgā: Her Origin and History.[4]

I need hardly point out, that neither the Vedas nor the old Vedic literature knew the name of this mighty goddess. Dr. A. A. Macdonell has shown in his excellent edition of the Bṛhaddevatā, that one solitary, meaningless mention of her name in that book (II, 77) is an interpolation.[5] Leaving aside the Mahābhārata-Saṃhitā, we do not find any

[4] My paper on this subject, as was published in *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, is partly reproduced here.

[5] The name *Durgā* does not occur either in the Rāmāyaṇa or in Manu.

trace of her in any literature or epigraphic writings, down to at least the second century A.D. It is necessary, therefore, to examine critically the chapters of the Mahābhārata where Durgā appears.

There are two chapters in the Bombay edition of the Mahābhārata-Saṃhitā containing prayers to the goddess Durgā[6]; they are the sixth of the Virāṭa Parvan and the twenty-third of the Bhīṣma Parvan. The Bardwan Rāj family Mahābhārata does not contain any chapter in the Virāṭa Parvan devoted to a prayer to Durgā; a very careful Bengali translation of this Mahābhārata has been published by the proprietor of the journal *Baṅgabāsī*. It is to be noted, that excepting in these chapters, there is no mention even of her name elsewhere in the Saṃhitā. The goddess, whose mythology is not given at all in the Mahābhārata, either independently or in connection with the worship of Śiva or Skanda, is made the recipient of two stray prayers, very loosely connected with the preceding and subsequent chapters. This circumstance is alone sufficient to throw doubt on the genuineness of these prayer chapters. But I have better proofs to offer to show that they are very late interpolations.

Referring first to the *Durgā-stotra* in the Virāṭa Parvan, we find the goddess described as daughter of Yaśoda, the wife of Nanda of the Cowherd tribe (iv, 6, 2), sister of Vāsudeva (iv, 6, 4), living permanently on the Vindhya hills (iv, 6, 17), and wearing a peacock's tail for her armlet (iv, 6, 8). She is very dark in colour (iv, 6, 9), and possesses four heads and four arms (iv, 6, 8). She is a maiden, or Kumārī Brahmacāriṇī (iv, 6, 7), and sways the worlds by remaining a maiden for ever (iv, 6, 14). It is also stated, that it was she who killed the demon Mahiṣāsura (iv, 6, 15), and that, as Kālī, is fond of wine, flesh, and animals.

Now, first of all, she is not described as Pārvatī, wife of Mahādeva, in this chapter. To make her a wife of any god, would also have been inconsistent with her character as Kumārī for ever. In the eighth *śloka*, she is compared to 'Padmā, wife of Nārāyaṇa,' but her own condition is given as that of a Kumārī. This shows clearly, that Durgā had not become Pārvatī, when this chapter was composed. There is no hint thrown out, that she had any relationship with the Himālaya, but, on the other hand, her origin is distinctly given as from the family

[6] See Fausböll, *Indian Mythology*, p. 159.

of the Cowherds, and the Vindhya is described as her place of abode. She is associated here with the worship of Kṛṣṇa, and is shown rather to be the tribal goddess of the Gopas or Ābhīras. We remind the readers of the birth story of Kṛṣṇa, wherein the birth of a Kātyāyanī has been narrated.

The goddess Durgā of the Purāṇas is 'tapta-kāñcana-varṇa-bhā' or Gaurī, and not dark in colour, and she has ten arms and not four. Neither Durgā, nor any other form of Śiva's Śakti, carries four heads on the shoulder. It is also to be noted, that Durgā is not included in the Daśa-Mahāvidyās, or the ten glorious forms of the Śakti. The assertion in the *stotra*, that Durgā killed Mahiṣāsura, is false according to the Mahābhārata mythology, for it is distinctly mentioned in the Vana Parvan, that Skanda, son of Agni, whom Mahādeva and Umā worshipped for nascent glory, distinguished himself specially by having killed the demon Mahiṣāsura (iii, 230).

Now I shall consider another important character of Durgā, that she is Vindhyavāsinī Kālī, and is very fond of wine and blood. During the early years of the seventh century A.D., we find often mentioned by Bāṇabhaṭṭa and others, that the non-Aryans worshipped horrible goddesses, in the Vindhya region, by offerings of wine and blood. Till then, it seems, the Vindhyavāsinī had not obtained admission into the temples of the Hindus. Either towards the end of the seventh, or by the beginning of the eighth century A.D., the poet Vākpati composed his *Gauḍavaho kāvya*. In this book the goddess Vindhyavāsinī appears in double character; she is called, in clear terms, non-Aryan Kālī, and at the same time declared to be a form of Pārvatī herself.[7] Her worshippers till then are the Koli women and the Śabaras wearing turmeric leaves for their garment. Offerings made to her, are wine and human blood (*vide ślokas* 270 to 338 in the Bombay Sanskrit Series edition).

This gives us some idea, as to the time when, as a hymn in honour of Durgā as Vindhyavāsinī, the sixth chapter of the Virāṭa Parvan was composed. The twenty-third chapter of the Bhīṣma Parvan is hopelessly confused. All that has been said of Durgā in the sixth chapter of the Virāṭa Parvan is fully repeated here, and still she is called the mother of Skanda (vi, 23, 11), which is inconsistent with her character as Kumārī (vi, 23, 4). Though in the seventh *śloka* she is said to have

[7] In the *Kādambarī* she is mentioned as the wife of Śiva; see Miss Ridding's translation, pp. 49-50.

her origin in the family of Nanda Gopa, yet Kauśikī, or born in the family of Kuśika, is another adjective given her in the eighth *śloka*.

It appears that when Durgā was merely a non-Aryan tribal goddess, her non-Sanskritic name was also either Durgā or something which had a similar sound. The reason for this supposition is, that for want of some orthodox grammatical derivation of the word, a new and defective grammatical explanation had to be thought out. Derivation of the name has been given in the following words: "durgāt tārayase Durge tat tvaṃ Durgā smṛtā janaiḥ" (iv, 6, 20). An unapproachable goddess, would be the meaning of the term according to Sanskrit grammar.

Whether Durgā had an independent existence, as a tribal goddess and only later became one and the same with Vindhyavāsinī, or whether the goddess Vindhyavāsinī in the process of evolution at the fusion of tribes became Durgā, is not easy to ascertain.[3] But that there was once a Kumārī Durgā, not belonging to the household of Śiva, is borne out by the interpolated *stotras* in the Mahābhārata.

I shall now give some account of a hitherto unnoticed Kumārī worship prevalent amongst the non-Aryan Śūdra castes in the Oriya-speaking hill tracts in the district of Sambalpur, lying on the south-western border of Bengal. In this out-of-the-way place, only recently opened out by a railway line, all the different tribes retain to this day their old manners and customs, unaffected by Brāhmaṇic influence. The place is extremely interesting on that account, for ethnographic researches.

Kultā, Dumāl, and Śūd are the Śūdra castes of Sambalpur, that celebrate the festival of Kumārī-Osā in the lunar month Āśvina, from the eighth day of its dark fortnight to the ninth day of the light fortnight. Though the Brāhmaṇa priests officiate in all the religious and domestic ceremonies of these people, the worship of the goddess Kumārī, during this festival, is wholly and solely performed by the unmarried girls of these Śūdra people. It is a festival of the maidens for a maiden goddess. The word *osā* is a contraction of the Oriya term *upās* (Sanskrit *upavāsa*). On the Kṛṣṇa-Aṣṭamī day the maidens, singing special songs, go out in large companies from the villages in quest of good clay, for making an image of the goddess Kumārī. They them-

[3] See *Bengal Census Report*, 1901, vol. i, pp. 181-2.

selves fashion the idol in a rude form and besmear it with vermilion. They sing and dance every day in honour of the goddess, and that is the only thing they do to worship her.

In some villages, owing very likely to the Brāhmaṇic influence, the figures of Hara-Pārvatī and Lakṣmī are painted by the girls on the walls, in addition to the figure of Kumārī. But this shows more unmistakably that this Kumārī is separate from, and has no connection with, the renowned consort of Mahādeva.

Some of the songs chanted for worshipping the goddess are interesting, as giving some clue to the history of the festival. I notice here particularly two lines of one song; they are—

Āśvine Kumārī-janam
Gopinī-kule pūjan.

It was in the month Āśvina that the goddess Kumārī was born, and in this month she is worshipped by the females of the tribe of the Cowherds. Is not, then, this Kumārī the same, whom we meet with in the interpolated chapters of the Mahābhārata, as 'Nanda-gopa-kule jātā'?

Śukla-Aṣṭamī is the principal day of the whole festival; and the maidens sing and dance that day almost unceasingly, on the village green, till late at night. It is worth noting, that that is the very day regarded as very important and holy in Bengal during the Durgā-Pūjā; and special fasting is observed by the Bengali Hindus on that day called Mahā-Aṣṭamī (great Aṣṭamī). I should further notice, that it is even now a custom in many villages in the district of 24-Parganas in Bengal, that on this Mahā-Aṣṭamī day, a Brāhmaṇa maiden is to be worshipped by other maidens by offering her new cloth, vermilion, and flowers.

Again, on the day next following, that is, on the Navamī day, the non-Aryan maidens of Sambalpur sing some hardly decent songs in honour of their maiden goddess. For this reason, the songs of the girls in general during the Kumārī-Osā (called Ḍālkhāi songs by many people) are unfortunately believed by outsiders to be wholly indecent. I may draw the attention of readers to the fact, that the custom of singing obscene songs on the Navamī day during the Durgā-Pūjā in Bengal was very widely prevalent throughout the lower province of Bengal some twenty years ago, and even now this custom is in full force in many villages far away from civilised centres. The Bengali

phrase "Navamir Kheūḍ" (obscene songs of Navamī day) is well known throughout Bengal proper.

After the completion of worship on the Śukla-Navamī day, the non-Aryan maidens of Sambalpur throw the Kumārī idol into water, singing songs meanwhile. I may state that the goddess Durgā is also immersed in water on the Daśamī day (called Vijayā-Daśamī) in Bengal.

As the Brāhmaṇas and other high-caste Hindus of Sambalpur do not take any part in the Kumārī-Osā of the Śūdras, and as the Durgā-Pūjā in Bengal style is wholly unknown to the people of Sambalpur, no one will venture to say, that the lower caste Śūdras in those inaccessible hilly tracts imitated the Durgā-Pūjā of Bengal. Since the Durgā-Pūjā is celebrated in Bengal alone, in a form and style which strongly resemble the Kumārī-Osā of Sambalpur, in many very important particulars, I may venture to think, that it was from some non-Aryan tribes of Bengal (who were once akin to the Śūdras of Sambalpur and had great influence all over the province of Lower Bengal) that the Durgā-Pūja was borrowed by the Hindus.

The influence of Brāhamaṇism is nowadays so very supreme in the province of Bengal, that even those low-caste poeople who allow widows to remarry, eat fowls, and drink wine elsewhere, consider those acts as degrading and defiling. Consequently, it is impossible now to get any evidence in this direction, from the customs of any lower class people in Bengal proper.

I mention another fact in connection with the Durgā-Pūjā rituals in Bengal. A banana plant is covered with a piece of cloth and is posted on the right side of the idol Durgā. This banana plant is regarded as the goddes Vana-Durgā (Durgā who resides in forests), and she is worshipped duly and carefully along with Durgā and other deities associated with her, and represented there in the idol exhibition. As to whence this Vana-Durgā came, the Purāṇas are silent, and the priests offer no satisfactory explanation. That this Vana-Durgā was a goddess of some wild tribes, seems pretty certain in the light of the facts already detailed. That in addition to the image of Durgā, a Vana-Durgā has to be set up and propitiated, shows that there was something in the origin of the Pūjā, which recognized a goddess other than the consort of Śiva.

The reward for which the non-Aryan maidens of Sambalpur hope

by worshipping their Kumārī goddess, is that their brothers may obtain a long life. Hence Kumārī-Osā is known by another name, called Bhāi-Jiūtiā. Bhāi means brother, and Jiūtiā means that which gives long life. There is also a ceremony called Bhāi-Dvitīā in Bengal, which is performed by sisters, for the longevity of their brothers, nearly twenty days after the Durgā Pūjā. I strongly suspect, that it is the Bhāi-Jiūtiā which has been transformed into Bhāi-Dvitīā in Bengal, since the latter, as a Hindu ceremony, does not occur in the old Purāṇas.

As the Kumārī-Pūjā of the Tāntric cult is a medley of many things and requires a separate critical study, I have made no reference to it here.

PHALLUS-WORSHIP IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA.[9]

For want of a critical edition of the Mahābhārata, such an eminent scholar as Professor Rhys Davids has been led to think that, though there is no mention of the worship of Śiva under the form of the Liṅga in the old Buddhistic records, "phallus-worship is often mentioned, quite as a matter of course, in the Mahābhārata" (*Buddhist India*, p. 165). Whatever may be the date of the Mahābhārata Saṁhitā, it may be successfully shown that the Liṅga, as a form of Śiva, is not recognised in that great epic.

The only chapters in which the Liṅga is found mentioned as a form of and name for Śiva, are vii, 200 and 201, and xiii, 14 and 17, which are all palpable interpolations of a very late date. If we leave these chapters out of consideration, there cannot be found a single line in the whole of the Mahābhāratā-Saṁhitā, in which the Liṅga form of Śiva is even remotely hinted at (*vide* Fausböll's *Indian Mythology* under Rudra and Śiva).

The sudden appearance of Vyāsa, first before the depressed son of Droṇa, in the middle of vii, 200, and next before the elated Arjuna in vii, 201, is altogether meaningless and irrelevant. Droṇa's son became very much distressed, when he found that Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna had escaped unhurt. He asked Vyāsa, who came to the spot of his own accord, to preach the Śaiva religion and not to render any help to Aśvatthāman, the reason why Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna could not be killed. Vyāsa informed him in reply that as Kṛṣṇa was a worshipper of the Liṅga form of Śiva,

[9] Published in the *J.R.A.S.*, 1907.

the Liṅga god kept him under his protection (vii, 200, 48 to 90). Aśvatthāman is none the wiser; and Vyāsa disappears after preaching his creed that Śiva is superior to Viṣṇu. The chapter then closes with the one short statement that Aśvatthāman retired from the field of battle and Droṇa breathed his last. That this Vyāsa episode portion in this chapter is an interpolation by a Liṅga worshipper, becomes clearer when we read the next following chapter (201), which is altogether an interpolation, as an additional chapter to the Droṇa Parva, by the self-same sectarian hand.

No event of the war is described in vii, 201, for there is really nothing left to tell in connection with the fate of Droṇa. Sañjaya merely relates to his master that Vyāsa appeared again before Arjuna on his preaching tour. In praise of Śiva a long list of his names is given, and of all names, the Liṅga is specially eulogised. After making this inartistic addition to the Parva at its end, the sectarian interpolator repeats over again, that Droṇa died after fighting for four days more, forgetting altogether that Sañjaya had communicated that very information in almost identical words to his master, and that chapter 200 ended with those words. The interpolator could not help repeating the words, for otherwise, the new chapter would stand self-condemned by having no connection with the story of Droṇa.

This spurious chapter (201) closes with a stanza composed in faultless *śālinī*. Professor Hopkins has shown in his *Great Epic of India* (p. 318 ff.) that there are only a very few complete *śālinī* stanzas in the whole of the Mahābhārata. There is no doubt that they all occur in very late chapters only. I am uncertain whether the text Professor Hopkins had before him, contains chapter 201 of the Droṇa Parva, for the *śālinī* stanza, here referred to by me, is not noticed by him in his thorough analysis.

I need hardly point out, that there are several chapters in the Mahābhārata previous to xiii, 14 and 17, devoted to giving the names of Śiva, and composed with the distinct object of edifying Yudhiṣṭhira. It is curious that Yudhiṣṭhira still insists upon getting a fresh list of these names from the lips of the dying Bhīṣma in xiii, 14. In the whole of the Mahābhārata there are only six *āryā* stanzas, and they are all found in this fourteenth chapter. There cannot be any doubt that *śārdūlavikrīḍita* is a very modern metre. In the Mahābhārata there are only four stanzas and a half in this metre (Hopkins, *Great Epic*,

p. 358). Of these four and a half stanzas, two and a half occur in this fourteenth chapter, and the special character and glory of the Liṅga are celebrated in them (229 and 234). This chapter is also adorned with one stanza of *puṣpitāgrā* (190) and one of *vasantatilakā*. These signs of lateness, coupled with the very character of the chapter itself, lead to the conclusion, that this is a spurious chapter only recently added.

The zealous sectarian and interpolator goes on enumerating the very names of Śiva over again in the seventeenth chapter; and poor Yudhiṣṭhira has been made to listen to the tediously long list with an undesirable sort of coolness of head. In this seventeenth chapter the names merely of Gaṇeśa and Durgā also occur. That Gaṇeśa, regarding whose origin, character, and mythology, the Mahābhārata is entirely silent, and who appears only in the first chapter, which is also spurious, was unknown when the Mahābhārata was compiled, is perhaps admitted on all hands. Regarding the lateness of the goddess Durgā, my discussion has just preceded.

Having thus disposed of the chapters in which the cult of the Liṅga is taught, I may safely conclude, that whatever the origin—whether indigenous or not—and whatever the age of this creed may be, phallus-worship was unknown to the compilers of the Mahābhārata-Saṁhitā. We cannot say definitely, as to when the non-Aryan *śiṣṇa*-worshippers mentioned in the Vedas gave their god to the Aryans, but it is certain that this god was not in the Hindu pantheon, at the time of the compilation of the Mahābhārata-Saṁhitā.

That to accommodate new gods, the old Purāṇas had to be recast or re-modelled, and at times new Purāṇas had to be written, may be safely assumed when, by an analysis, we get in with the new gods some elements distinctly non-Vedic. That altogether new Paurāṇic episodes or anecdotes had to be introduced on account of the influence of the people of non-Vedic traditions, can also be easily presumed. It is needless to illustrate this view, by quoting modern Paurāṇic stories and comparing them with the old stories of the Vedic times. It is now admitted on all hands, that many stories of the modern Purāṇas, though founded on a Vedic basis, have not only been changed, but have been given quite new forms, inconsistent with the old Vedic stories.

I may refer the readers however to a class of *expansion* and *modification* of the old stories in later works, just to show, how by this sort of critical study, we may be helped in establishing the chronology of

some works. We take, for example, the history of the progeny of Brahmā, as referred to in the Ṛg Veda (X. 61. 5–9) and detailed in the Bṛhaddevatā (V. 143–159). In this account, we learn that Kaśyapa, the son of Marīchi and grandson of Brahmā, married *all the thirteen daughters* of Dakṣa. This very story is no doubt met with in the Ādi Parvan of the Mahābhārata, but for the names Variṣṭhā and Surabhi, we get Pradhā and Kapilā, as the names of two wives of Kaśyapa. Then again, we notice in the 35th chapter of the Śalya Parva, that Dakṣa's daughters were 27 instead of 13 in number; and these girls are all the wives of the moon-god. Later on, in the Mokṣa Dharma section of the Śanti Parva, the number of Dakṣa's daughters has increased to fifty. Then again in the Āraṇya Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, Dakṣa's daughters are said to be sixty in number, and only eight of them have been described to be the wives of Kaśyapa. We notice also another fact of chronological interest, in this family history of Brahmā: unlike the Vedic Purāṇa, the Rāmāyaṇa does not acknowledge Surabhi to be a wife of Kaśyapa; Surabhi has been made a regular cow, and from her dung and urine many non-Aryan tribes, including the Śakas, have been made to originate. The Mahābhārata traces the origin of many Indian tribes from the aforesaid excrescences, but the Śakas have not been included in the list. It is interesting to note that the word *śakadhūma* signifies cowdung in the Vedic language; no doubt taking advantage of this meaning of the word, a pun has been made in the Rāmāyaṇa in speaking of the origin of the foreigners, who by then must have settled in India. Thus we find that even on reference to some slight changes in the Pauraṇic stories, we can see which work is earlier and which is later in date. The readers bent upon research may easily compare the stories of different books to establish their chronology.

I proceed now to deal with another question, which has also a very great bearing on chronology. I attempt to show below, that the modern Purāṇas received only a little additional matter into them by way of accretion, from the 5th century onward, but they were not so changed as to be transformed into new works. I shall refer here to such additions as the Rājās at different centres effected through the help of their bards, to glorify new kings of their local traditions.

The scope and the character of the Purāṇa or the Purāṇas, made inevitable, that new lists of kings should be introduced with the progress of time. As the Purāṇas had to be recited to the people throughout

all ages to communicate to them the glory of the gods and the noble deeds of the ideal sages and kings, the language of the Purāṇa of one age could not but change at a subsequent time. Again with the expansion of Aryan influence in India, the new geographical names of countries, rivers, and mountains were required to be introduced. When we notice such changes wrought at a particular time, we cannot say that such and such a book containing evidence of such a late time, was really composed at such a late date.

Since the modern Purāṇas radically differ from the Vedic Purāṇas, both in mythology and in the narration of the stories, they may be said to be altogether new in their origin, and compiled long after the second century B.C. But the modern Purāṇas, having once been compiled, do not seem to have much changed in essential matters in subsequent times, for, from the allusions to the Purāṇas during the 5th and 6th centuries, we may conclude that the extant Purāṇas are in the main identical with the Purāṇas of those days. The additions or accretions of subsequent ages are to be regarded merely as additions and accretions. The old lists of kings handed down from the Vedic times must have been preserved in the new Purāṇas. When giving a genealogy of the Īkṣvāku Rājās, the Matsya Purāṇa states :—

atrānuvaṁśa-ślokoyaṃ viprair gītaḥ purātanaiḥ
Īkṣvākūnām-ayaṃ vaṁśaḥ sumitrānto bhaviṣyati.

Similar statements occur in all the Purāṇas, wherein old genealogies have been given. That the Paurāṇika lists of kings of very olden times are not fanciful, and that old chronology can be roughly established with their help, have been very ably shown by F. E. Pargiter in his masterly paper on the *Ancient Indian Genealogies and Chronology* in *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, pp. 1-56. I cannot resist the temptation of quoting his remark that "these old genealogies, with their incidental stories, are not to be looked upon as legends or fables, devoid of basis or substance, but contain genuine historical tradition and may well be considered and dealt with from a common-sense point of view."

Those who are in favour of the opinion, that the principal modern Purāṇas were compiled during the time of the Imperial Guptas, because of the fact that the royal genealogies do not go far beyond the limit of their time, ignore the fact that when after the Hūṇa invasion, the Gupta Empire was practically dissolved towards the end of the 5th century

A.D., the bards or chroniclers could not get any particular Royal House which could be designated as Imperial. The downfall of Hindu India commences from this date. Petty kingdoms commenced to grow all over India like mushrooms. In olden days, when the Indian Empire was not established under one overlord, the kingdoms and principalities of Northern India had such inter-relation amongst themselves, that dynastical genealogies and ballads of royal exploits could be inserted in the time-honoured Purāṇetihāsa.

But when, after the fall of the Imperial Guptas, a considerably large number of small kingdoms were established, no unity could be preserved, and no inter-relation could exist. I cannot deal with this political question elaborately here, beyond mentioning what actually took place. Every Rājā had his own bard, and he never failed to keep a fairly accurate genealogical list of his royal master's house, as is known to all scholars who deal with the epigraphic literature.

In this dark period of Hindu India, the Purāṇas, nay even the Mahābhārata-Saṁhitā, received interpolations to record the glory of the new tribal gods and the new local *tīrthas*. At different centres of importance, several Purāṇas received additional books of considerable bulk. Thus it was, that the Brahma Purāṇa swelled in bulk in Orissa, and the Agni Purāṇa obtained some new chapters at Gayā.

Beyond noticing these local additions or changes necessitated by the change of time, we cannot say, unless proved otherwise, that the Purāṇas have not retained their general form and character since their compilation. This time must be, as I have already stated, long after the second or even first century B.C.

I have stated above, that the Purāṇas originated when the Vedas were classified or divided to secure ritualistic convenience. This does not imply that Vyāsa was the author of the Purāṇetihāsa-literature. The Mahābhārata also does not assert it. It has been only stated in the Mahābhārata that Vyāsa taught the Purāṇa to some disciples of his, and in the hands of those disciples the Purāṇas were developed. But if we separate the Bhāratī-Kathā from the Purāṇas, we find that the Mahābhārata favours this opinion, that the Purāṇas owed their origin to Lomaharṣaṇa (XII, 319, 21), while the Bhāratī-Kathā was promulgated by the other disciples of Vyāsa (I. 1 *et seq.*). The name Lomaharṣaṇa is extremely interesting. A very good derivation of this name has been given in the Vāyu Purāṇa (I. 16):

lomāni harṣayāñ-cakre śrotṝṇām yat subhāṣitaiḥ.
karmaṇā prathitas-tena loke'-smin Lomaharṣaṇaḥ.

This shows clearly, that it was not a particular person to whom the authorship of the Purāṇas is to be attributed. Lomaharṣaṇa is a class-name to represent those persons, who by reciting some wonderful and thrilling stories to the people, made the hair to stand on the persons of the audience. That the 18 Purāṅas were composed at different times by different sages, has been clearly stated in many Purāṇas. The order in which the Purāṇas were compiled is also given generally in the Purāṇas. This order is as follows:—(1) Brahma, (2) Padma, (3) Viṣṇu, (4) Vāyu, or Śiva, (5) Bhāgavata, (6) Nāradīya, (7) Mārkaṇḍeya, (8) Agni, (9) Bhaviṣya, (10) Brahma-vaivarta, (11) Liṅga, (12) Varāha, (13) Skanda, (14) Vāmana, (15) Kūrma, (16) Matsya, (17) Garuḍa, (18) Brahmāṇḍa. That this list was inserted after the compilation of the Purāṇas is apparent on the face of it, for all the Purāṇas could not manage to copy one another.

The narrators of the Purāṇas have been designated generally by the class-name *Sūta*. The Sūtas and Māgadhas are held to be of low origin in the modern Smṛtis. (In the Vāyu Purāṇa also (I. 32 *et seq.*) a Sūta is said to have no right or *adhikāra* to study the Vedas. Some passages of the Mahābhārata-Saṁhitā also support this view. It is however to be noted, that the solemn introduction of Sauti in the Naimiṣāraṇya, as described in the introduction of the Mahābhārata, shows that the narrator of the Purāṇetihāsa was not a member of any degraded caste, but was one who could be honoured by the Brāhmaṇas. Many Purāṇas also show, that venerable munis like Mārkaṇḍeya and Nārada were the narrators of the Purāṇas. That in the Vedic times, very respectable Brāhmaṇas recited the Purāṇas, cannot be doubted. It may be owing to the fact, that the Paurāṇikas commenced to earn money by singing the ballads to the common people, that they lowered themselves in the estimation of others. Another reason for this degradation may be supposed. It may be, when the kings of Magadha became supreme in India, men other than Brāhmaṇas were employed as chroniclers and ballad-singers, and as such the Paurāṇikas were regarded to belong to a non-priestly class, though in reality they discharged some functions of the priests on ceremonial occasions.[10]

[10] Nowadays, there are many degraded Brāhmaṇas who have to discharge some important functions in connection with the śrāddha-ceremony of the high-class Hindus.

It is not difficult to understand, how once, long after the Vedic times, and previous to the time of the compilation of the Mahābhārata and the modern Purāṇas, the Purāṇa literature became non-Brāhmaṇical in the strict sense of the word. When the true Vedic priests extolled the Rājās, they chose only the ideal kings from the priestly point of view. For this reason, many Rājās of real note were not included in the old Brāhmaṇical lists of the kings, and many otherwise insignificant rulers were lauded by the Brāhmaṇas. This is what led the powerful kings to employ their own bards to sing their glorious exploits, and to record their family history. This Kṣatriya-Purāṇetihāsa was bound to be incorporated in the modern Brāhmaṇic Purāṇas, when the Brāhmaṇas had to depend upon the favour of the Royal Houses. In his paper referred to above, Mr. Pargiter has made the following remark touching this point :

"This Kṣatriya literature grew up in virtual independence of Brāhmaṇical literature, and only when it had developed into an imposing mass and had attained great popular appreciation, was it taken over by the Brāhmaṇas as a not unworthy branch of knowledge. It was then that it was arranged and augmented with stories and discourses fashioned after Brāhmaṇical ideas."

It must be mentioned, however, that very respectable Brāhmaṇas nowadays recite Purāṇas in India on ceremonial occasions, and no one is degraded because of this profession.

THE DATIVE PLURAL IN PĀLI.

PAṆḌIT SURENDRANATH MAJUMDAR, SASTRI, M.A.

The sûtra of Vararuci says *caturthyāḥ shashṭhī*, which means that the genitive case-endings regularly take the place of dative case-endings which do not occur in the Prākrits. That is also the case with Pāli which, however, retains a few dative *singulars* used to denote intention. Why has the Sanskrit dative disappeared in the Prakritic dialects which have retained all the other cases? Why has the dative plural disappeared first and the singular afterwards? Is there no trace left of the dative plural form in Pāli which has preserved even a few duals?[1] These are questions which have not yet been answered.

In the first place what would be the form of the dative plural suffix in Pāli and Prākrit? The Sanskrit dative and ablative plural suffix is *bhyas*. As *bhyas* is not added to the weak base of a changeable stem, it is not an accented suffix. Its *ya* being not accented is susceptible of being changed into *i* as is the case in Pāli *nigrodha* (न्यग्रोध), *majjhima* (मध्यम), etc.[2] and Prākrit *abbhintara* (अभ्यन्तर), *iāṇa* (व्यजन), *tiricchi* (तिर्यक), etc. Then the final *s* disappears.[3] Thus the Skt. dative and ablative plural suffix *bhyas* will be *bhi* or *hi* in Pāli and Prākrit. That the ablative plural suffix is *bhi* or *hi* in Pāli is known to all students. The theoretical dative form will also be the same. As the instrumental, dative and ablative plural suffixes thus became, thanks to the operation of the usual laws of "phonetic decay," identical in form, much confusion was certainly caused. This difficulty was obviated by restricting *bhi* or *hi* for the purposes of the instrumental and the ablative only, the function of the dative being transferred to the genitive. Even the same form for the instrumental and ablative caused confusion, and hence the speakers of Prākrit introduced a new device. To the old ablative suffix *hi* or *hiṁ* (which was formed by adding a nasal in order to compensate for the loss of the final *s*), they

[1] For traces of duals in Pāli, see Müller, *Pali Grammar*, p. 65.

[2] Victor Henry's *Précis de Grammaire Pâlie*, § 110.

[3] *Ibid.*, § 49.

added the *taddhita*-suffix *to* (Skt. *tas* which expresses the idea of ablative) and formed the new Prākrit ablative suffix *hiṁto*. So much for the origin of the Pāli and Prākrit instrumental, dative and ablative suffixes. Let us now search for Pāli forms ending in *hi* or *bhi* the meanings of which conclusively show that they are datives and not instrumentals or ablatives.

From the inscriptions of Aśoka I quote the following passages to show that dative plural existed in epigraphic Pāli.

(1) Barābar cave inscription No. *A* incised in the thirteenth year after Aśoka's coronation runs thus:—*lājinā Piyadasinā duvāḍasa (vasābhi . . .) i(ya)ṁ (nigo)hakubhā dinā ā(jivi)kehi.*[4] *dinā ājivikehi* (दत्ता आजीविकेभ्यः) means 'given to the *ājīvikas*'. M. Senart takes *ājīvikehi* as an instrumental in form but a locative in meaning.[5] But my remarks on the change of *bhyas* into *bhi or hi* will suffice to convince one that it is a dative in form. That it is a dative in meaning requires no proof.

(2) Barābar cave inscription No. *B* also uses the identical expression *lājinā Piyadasinā duvādasavasābhisitenā iyaṁ kubhā khalatika-pavatasi dinā ā(jīvikehi)*.

(3 & 4) In the third Rock Edict of Aśoka[6] we find the following extracts:—

Girnar (l. 4–5)	*bāmhaṇa-samaṇānaṁ sādhu dānaṁ.*
Kalsi (l. 7)	*baṁbhana-samanānaṁ-ca sādhu dāne.*
Dhauli (l. 11)	*baṁbhana-samanehi sādhu dāne.*
Jaugaḍa (l. 13)	*baṁbhana-samanehi sādhu dāne.*
Shahbazgarhi (l. 7)	*bramaṇa-(śra)maṇa(naṁ)sa . . .*
Mansera (l. 11)	*bramaṇa-śramananaṁ sādhu dāne.*
[Skt. translation	ब्राह्मण-श्रमणेभ्यः च साधुदानम्]

The text means 'Liberality to Brahmans and ascetics is meritorious.' The Dhauli and Jaugaḍa versions contain the dative form

[4] Bühler's text in *Ind. Ant.* XX, p. 361.

[5] "I take it,—not as an ablative, which would be unintelligible both here and in the other places where the word occurs,—not as representing a dative, we should in that case rather expect *ājivikānāṁ*,—but as an instrumental, in the sense of the locatives. In dealing with the *Mahāvastu*, I have had occasion to quote numerous instances of this peculiarity in the syntax of Buddhist Sanskrit (*Mahāvastu*, I, 387, etc.)." Dr. Grierson's translation of Senart's *Inscriptions of Piyadasi*, Vol. II, p. 71 of reprint.

[6] Bühler's text in Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, and A.S.S.I. (Amarâvati Stûpa).

ending in *hi*, whereas the other versions use the genitive. It we take the *hi* as an instrumental or ablative suffix, there will neither be any good sense, nor shall we be able to explain the use of the genitive (of the other versions) instead of the instrumental or ablative.

(5–7) In Rock Edict XII we read:—

G. (l. 8) *ye ca tatra tate prasaṁnā tehi vatayvaṁ.*

K. (l. 34) *e-va-tata-tata pashaṁnā te(hi).*

S. (l. 7–8) *ye ca tatra tatra prasana teshaṁ vatavo.*

M. (l. 7) *e ca tatra tatra prasana tehi vataviye.*

[Skt. ये च तत्र तत्र प्रसन्नाः तेभ्यः वक्तव्यम्]

Here also the genitive of the Shahbazgarhi version shows, and the meaning requires, that *tehi* should be taken as standing for the Skt. dative form *tebhyaḥ*. *Tebhyaḥ vaktavyaṁ* means 'to them this is to be said.'

(8–10). The cave inscriptions of Daśaratha, the grandson of Aśoka, in the Nāgārjuni hills are identical in form and purpose with the Barābar cave inscriptions. Here also grants of caves to the *ājīvikas* are recorded with *dative forms in hi*:—*bhadantehi ājīvikehi*, 'to the venerable *ājīvikas*.'

We thus see that there are in the inscriptions of Aśoka and of his grandson ten instances of the use of dative plural in 'Epigraphic Pāli.' These occur not only in one version or at one place, but at such distant places as Dhauli, Jaugaḍa, Barābar hills, Nāgārjuni hills, Kalsi, Mansera and Girnar. In Barābar and Nāgārjuni cave inscriptions the dative is the only form in use showing that the old form was better preserved in the Māgadhī. As for the Rock edicts (which were doubtless drafted at Pāṭaliputra in the Māgadhī and were re-written in the provincial dialects at the provincial headquarters), some versions use the dative and some the genitive. The Shahbazgarhi text is the only version which has not used even once the dative form.

To sum up: The dative plural suffix *bhyas* became *bhi* or *hi* in Prākritic dialects. As *bhi* or *hi* is the instrumental suffix also, much confusion was caused. Hence the genitive came to be used instead of the dative. We find promiscuous use of the dative and genitive plurals in 'Epigraphic Pāli.' If the old Buddhist and Jaina texts be carefully examined in this light, some instances of the dative plural

will be found in 'Literary Pāli' and Prākrit also. When the origin of the dative plural suffix *hi* or *bhi* was forgotten, it disappeared completely; for it was then an error of grammar to use the instrumental suffix *hi* as a dative suffix. When the genitive plural began to be used for the dative plural, their singular forms also came to be confused in use. This confusion in the singular was also helped by the fact that in the language of the later Vedic texts the dative singular of feminine nouns was used for the genitive. But as the dative singular Prākritic form had not, like its plural, been confused in shape with any other form, it lingered longer than the dative plural. Dative singular is almost as common in Aśokan dialects as in Sanskrit. It lingered in literary Pāli but died out in the Prākrits of the Dramas.

BODHĀYANA'S PRĀYAŚCITTA FOR SEA-VOYAGE.

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Bodhāyana in his Dharmasūtra (II. 1. 41) says—*samudrasaṃyānam ..... eṣāmanyatamat kṛtvā caturthakālāmitabhojinaḥ syuḥ apo'bhyapeyuḥ savanānukalpam sthānāsanābhyām viharanta ete tribhirvarṣaistadapahanti pāpam.* Translated literally, this means—'Sea-voyage (and a few other acts enumerated) ...., having done any one of these acts, people should eat sparsely at the fourth part of the day, should enter water in the morning, at midday and in the evening; *amusing themselves by sitting and standing, they destroy that sin after three years.*'

The exact meaning of the expiatory rite here prescribed has never been understood. Whenever the question of sea-voyage has come up for discussion, the antagonists of the voyage have held that by the last clause Bodhāyana clearly meant that the voyager should have to commit suicide; to spend three years 'standing and sitting', i.e. without any sleep—would be nothing short of self-immolation. The protagonists of sea-voyage felt all along that the passage could not mean this; though they were unable to suggest any other plausible explanation. They thought that even if suicide were actually meant, there were more effective means available of doing that; and in fact the ordinance that 'the man shall not sleep for three years' looked absurd on the face of it.

In course of my study of the Dharmaśāstra texts, I have met with the phrase '*sthānāsanābhyām viharet*' in more than one place.

(1) In the *Padmapurāṇa* (Ādi-khaṇḍa, 58. 26) we read in course of the description of the duties of the Vānaprastha, the man in the third stage of life—*sthānāsanābhyām viharet na kvacid dhairyamutsṛjet,* 'he shall divert himself with sitting and standing, and shall not renounce his steadiness on any point.'

The committing of suicide certainly could not form a duty of the ordinary Vānaprastha, the hermit retiring from active life to a life of meditation and worship.

(2) In *Yājñavalkya* (III. 51) we read—*sthānāsanavihārairvā yogābhyāsena vā tathā (dinam nayet)*, where the *Mitākṣarā* adds the explanation—*kañcit kālam sthānam kañcit copaveśanam*, 'for some time he shall sit, and for some time he shall stand'—in this manner he shall spend the day.

(3) *Manu*, dealing with the life-long religious student, says (II. 248) that when his Ācārya is dead, and neither the preceptor's son, nor his wife, nor his *sapiṇḍa* happen to be living,—*sthānāsanavihāravān .... prayuñjāno'gniśuśrūṣām sādhayād-dehamātmanaḥ*, on which Mēdhātithi says, *kadācit tiṣṭhet kadācid āsīta evam viharet*, at times he shall stand, and at times sit down, in this manner he shall divert himself.

But he goes on to add another explanation offered "by others" —*anye tu manyante sthānāya, svastikādinā yad āsanam dhyānakāle tat sthānāsanam', 'vihāro' bhikṣācaraṇādi*. By this the passage would mean that 'the man shall practise the *postures* prescribed in connection with yogic practices and live on alms.'

But Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa explains the text to mean a particular form of austerity consisting in 'standing, sitting and wandering.'

(4) Again, *Manu* (VI. 22) says, *sthānāsanābhyam viharet'* where Medhātithi says, '*sthānāsanābhyām dine, rātrau tu kevala sthaṇḍilashāyitām vakṣyati*'; by which also the text means—'he shall spend the day in standing and sitting.'

(5) Lastly in *Manu* (XI. 224) we meet with the same expression; and here it forms part of the *kṛcchra*—penance.

From all this it is clear that the phrase could never have been intended to lay down any thing so physically impossible as passing three years 'without sleep.' In fact a careful study of all the above texts leads us to the conclusion that what is meant by the words '*sthānāsanābhyām viharet*' is exactly what is expressed by the Hindi idiom '*uṭha baiṭha kara samaya bitānā*'; and the sense would appear to be that the man shall have recourse no other diversion or amusement, save what may be obtained by 'standing or sitting.'

A SANSKRIT VERSION OF YASNA IX.

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Avesta and Sanskrit have always been cited as examples of two closely allied languages. These two ancient tongues have now been recognised as the most closely knit group in the Indo-European family of languages. The ancient name *Āryan* has now been definitely assigned only to this group, for these were the two peoples of antiquity—the Iranian and the Indian—who called themselves by that proud name of अइर्यं or आर्यं. And this fact also emphasises the next point of resemblance between the two languages—a point of far greater importance than the mere formal similarity in words—the close accord, namely, that exists *in spirit* between these two. It is not the object of this paper to set out at great length the numerous points of resemblance in the religion and culture of these two peoples. What is sought here is to bring home to the reader by means of a concrete example this similarity between these two.

I have therefore attempted to make a new Sanskrit version of the ninth chapter of the *Yasna* popularly known as the first part of the *Haoma Yašt*. I have chosen this particular piece for several reasons. In the first place, it is a hymn of the Avesta with which I am most familiar and at which I have worked the longest. Secondly, the subject-matter itself is interesting and would naturally attract the Vedic student. And lastly, it has already been *twice* rendered into Sanskrit. The first rendering was by the great Zoroastrian Priest, Dastur Nairyosang Dhaval.[1] This rendering dates about the year 1200 A.D.[2] This version is based more upon the Pahlavi rendering rather than on

The following are the principal abbreviations used in the notes. Barth(olomae's Altiranisches) W(örter)b(uch), Grass(mann's) W(örter)b(uch zum Rigveda); Jack(son's Avesta Grammar); Kan(ga's Khordeh Avesta-bā Maēnī); Modi('s) Dict(ionary of Proper names in the Avesta); Whit(ney's Sanskrit Grammar). The others are self-evident.

[1] *The Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsis*; Pts. I-IV (Bombay, 1906) edited by Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha.

[2] *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, II, p. 50.

the original Avesta. And, moreover, it has got special peculiarities of language, which may bring a smile on the face of a Sanskrit Pandit. The work however was evidently meant for the use of the Hindus in order to give them some idea of the religion of the Parsis. The later Gujarāti translations of the Indian Zoroastrians are based on this Sanskrit version.[3] Bharucha enumerates some of the special peculiarities of the Sanskrit of Nairyosang.[4] Among them the most notable are the use of Gujarāti and Pahlavi words in the Sanskrit. But even with all his peculiarities the work of Nairyosang is a most remarkable attempt; and inasmuch as he represents the unbroken Pahlavi tradition—inherited from a long गुरुपरम्परा—he is invaluable for every Sanskrit knowing student of Avesta.[5]

The second attempt is a most remarkable one. It is the translation made into Sanskrit and Bengali by Pandit Vidhuśekhara Bhaṭṭāchārya, Śāstri, of Śāntiniketan, Bolpur. A portion of it (verses 1-16) was published in the Bengali Magazine *Prabāsī* for *Āṣāḍ* and *Bhādra*, Bengal Samvat 1327. It is a very accurate piece of work and the learned Pandit has fully realised the identity of the languages and hence has also caught the true spirit of Avesta. I have had the pleasure of personal acquaintance with Pandit Vidhuśekhara and he very generously put his manuscript notes for the remaining verses (17-32) entirely at my disposal for the purpose of this article. For this I have to make to him my grateful acknowledgments. In fact this essay is to all intents our joint work even though it appears under one name only.

As to the plan of this translation I have attempted, I must begin by saying that I intend it *primarily* for the Hindu Pandit. The time has now come when the orthodox type of Vedic students must enlarge their horizon, and if the Pandits take kindly to Avesta they would find a deal of new light thrown on many an obscure question of Vedic interpretation. In the second place I intend this attempt also for my own co-religionists. Our Parsi scholars (with a few exceptions) are sadly lacking in the knowledge of Sanskrit, and especially of Vedic Sanskrit. And for us too the time has come to enlarge the range of our vision and to supplement our traditions with Vedic lore. Hence I have adopted a system of transliteration of Avesta into Sanskrit (*Devanāgari*) charac-

[3] Bharucha, op. cit., Pt. I, Preface.

[4] Ib.

[5] Especially for those who are not conversant with Pahlavi in the original.

ters, so that the similarity may be *apparent* to the reader. I have translated the verses line by line and have not changed the word-order in the least, so as to give an idea of the metre and rhythm of the original. I have freely "coined" new words and forms, but I have tried to give reasons for my new creations[6] in the notes immediately following each verse. As for proper names and for words denoting special Avestic ideas I have retained them in their original shapes, but they are printed with the initial letter in bolder type. Explanatory notes are added wherever necessary. I have also given extracts from Nairyosang's version and from the published portion of Pandit Vidhuśekhara's translation.

This is the first attempt of a Parsi student, whose knowledge of Sanskrit and Avesta is like the "little Latin and less Greek" mentioned of a far greater person. However, I make this attempt for what it is worth and I would beg for patience from my scholarly readers in the words (with slight changes) of Kālidāsa :—

क्व स्वर्गप्रभवे भाषे क्व चाल्पविषया मतिः ।
तितीर्षुर्दुस्तरं मोहादुडुपेनास्मि सागरम् ॥
अथवा कृतवाग्द्वारे शास्त्रेऽस्मिंस्तत्त्वदर्शिभिः ।
मणौ वज्रसमुत्कीर्णे सूत्रस्येवास्ति मे गतिः ॥

In the system of transliteration here adopted I have used *Bengali* letters for the affricate sounds and the other special sounds of Avesta which differ from the Sanskrit.

Roman.[7]	Devanāgari.	Remarks.
a	अ	
ā	आ	
i	इ	
ī	ई	
u	उ	With Bengali letters this appears as .
ū	ऊ	With Bengali letters this appears as .

[6] These new creations are indicated by an asterisk (*) preceding that word. Even in cases where a Sanskrit word is used in a special sense I have used the asterisk. In two or three cases I have had to substitute an entirely different word in order to keep closer to the *sense* of the original.

[7] The *Roman* transliteration is adapted from Bartholomae's *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (Strassburg, 1904).

ə	এ (ে-)	Pron. like এ in Ben. এক.
ə̄	ঐ (ৈ-)	Like the above but *slightly* longer, say, 2½ *mātrās*. *Not* like Ben. ঐ.
e	ए (े)	
ē	ऐ (ै)	Like ए but 2½ *mātrās* long. *Not* like ऐ.
o	ও (ো)	Almost like *o* in *not*.
ō	ओ	
å	आो (-ाो)	Pronounced आओ [3].
ą	आँ (-ाँ)	Nasalized आ, like the French *an*.

[*N.B.*—The combination *ərə* (এ্র) is generally *written* for Sanskrit ऋ, and I have used the ordinary Sanskrit ऋ to transcribe this combination in all places except where the metre would be spoilt.]

k	क्	
x	ख्	This is a *Spirant*, like Pers. خ, or *ch* in *loch*. (The combination ख् + ष् has been transcribed क्ष्.)
g	ग्	
γ	घ्	Spirant like Pers. غ.
ŋ	ङ्	
ŋ́	ङ्	This is a कण्ठतालु-sound used only with the तालव्य vowels इ and ए.
c	च्	
j	ज्	
t	त्	
t̰	ट्	Mostly final in a word or syllable.
θ	थ्	Spirant, like *th* in *thin*.
d	द्	
δ	ध्	Spirant, like *th* in *thine*.
n	न्	
ŋ	ं	Corresponds to the अनुस्वार and is used before च्- and त्- classes.
p	प्	
f	फ्	Spirant, like Pers. ف, Eng. *f*.
b	ब्	

[3] The Sanskritist must note that every vowel is pronounced *separately* in Avesta.

w	व़	Spirant; this comes nearest the Marathi or Bengali representation of the Eng. *v*.[9]
m	म्	
y	य्	
r	र्	
v	व्	
š	श़्	
ś	श्	Used only before य.
ṣ	ष्	This is not exactly the मूर्धन्य, but comes very near it.
s	स्	
z	ज़्	Spirant, just like the Eng. *z*.
ž	ज़्	Spirant, like *z* in *azure*.
h	ह्	
x	ख़्व[10]	Spirant conjunct like the Pers. خو.
x́	ख़्य[10]	Spirant, used only before य.

As already mentioned above, this chapter of the Yasna is metrical. I have followed Geldner's text with but slight variations.[11] In some places I have scanned those passages which Geldner has printed in prose. Those words which I regard as later interpolations and therefore interfering with the metre (or sense) I have enclosed in brackets ( ). I have tried to follow the metre in Sanskrit too, but it is obviously defective there. The main reason for this seems to be the essential difference between the accent systems of the two languages—in the Veda the accent is *musical*, while in Avesta it is a strong *stress*, mostly on the penult. I have had to insert particles occasionally in the Sanskrit version which do not occur in the original for the sake of पादपूर्ति, and these are enclosed in square brackets [ ].

1.

हावनीम् आ रतूम् आ   सवनिम् आ ऋतुम् आ
हओमो उपाइत् ज़रथुश्त्रम्।   सोम उपैत् जरथुष्ट्रम्।

[9] e.g. Mar. व्हिक्टोरिया and Ben. भिक्टोरिया for *Victoria*.

[10] These two are really conjuncts corresponding to Sanskrit ख्व and ख्य respectively. The first part in each is a strong spirant pronounced almost like the χ (ख़्). It will be noted that the second letter has not been used at all in this piece.

[11] I have followed the text and metrical arrangement adopted by me in my *Selections from Avesta and Old Persian* (Cal. Uni., 1921).

आत्रेम् पइरि-यओक्ष-दाथेंञ्तेम् [12]	अत्रिम् *परि-योस्-दधन्तम् ।
गाथाँस्-च स्रावयञ्तेम् ।	गाथाश्च[ापि] श्रावयन्तम् ॥
आ-दिम् पॆरसत् (ज़रथुश्त्रो) को नरॆ अही	आ तम् पृच्छत् (जरथुश्त्रः) को नर् असि
यिम् अजॆम् वीस्पहे अङ्हेउश् ।	यम् अहं विश्वस्य असोः ।
अस्त्वतो स्रएश्तेम् दादरॆस	*अस्थिवतः श्रेष्ठम् ददर्श
ह्वहे गयेहे ख्वन्वतो (अमेषहे) ॥	स्वस्य गयस्य *स्वन्वतो (अमृतस्य) ॥

At the hour (of) early morning Haoma came up to Zaraθuštra, (who was) cleaning (the altar) for the fire and (was) chanting the Gāθās. Unto him asked Zaraθuštra: "Who, O Hero, art thou, whom I see the noblest of all material creation, shining with (thine) own eternal light?"

The *pādas* in the Sanskrit are to be pronounced according to the rules of Vedic metre to get the verse correct. Thus in the first *pāda* the second आ is to be pronounced अआ.

अत्रिम् is here used as synonymous with अग्नि. This epithet is used for अग्नि in RV., II. 8. 5, अत्रिमनु स्वराज्यमग्निमुक्थानि वावृधुः, where Sāyaṇa explains the word as "the devourer of oblation"—from अद् + त्रि.[13]

*परि-योस्-दधन्तम्—I have made a comp. verb here after the manner of Av.[14] योस् is found in RV. in the sense of "health" or "well being" especially united with शम् (Grass., Wb. 1125). And it is found five times in the RV. with √धा (as here)[14a] and once in White Yajurveda.[14b] The meaning here is "cleaning (the altar) all round" for receiving the fire.

गाथाः here mean the sacred hymns of the Av

असोः—The word अहु (Skt. असु) is used in Av. to mean all life whatever and it is mentioned as being twofold in character अस्त्वत् (Skt. *अस्थिवत्), i.e. corporeal and मनह्य (spiritual).

ददर्श—The tense value is *present* here.[15] The sense of the first per. of the perf. of Skt. is *not* to be read into the Av.

गयस्य—The Av. √गी (Skt. जी-जीव्) means to live. The Gr. *βίος* (life) is also from the same root. The word गय occurs in RV., VII.

[12] Compound words are indicated thus with hyphens between the components. This is also done with the enclitic particles like च which are always added on to the preceding word. [13] See also Whit., § 1185g.

[14] See below verse 31 and Kan.'s *Av. Gram.*, § 535; also Whit. §§ 1090-95.

[14a] I. 93. 7, VI. 50. 7, VIII. 39. 4, X. 15. 4 and X. 37. 11. [14b] XIX. 55.

[15] Whit., § 823.

19. 1 in the sense "goods" or "wealth"[16] (यः शश्वतो अदाशुषो गयस्य प्रयन्तासि सुष्वितराय वेदः). But in the Bṛhad. Up., V. 14. 4, the word is also found in the sense of प्राण or "vital breath" or "life"—एषा गयांस्तत्रे प्राणा वै गयाः... तद्यद्गयांस्तत्रे तस्माद्गायत्री.

*स्वन्वतः—I have made up this form from Skt. √स्वन्. In Av. the √श्वन् means to shine or to flash forth. It seems to be the same as the Skt. स्वन्, to sound. The latter is used in the Veda for flickering fire or flash lightning and the transference of meaning from the flicker to the crackling, and from the flash to the thunder-clap, is not at all unnatural. It would be hard to say, however, which of the two was the more ancient meaning. Passages like RV., I. 94. 11 (अध स्वनादुत बिभ्युः पतत्रिणः); RV., II. 4. 6 (आ यो वना तातृषाणो न भाति वार्ण पथा रथ्येव स्वानीत्); and others, where it is used of अग्नि, show the transition stage. The close connection of thunder and lightning is, of course, obvious: as for instance, RV., V. 87.5 (स्वनो न वोऽमवान्रेजयद्वृषा त्वेषो ययिस्तविष एवयामरुत्); and RV., X. 75. 3 (दिवि स्वनो यतते भूम्योपर्यनन्तं शुष्ममुदियर्ति भानुना). The Maitri Up., VI. 5, seems to use the word स्वनवती in the Av. sense—स्वनवत्येषास्य तनुर्या ओमिति.

It may be noted in passing that in "classical" Skt. we should say स्वेन गयेन स्वन्वन्तम्.

Nairyosang:

... अग्निं परितः पावयन्तम्। (किल अग्निस्थानं परिवर्तुलं स्थापितुं अभीप्सन्तम्)[17]। गाथाश्च समुद्गिरन्तम्।...निजेन जीवेन सुंदरक्षतेन अमरेण। (किल येन निजो जीवः सद्व्यापारतया अमरः कृतः...)॥

Pandit Vidhuśekhara:

सवनीम् आ ऋतुम् आ (सवनसमये)...ऊताग्रम् परियजन्तम् (संस्कुर्वन्तम्...) यम् अहम् विश्वस्य असोः (भुवनस्य) अस्थन्वतः (अस्थिमतः भूतमयस्य)...स्वस्य गयस्य (जीवनस्य) उज्ज्वलस्य अमृतस्य॥

2.

आअत् मे अएम् पइत्यओख्त	आत् मेऽयं प्रत्यवोचत
हओमो अषव दूरओषो।	सोमो ऋतावा दुरोषः।

16 Grass., Wb. 386.

17 The portions in brackets ( ) are explanatory comments of Nairyosang. These are almost always introduced by the particle किल, which he uses like the phrase "that is to say". Nair. gives the traditional meaning.

अजेम् अह्मि जरथुश्त्र	अहमस्मि जरथुश्त्र
हओमो अषव दूरओषो ।	सोमो ऋतावा दुरोषः ।
आ-मांम् यासङुह स्पितम	आ माम् याचस्व स्पितम
फ्रा-मांम् ऊन्वङुह स्वरेतैए ।	प्र मां सुनुष्व अन्नये ।
अओइ मांम् स्तओमइने स्तुइधि	अभि मां स्तोमनि *स्तुधि
यथ मा (अपरचिथ्) सओश्यङ्तो स्तवांन् ॥	यथा मा (*अपरेचित्) सोष्यन्तः *स्तवान् ॥

Thereupon this Haoma, the righteous, hard to overcome, replied unto me: "I am, O Zaraϑuštra, Haoma, the righteous, hard to overcome. Fix (thy) desires earnestly upon me, O Spitama, worship me (in order) to enjoy (of me), hymn me in hymn(s) of praise, as the other Saošyants have praised me".

प्रत्यवोचत—It may be noted that the Av. form is in the ātm. The form प्रत्युक्तवान् would suggest the weak grade of ātm. as used in Av.

ऋतावा is the exact philological equivalent of the Av. अषव.[18]

दुरोषः—The word is from दूर and a derivative of √उष् to shine (cf. उषस्). Barth. in his *Handbuch d. altiran. Dialekte* explains it as meaning "possesing far-spreading radiance". Others render it as "he who keeps off disease" or "he who keeps away death" (see Pt. Vidhuśekhara's version below). In the Veda the words दुरोष: and दुरोषस् are found in three places—in one place as an epithet of सोम. The passages are :—

RV., IV. 21. 6, आ दुरोषाः पास्त्यस्य होता यो नो महान्संवरणेषु वह्निः ।

RV., VIII. 1. 13, वनानि न प्रजहितान्यद्रिवो दुरोषासो अमन्महि ।

and RV., IX. 101. 3, तं दुरोषमभी नरः सोमं विश्वाच्या धिया ।

This has led Jackson to put down दुरोष as the equivalent of दूरओषो (Av. Reader, p. 73) which Barth. however rejects summarily (Wb. 751-752). The difficulty of reconciling the दु in Skt. with the दू in Av. is obvious, but is not insuperable; and in the first passage from RV. quoted above the word दुरोषाः (as it stands) does not quite fit in with the metre (as noted by Grass., Wb. 614), unless we read दूरओषाः. The meaning given by Grass. is "he who is not to be harmed". Sāyaṇa says दुर्दहः or दुर्वधः but he explains it differently in different passages. It may also be noted that the पद text shows no अवग्रह.

[18] See my article on ऋषि in this volume.

स्पितम is the name of one of the ancestors of Zaraθuštra and is used here as a patronymic. The word is philologically *श्वितम (श्वेततम ?) in Skt. See also स्पानो below, in verse 22.

खन्नवे is not the philological equivalent of ख्वरेथैद्द but it expresses the meaning exactly ("for enjoyment"). The Skt. root corresponding is स्वर् which has not the same sense. For the form खन्नु see Jack. §§ 806-807 and Whit. §§ 1162 and 1194.

*स्तुधि on the analogy of श्रुधि.

सोष्यन्तः (plu.) are the great spiritual leaders, who appear into the world from time to time to lead mankind to better ways and to re-establish the Law of अष (ऋत) in this corporeal world. This is in form the fut. part. paras. of √सु (च्यु ?) to strive, to serve[19].

*स्तवान् is a form made irregularly after the analogy of श्रयान्[20].

Nairyosang :

...ह्रमो मुक्तिमान् दूरम्हत्युः। (अस्य दूरम्हत्युता च इयं यत् म्हत्युं आत्मनो मनुष्याणां दूरे दधाति...)।...प्रक्षष्टं मां परिसंस्कारं कुरु खादनाय। (आहारार्थं संमार्जय)।...

Pandit Vidhuśekhara :

...ऋतावा (पवित्रः) दूरौषः (दूरम्हत्युः)[21]...।...मां सुनुष्व पानाय...सबोष्यन्तः (उपदेशकाः)...।

3.

आअत् अओख्त जरथुश्त्रो (नेमो हओमाइ)।	आत् अवोचत जरथुश्त्रो (नमः सोमाय)।
कस्-थ्वांम् पओइर्यो हओम मश्यो	कस्त्वां पूर्व्यः सोम मर्त्यः
अस्त्वइथ्याइ सुनूत गएथ्याइ।	*अस्थिवत्यै सुनुत गेथायै।
का अह्माइ अश्रिस् ऋनावि	क अस्मा आशीः *ऋणावि
चित् अह्माइ जसत् आयप्तेम्॥	किम् अस्मै गच्छत् आप्तम्॥

Thereupon said Zaraθuštra: "Salutation unto Haoma! Which mortal, O Haoma, (was) the first (who) worshipped thee for (the sake of) the material world? What blessing unto him was granted? What profit to him accrued?"

गेथायै—The word गएथा in Av. means the world of life and is cognate

[19] Cf. च्यौतन (Av. श्यओथ्न), see below verse 31.

[20] Whit., § 560e.

[21] Explained further in a footnote as: यिनि मृत्युके दूरे हटान.

with गय in verse 1 above. The later Pahlavi form is गीति (Pers. گيتي *gīti*) world, and so I have made Skt. *गेथा. The form is from गी to live (see गय above) + था (Whit., § 1163a), the guṇa being irregularly taken to be nearer the Av. form (Jack. § 793). Pronounce here गेथ्या.

*अस्थिवत्यै—I have made this irregular form on analogy of the Av., using the base अस्थि instead of अस्थन्. The form अस्थन्वन्त् is found in RV., I. 164.4 (को ददर्श प्रथमं जायमानमस्थन्वन्तं यदनस्था बिभर्ति) and here the meaning is exactly that of the Avesta word. I have chosen this irregular form for metrical reasons. It should be read अस्थ्वत्यै.

*ऋगावि—I have made a passive aorist in इ from a root ऋग. This root is mentioned in the गणदर्पण as belonging to the तन्-(8th-) class and meaning गति or प्राप्ति. The form has been explained by Jackson[22] as being irregular in keeping on the विकरण.

किम्—The Av. form चिद् is not used as a pron. in Skt.

आप्तम्—The word means profit or advantage (from आ + आप). Cf. कामस्य यत्राप्ताः कामास्तत्र माममृतं कृधीन्द्रायेन्दो परि स्रव RV., IX. 113. 11. Pronounce as आआप्तम् to get the metre right.

Nairyosang :

...कस्त्वां पूर्वं हूम मनुष्येषु स्थितिमति संस्कृतवान् जगति। कां तस्मै उपकृति चकृषे। ...। किं तस्मै संप्राप समृद्धत्वम् ॥

Pandit Vidhuśekhara :

कः त्वां पौर्यः (प्रथमः)...मर्त्यः अस्थन्वत्यै (=अस्थिमत्यै=भूतमत्यै) (अ-)सुनुत जगत्यै? का अस्मै आशीः अर्पिता? किम् अस्मै (अ-)गच्छत् आप्तव्यम् ॥

4.

आअद् मे अएम् पइत्यओख़्त	आत् मेऽयं प्रत्यवोचत
हओमो अषव दूरओषो।	सोमो ऋतावा दुरोषः।
वीवङ्हाओ माम् पओइर्यो मश्यो	विवस्वान् मां पूर्व्यो मर्त्यः
अस्त्वइथ्याइ हुनूत गएथ्याइ।	*अस्थिवत्यै सुनुत गेथायै।
हा अह्माइ अषिस् ऋनावि	सा अस्मा आशीः *ऋगावि
तद् अह्माइ जसद् आयप्तेम्।	तदस्मै गच्छत् आप्तम्।

[22] Jack., § 668, note.

यꣿ हे पुथ्रो उस-ज़यत	यदस्य पुत्र *उज्जायत
यो यिमो क्षएतो ह्वाꣿथ्वो ।	यो यमः *च्चेतः सुवन्ता ।
ह्वरेनङुहस्तेमो ज़ातनाम्	*स्वरगावत्तमो जातानाम्
ह्वरे-दरेसो मश्यानाम् ।	*स्वदृश्यो मर्त्यानाम् ।
यꣿ क्रनओꣿ अह्मइ क्षथ्राथ	यत् कृणोदस्य क्षत्रादा
अमरꣿधन्त पसु-वीर ।	अमरिष्यन्ता पशुवीरा ।
अहुषꣿन्ने आप-उर्वइरे ।	अशुष्यमाने *आपोर्वरे ।
ख्वइर्याꣿन् ख्वरेथेम् अजयम्नेम् ॥	अक्षितवे अशनम् *अज्येयम् ॥

Thereupon this Haoma, the righteous, hard to overcome, replied unto me: "Vīvaŋhvat (was) the first mortal (who) worshipped me for (the sake of) the material world. This blessing unto him was granted, this profit to him accrued: namely, to him a son was born, who (was) Yima the King, the magnificent, the most resplendent of (all) created beings, (who shone forth) among mortals like unto the sun in appearance: who made during his rule both animals and human beings undying, (and) waters and vegetation ever fresh; (there was) inexhaustible food for feeding (his subjects)".

उज्जायत—I have followed in Skt. the Av. practice of dropping the augment. The Vedic language often drops the augment as in RV. IV. 2. 7 (अतिथिमुदीरत्) and other places, but not to such an extent as the Av.

*च्चतः—Ruler; from √च्चि to rule. The form च्चित् is found in Skt. as in अधिच्चित् (विश्वामासामभयानामधिच्चितं गीर्भिरु स्वयशसं गृणीमसि, RV., X. 92. 14) and in compound words like विश्वच्चित् and महिच्चित्. The name परिच्चित् also seems to belong to the same formation.

सुवन्ता—This seems the nearest in meaning to the Av. The original word in Av. is from √वन् with suffix थ्व(त्व), which suffix in Av. forms nouns also while in Skt. it forms only gerundives.[23] For वन्तृ in the Veda, cf. RV., III. 30. 18 (रायो वन्तारो बृहतः स्याम) and RV., VII. 8. 3. (कदा भवेम पतयः सुदत्र रायो वन्तारो दुष्टरस्य साधोः).

*स्वरगावत्तमः—The word स्वरगा occurs in RV., I. 18. 1 (सोमानं स्वरणं कृणुहि ब्रह्मणस्पते) in the sense of brilliant or resplendent.

[23] Jack., § 792; Whit., § 966a.

*स्वर्दृश:—I have made the word ending in श्, to fully represent the Av. original. In Veda स्वर्दृश् occurs very often.[24]

मर्त्यानाम् pronounce मर्तिआनआम्

यत्—In Av. the neu. form is used often for any gender or number. Kan. calls it a "relative particle"[25].

क्षत्रात् आ—The abl. case may be taken here as (1) referring to space—"in his kingdom", or (2) referring to time—"during his reign", or (3) in a causal sense—"owing to his rule".

अमर्षियन्ता पशुवीरा—Vedic duals. The second word is a द्वन्द्व comp. Pronounce अमर्ष्यन्ता.

अशुष्यमाने—Pronounce in *four* syllables अशुष्यमे.

*आपोर्वरे—उर्वरा is used here in the special Av. sense of vegetation. The Skt. word is connected in sense, for उर्वरा means "arable soil" or "cultivated land" in the Veda.[26]

अक्षितवे अशनम् *अज्येयम्—The verb आसीत् is understood here. The first two words are translated according to sense. For the construction see Reichelt, *Awest. Elementarbuch*, § 690. अज्येयम् is from √ज्या, to diminish (in Skt. to overcome), which is the root of जय also.

Nairyosang:

...यदस्य पुत्रो उच्चैर्जातो यो यमशेदो[27] दीप्तिमान् सुसंचयी। श्रीमत्तमः जातेभ्यः। (सत्कार्यतमः)।...। सूर्यनिरीक्षणतमः मनुष्येभ्यः। (सुलोचनतमः इत्यर्थः)। यश्चकार ...। अशोषिणि उदकानि वनस्पतीन्। (किल यत् अभीप्सते तन्न शुष्कम्)। क्षुधितानां खाद्यं अनवसादम्। (अविनाशि। किल चेत् एकं खादितमभूत् द्वितीयमेकं प्राप्तमेवासीत्)॥

Pandit Vidhuśekhara:

...यत् तस्य पुत्रः उदजायत यो यमः क्षित् (=शासकः=ऐश्वर्यशाली=सम्राट् समुज्ज्वलः) सु(-जीव-)गणः[28] स्वरगातमः (ज्योतिष्मत्तमः)...स्वर्दृशः (सूर्यसदृशः)... खादिरन् खाद्यम् अक्षयम्॥

5.

यिमहे क्षथ्रे अउर्वहे यमस्य क्षत्रे *उर्वियस्य
नोइट् अओतम् आोङ्ह नोइट् गरेमम्। नेत् *ओदम् आस नेत् घर्मम्।

[24] Grass., Wb. 1632. [25] Kan., § 604. [26] Grass., Wb. 265.

[27] Nair. merely transcribes جمشید (*Jamshīd*) the later Persian form of the Av. यिमो=क्षएतो.

[28] दाशाह्रा शक्षपल व रोइमल (=मानवगण) सुन्दर। (footnote).

नोइट् अउर्वं आोङ्ह नोइट् म्रथ्युश्	नेत् जरा आस नेत् मृत्युः
नोइट् अरस्को दएवो-दातो ।	नेत् *रेषको *देवधातः ।
पञ्चदस फ्रचरोइथे	पञ्चदशा प्रचरेते
पित-पुथ्रस्-च रओधएष्व (कतरस्-चिट्) ।	पिता पुत्रश्च *रोहेषु वा (कतरश्चित्) ।
यवत-क्षयोइट् ह्वाथ्वो	यावत् [अ]क्षयेत् सुवन्ता
यिमो वीवङ्हतो पुथ्रो ॥	यमो विवस्वतः पुत्रः ॥

"During the rule of the illustrious Yima (there) was neither (excessive) cold nor (excessive) heat, neither was (there) old age nor death, nor (was there) envy created of the Daēva. Father and son moved about, each (seeming) only fifteen (years) in appearance as long as Yima the magnificent, the son of Vivaŋhvat, reigned".

*उर्वियंस्य—I have made a mas. form to correspond to the fem. form उर्विया found in the Veda. This latter is used mostly as an उपसर्ग with verbs[29] and in one place at least—RV., V. 55. 2 (इन्द्रमंहान्त उर्विया वि राजथ)—it is used in exactly the same sense as needed in this passage, viz. that of extensive and glorious sovereignty.

आस—In Av. the √अह् (=अस्) is used only for things of evil, while with the good creation the √बू (=भू) is used. See below verse 8, note on *निज्म्भगाम्.

*ओदम्—The sense is "dampness", hence cold. We have in Hindi the word ओदा meaning "damp" or "moist". Doubtless it is a derivative from उद्, water.

घर्मम् in the sense of heat is frequently found in the Veda, but in mas., cf. RV., X. 181. 3. (आ सूर्यादभरन्घर्ममेते).

*रेषकः—Formed from √रिष् to hurt with suffix अक.[30] There is a word in Pers. رشك (*rashk*) meaning "envy" which may be traced directly from the Av. form. Probably the word ईर्ष्या is also cognate. The word अरस्को means envy.

*देवधातः—The word देव is used all through the Av. in the sense of a demon and असुर in the older Vedic sense of God.[31] The form *धात is regularly used in Av. for the later Skt. form हित (p.pt of √धा, to create).

[29] Grass., Wb. 266. [30] Whit., § 1181.

[31] It may be remarked that the *Amarakośa* gives पूर्वदेवाः as a synonym for असुराः (I. 1. 12).

The form घित is found in the compound words दुर्घित and सुघित in the Veda.[32]

पञ्चदशा—Vedic form of dual. The meaning is "aged fifteen years".

प्रचरेते—The form संचरेते is found in RV., I.123.7 and III.7.1.

*रोहिषु— The word रोहस् (neu.) occurs in RV. only once, VI. 71. 5 (दिवो रोहांस्यरुहत्पृथिव्याः), where the word means "heights". I take the word रोह, also from √रुह् (older *रुध्), to mean growth or stature.

कतरश्चित्—means either of the two, i.e. both of them (the son *as well as* the father).

अच्चयेत्—Opt. aor. (*a*-variety); see Whit., § 805.

Nairyosang :

यमशेदस्य राज्ये उत्कृष्टतरे न शीतं आसीत् न च दाघः।...। न च ईर्ष्या देवदत्ता। (अहो सर्वमपि अभूत् परं पापकर्मकत्वात् अन्यथा छतमासीत्)। पंचदशवार्षिकौ प्रचरतः [°कौ प्रचरति][33] पिता पुत्रस्य योतिः[34] ।......[35]। (स्तुत्यां पितृपुत्रयोरुक्तं यत् पुत्र एवंशोभनोऽभूत् यथा पिता पिता च एवं शोभनोऽभूत् यथा पुत्रः)।

Pandit Vidhuśekhara :

...अर्वतः (द्रुतगतेः) नेत् उत्तम् (=आर्द्रत्वम्=शीतम्) नेत् घर्मम्(:)...नेत् द्वेषः देवधातः (धात=धा+त=हित,=विहितः)। पंचदशौ (पंचदशवर्षीयौ)[36] प्रचरेयाताम् पिता पुत्रश्च कतरः रोहिषु (=वृद्धिषु) यावत् च्यवेत् (अथवा च्यिवेत्; च्यि)...।

6.

कसे-थ्वाम् बित्यो हओम मश्यो	कस्त्वां द्वितीयः सोम मर्त्यः
अस्वइश्याइ उनूत गएथ्याइ।	*अस्थिवत्यै सुनुत गेथायै।
का अह्माइ अशिस् ऋनावि	का अस्मा आशीः *ऋणावि
चिट् अह्माइ जसट् आयप्तम्॥	किम् अस्मै गच्छत् आप्तम्॥

[32] Grass., Wb. 615 and 1537. It may be noted that दुर्घित is found only once in R.V.—I. 140. 11.

[33] Emendation by Bharucha.

[34] योतिः is a Sanskritised form of the Guj. जोडी (couple or pair).

[35] The text here is corrupt. For details see note 43 by Bharucha in Part II of the *Coll. Skt. Writings of the Parsis.*

[36] He adds an explanatory footnote:—বঁ লোকদের ন্যায় পুত্রগণকেও এখানে পঞ্চদশ বৎসরের পরিপূর্ণ বলা হইতেছে.

(Zaraθuštra asked:)

"Which mortal, O Haoma (was) the second (who) worshipped thee for (the sake of) the material world? What blessing unto him was granted? What profit to him accrued?"

7.

आअत् मे अएम् पइत्यओख्त	आत् मे अयम् प्रत्यवोचत
हओमो अषव दूरओषो।	सोमो ऋतावा दुरोषः।
आथ्व्यो मांम् बित्यो मश्यो	आप्त्यो मां द्वितीयो मर्त्यः
अस्त्वइथ्याइ ऊनूत गएथ्याइ।	*अस्थिवत्यै सुनुत गैयायै।
हा अह्माइ अषिस् ऋनावि	सा अस्मा आशीः *ऋणावि
तत् अह्माइ जसत् आयप्तेम्।	तत् अस्मै गच्छत् आप्तम्।
यत् हे पुथ्रो उस-जयत	यत् अस्य पुत्रः *उज्जायत
वीसो सूरयाो थ्रएतओनो॥	विश्वः शूरायाः त्रैतानः॥

Thereupon this Haoma, the righteous, hard to overcome, replied unto me: Āθwya (was) the second mortal (who) worshipped me for (the sake of) the material world. This blessing unto him was granted, this profit to him accrued: namely, unto him a son was born, θraētaona of the valiant race".

आप्त्यः—Corresponds to the Av. आथ्व्यो. This name is associated in Veda with त्रित (RV., I. 105. 9, etc.).

त्रैतान—This name occurs only once in RV., I. 158. 5. This name and त्रित are apparently confused together. This name is found as فریدون (*Farīdūn*) in the Shāhnāmeh. For further details see Haug, *Essays on the Religion of the Parsis*, pp. 277f.

Nairyosang:

...यदस्य पुत्र उच्चैर्जातः वेश्मप्रस्थः फ्रेदूनः। (अस्य वेश्मप्रस्थत्वं इदं अभूत् यत् वेश्मनि अन्वयात् पितॄणां बहूनि [प्रस्थानि ?] आसन्। तच्च यत् दहाकस्य [प्रस्थानि ?] हठेन जग्राह। समग्राणि च तानि यानि स्वर्गस्य न प्रकाशीनि आसन् असौ उदधे)॥

Note:—Does the portion from अस्य... up to the end refer to the same tradition as contained in RV., X. 8. 8? See note on षळक्षम् in the next verse.

Pandit Vidhuśekhara:

...विश्वः (=वंशस्य=गोत्रस्य) शूरायाः प्रएतओनः (=त्रैतानः)।

8.

यो जनत् अझीम् दहाकेम्	यो हनत् अहिम् दंष्ट्रकम्
थ्रिज़फनेम् थ्रिकमेरेधेम् ।	*त्रिजम्भगम् *त्रि-कमूर्धानम् ।
क्षवश्-अषीम् हज़ङ्रा-यओख़्तीम्	षळक्षम् सहस्रयुक्तिम्
अश्-अओजङ्हेम् दएवीम् द्रुजेम् ।	अत्यौजसम् दैवीम् द्रुहम् ।
अघेम् गएथाव्यो द्रवन्तेम् ।	अघम् गेथाभ्यो द्रवन्तम् ।
याँम् अश्-अओजस्तेमाँम् द्रुजेम्	याम् अत्यौजस्तमाम् द्रुहम्
फ्रच कन्तत् अङ्रो-मइन्युश् ।	प्राक् कृन्तत् अङ्ग्रो-मन्युः ।
अओइ याँम् अस्त्वइतीम् गएथाँम्	अभि यां *अस्थिवतीं गेथाम्
मह्रकाइ अषहे गएथनाँम् ॥	म्रचे ऋतस्य गेथानाम् ॥

"Who slew the dragon Dahâka, three-jawed, three-skulled, six-orbed, (and) of a thousand wiles, the very strong devilish Druj, (who was) evil unto living (creatures, and) unbelieving; whom Aŋro-Mainyu hewed out (as) by far the strongest Druj against this material world, for the destruction of the creations of Aša".

अहिं दंष्ट्रकम्—The name in Av. अझिम् दहाकेम् has passed on into the proper name of a three-headed demon in the Shāhnāmeh, where he is called ضحاک (*Zohāk*).[37] The name is held by all Zoroastrians in utter scorn. In Pahlavi literature a demon of the name जही [38] is mentioned, who is the demon of unchastity, and who is among the most annoying opponents of Ahuramazda and अझि = दहाक is regarded as an incarnation of that demon.[39]

*त्रिजम्भगम्—The Av. word ज़फन् means mouth and is used only for evil beings. For the good creation the corresponding word is आह् or स्तमन् (used only for a dog[40]). There is a sharp division between the two sets of words as used in the Av.—the one used only for the creation of the Good Spirit (hence called अहुर-words) and the other used only for the creation of the Evil-Spirit (hence called दएव-words).[41]

[37] Hence the Parsi Guj. adj. जोहाकी (tyrannous).

[38] जहिका, verse 32 below, is said to be from this word, but is evidently a case of "popular etymology".

[39] Bharucha, op. cit., note 44.

[40] The dog is a pure creature in the Av.

[41] See an essay by Frachtenberg on the subject in the *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, pp.

*त्रि-कमूर्धानम्—The क is used in the sense of कु (Pāṇ. II. 1. 64). The derivation thus suggested for the Av. word kamərəδa is supported by Barth. who says that it originally was a word expressing surprise—"What a head!"—on seeing an uncouth head.[42] Others[43] suggest that the word is connected with Lat. *camera* and Pers. كمر (*kamar*) cupola, and that it means "an empty skull". The Av. word is a दएव-word, the अहुर-word being vaγδana.

षळक्षम्—Av. अषि (du.) is a दएव-word, the अहुर-word is doiθra. Pt. Vidhuśekhara quotes from Śat. Br. I. 5. 2. 1.—त्वष्टुर्ह पुत्रः त्रिशीर्षा षडक्ष आस तस्य त्रीण्येव मुखानि आसुः. The RV. also mentions in two places this combat with the three headed-demon, where त्रित is the conqueror.

स पित्र्याण्यायुधानि विद्वानिन्द्रेषित आप्त्यो अभ्ययुध्यत् ।
त्रिशीर्षाणं सप्तरश्मिं जघन्वान्त्वाष्ट्रस्य चिन्निः ससृजे त्रितो गाः ॥ X. 8. 8.

and स इदासं तुवीरवं पतिर्दन्षळक्षं त्रिशीर्षाणं दमन्यत् ।
अस्य त्रितो न्वोजसा वृधानो विपा वराहमयोअग्रया हन् ॥ X. 99. 6.

सहस्रयुक्तिम्—Cf. सहस्रचेताः (इन्द्रः) RV., I. 100. 12 and सहस्रणीतिः (यतिः सोमः) RV., IX. 71. 7.

अत्योजसम्—The Av. prefix अष् is used in the sense of अति.

द्रुहम्—I have used it in the fem. as in the Av. The fem. is also found in RV., IV. 23. 7; X. 73. 2; and in RV., III. 31. 19 (द्रुहो वि याहि बहुला अदेवीः) the idea of अदेवीः द्रुहः is exactly that of the Avestic दएवी द्रुज्.

द्रवन्तम्—This is a special name given in the Avesta to the infidel. Kan. (Dict.) explains this epithet as "one who runs away from the Law of अष (=ऋत)", hence "unbeliever". Nairyosang's rendering दुर्गतिन् supports this view. We Parsis still use the word दरवन्द or दुरवन्द in exactly the same sense. Barth. (Wb. 774 ff) derives this word as द्रुह्वन्त्

प्राक् क्षन्तत्—क्षत् is a दएव-word, the अहुर-word is तश् (=तक्ष्). The idea is that the evil-creation is as it were "hewn out" anyhow by Aŋro-Mainyu.

269 ff. It may be noted that we Parsis have to this day preserved the habit of using these two sets of words—not necessarily the ancient Avestic ones, but several of later formation also. The tendency to keep apart the two creations (the good and the evil) in everything, inherited from a long past tradition, still persists.

[42] Wb. 440.

[43] Kan., *Dict.*; also Jack., *Av. Reader*, p. 62.

अङ्ग्रो-मन्युः is the Evil-Spirit or the Matter-side of creation, as opposed to the Good-Spirit (स्पन्तो-मइन्युष्), the Soul-side of creation. These correspond nearest to प्रकृति and पुरुष. They are *both* created by Ahuramazda and they are *both* responsible for the rest of the creation. This doctrine is very clearly enunciated in the गाथा अहुनवइति (Yas. XXVIII–XXXIV), especially Yas. XXX, 3 ff.

अभि is used in the sense of "against".

मृचे—The dat. sg. of मृच् f. meaning injury or harm. The word is found only once in RV., VIII. 67. 9, मा नो॑ मृचा रि॑पूणां वृ॑जिनाना॑मविष्यवः.

Nairyosang :

यो जघान अहिं दहाकं त्रिलपनं त्रिमस्तकम्। षड्लोचनं सहस्रप्रणिधिम्। महाबलं देवं द्रुजम्। दुष्टं लोकेषु दुर्गतिनम्। (हानिकारमित्यर्थः)। यं...प्राकरोत् अंग्रोमइनिओय। (आहर्मन्)[11]। उपरि एतस्मिन् सृष्टिमति जगति मृत्यवे पुण्यलोकस्य।...

Pandit Vidhuśekhara :

...त्रिज्झभगाम् (=त्रिमुखम्) त्रिकमूर्धानम्...दैवम् द्रुहम् अघम् जगतीभ्यः (संस्थानेभ्यो वा) (उप-)द्रवन्तम्...प्र च अक्रन्तत् (=अकरोत्) अंहोमन्युः ...मृतकाय ऋतस्य जगतीनाम्।

9.

कास थ्वाम् थ्रित्यो हओम मश्यो	कस्त्वां तृतीयः सोम मर्त्यः
अस्तइथ्याइ ऊनूत गएथ्याइ।	*अस्थिवत्यै सुनुत गेथायै।
का अह्माइ अषिस् ऋनावि	का अस्मा आशीः *ऋणावि
चिṭ अह्माइ जसṭ आयप्तम्॥	किम् अस्मै गच्छत् आप्तम्॥

(Zaraθuštra asked :)

"Which mortal, O Haoma, (was) the third (who) worshipped thee for (the sake of) the material world? What blessing unto him was granted? What profit to him accrued?"

तृतीयः—Metre requires this to be read तृत्यः like the Av. थ्रित्यो.

10.

आअṭ मे अएम् पइत्यओख्त	आत् मे अयं *प्रत्यवोचत
हओमो अषव दूरओषो।	सोमो ऋतावा दुरोषः।
थ्रितो (सामनाम् सेविश्तो) थ्रित्यो माम् मश्यो	त्रितः (सामानां शविष्ठः) तृतीयो माम् मर्त्यः

[11] This is the Pahlavi form of the name; this has gone over into Grk. as 'Αρειμάνιος.

अस्त्वइथ्याइ ऊनूत गएथ्याइ ।	*अस्थिवत्यै सुनुत गेयायै ।
हा अह्माइ अषिस् ऋनावि	सा अस्मा आशीः *ऋणावि ।
तट् अह्माइ जसट् आयप्तेम् ।	तत् अस्मै गच्छत् आप्तम् ।
यट् हे पुथ्र उस-ज़योइथ्वे	यत् अस्य पुत्रा *उज्जायेते
उर्वाख्षयो केरेसास्पस्-च ।	उर्वाक्षयः कृशाश्वश्च ।
त्कएषो अन्यो दातो-राज़ो ।	*तिचक्षा अन्यो *धातराजः ।
आअट् अन्यो उपरो-कइर्यो	आत् अन्य उपरिकार्यः
यव गएसुष् गधवरो ॥	युवा केशवो *गदाभरः ॥

Thereupon this Haoma the righteous, hard to overcome, replied unto me: Θrita,, the most powerful of the Sāma-family, (was) the third mortal (who) worshipped me for (the sake of) the material world. This blessing unto him was granted, this profit to him accrued: namely, unto him were born two sons, Urvāxšaya and Kərəsāspa; the one a Teacher (and) Lawgiver, and the other a supremely energetic, youthful, curly-haired, mace-wielder.

सामानाम्—This is the name of a famous family of Irān.

त्रितः—In the Veda the name त्रित is used instead of त्रैतान (थ्रएतओन) as the son of आप्त्य. But the Av. makes a distinction between the two.

पुत्रा—Vedic dual.

*तिचक्षा—The word त्कएष in Av. means, among other things, a religious teacher. Kan. (Dict.) derives it from अति + √चष् (चक्ष्), to see, hence the word means "one who has seen beyond (the average mortal)". This reminds one of the traditional derivation given of the word ऋषि from दृश्, to see. I have accepted the derivation of Kan. and have made the word *तिचक्षस् on the analogy of उरुचक्षस् etc. For the dropping of the initial अ, see Whit. § 1087a.

*धातराजः—The word राज here has the special sense of law or धर्म, hence the compound means lawgiver. The word राजन् (n?) meaning probably "rule" or "law" occurs in RV., X. 49. 4. (Grass., Wb. 157).

उपरिकार्यः—A super-worker. Cf. उपरिस्पृश् in RV., X. 128. 9.

केशवः—Used here in the literal sense of "having fine hair".

Nairyosang:

...श्रितः[45] [थ्रितः]...सामानो लाभेप्सुः...। न्यायाधिपः अन्योऽभूत् । (किल

[45] This form is from the Persianised form *Srit* which makes the name اسریت (*Asrit*) in Mod. Pers.

न्यायं न्यायाधिपत्यं च चक्रे)। अचार रचयिता। (किल आचारं शुद्धतया सन्निहितवान्)। तस्मात् अन्यः उत्कृष्टकार्यः। उत्साही गास्रो गदाधरः। (किल कार्यं गदया प्रभूतं चकार। गास्रजातो ताजीकानां[16] बभूव अत एव गास्रः)॥

Pandit Vidhuśekhara:

...त्रितः श्यामानाम् (=त्रितस्य पितुः) सेविष्ठः (=हितकरः, प्रियतमः)... अतिचक्षाः (धर्मविधाता) हतराजः, आत् अन्यः उपरिकार्य्यः (श्रेष्ठकर्म्मा) युवा गुत्सकः (सुकेशः) गदाभरः (गदाधरः)॥

11.

यो जनत् अझीम् स्रवरेम्	यो हनत् अहिम् शृं(ग)भरम्
यिम् अस्पो-गरेम् नरे-गरेम् ।	यम् अश्व-गरम् नर-गरम् ।
यिम् वीषवन्तेम् ज़इरितेम् ।	यम् विषवन्तम् हरितम् ।
यिम् उपइरि वीश् अरओधत्	यम् उपरि विषमरोहत्
आर्ष्त्यो बरेज़ ज़इरितेम् ।	*ऋष्टिवर्हः हरितम् ।
यिम् उपइरि केरेसास्पो	यम् उपरि कृशाश्वः
अयङ्ह पितुम् पचत ।	अयसा पितुम् पचत ।
आ रपिथ्विनेम् ज़्र्वानेम् ।	आ रपिथ्विनम् *चयाणम् ।
तफ्सत् च हो मइर्यो ख्विसत्-च	*तप्यत् च स *मर्यः खिद्यत् च
फ्रास् अयङ्हो फ्रास्परत् ।	प्राक् अयसः प्रास्फुरत् ।
यएष्यन्तीम् आपेम् परोङ्हात् ।	यस्यन्तीम् *आपम् परास्यत् ।
परास् तर्श्तो अपतचत्	पराङ् त्रस्तो अपातच्चत्
नइरे-मनाओ केरेसास्पो ॥	नरमनाः कृशाश्वः ॥

"Who (Kərəsāspa) slew the horned dragon, who (was) horse-devouring (and) man-devouring, who (was) poisonous (and) green, (and) upon whom (all over the body) the poison rose green to the height of a spear; upon whom Kərəsāspa cooked (his) food in an iron (pot) at noon-tide; and that serpent grew hot and began to sweat, (and) forth from (under) the iron (pot) sprang away, (and) upset the boiling water: startled, Kərəsāspa, (even though) of manly heart, fled away in the opposite direction."

शृंगभरम्—Pronounce शृंभरम्.

[16] The Tājiks, a tribe of Arabian nomads.

अश्वगारम्—Horse-devouring. On the analogy of अजगार (lit. goat-swallowing).

*ऋष्टिवर्हः (neu.)—Lit. having the वर्ह (height) of a ऋष्टि (a spear). The compound is formed like अद्रिवर्हः (n.) in RV., X. 63. 3, meaning strong (tall?) as a mountain.

अयसा—The word is used here for a (cooking) vessel made of iron.

पितुम्—Food. Used frequently in the Veda. In RV., I. 187 the पितु (the juice extracted for drinking) is addressed as a diety.[47]

पचत—Note the ātmanepada. K. mistook the monster for a green hillock!

रपिथ्विनम्—This is the third of the five divisions of the day (beginning with midnight). This extends from midday to about 3 p.m. (till the sun has half finished the downward course). Kan. (Dict.) derives the word from अयर् (day) and पिथ्व (middle part, pith). Reichelt (*Awest. Elementarbuch*, p. 494) takes the पिथ्व as meaning "food" (पितु) and explains the name as the time of the day when the (principal) meal is taken.

*ज्रयाणम्—Av. ज़्र्वानेम् means "time". It has been compared to the Grk. χρόνος (time).[48] The Pers. زمان (*zamān*) time, is derived from this through Pahlavi *zrvān*. I have made this from ज्रि, to go (निघण्टु II. 14). The word ज्रयस् in the sense of "space" (from the same root) is found in the RV. (Grass., Wb. 506).

*तप्सत्—*s*-aor. of तप्, irregularly without *vriddhi*.[49]

*मर्यः—The word does not mean the same as मर्यः in the Vedas. Perhaps the मर्याः mentioned in Bṛhad. Up., VI. 4. 4. (बह्वो मर्या ब्राह्मणायनाः...प्रयन्ति) is nearer in meaning to the Av. मर्यो which is always used in the sense of a "deceiver".[50] Kan. translates "serpent". The मारः of Buddhism is probably the same; also मारः = मन्मथः (?)

ख्विद्यत्—Kan. takes ख्विसत् as equal to Skt. (श्व)श्वसत् and trans. "hissed".

*आपम्—In Av. this is also used in sg.

नरमनाः—The word नर in Av. is used in the sense of वीर; नइरेमनो is later on found as the name as one of the great heroes of the साम-family—نريمان, (*Narimān*) of the Shāhnāmeh.

[47] Grass. Wb., 812.
[48] Barth. (Wb. 1704) notes that only the first two letters correspond.
[49] Whit, § 887a. [50] Barth., Wb. 1151; also *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, II, p. 53.

Nairyosang :

यो जघान अहिं सुवरं यं अश्वगिलं नरगिलं ।...लोहितम् । यत्रोपरि विषं प्रावहत् मुष्ट्यंगुष्ठतुंगं[51] पाटलम् ।...लोहकटाहे[52] पाकं पपा । आ रपिथ्विनिकालम् । (आ मध्याह्नसन्ध्याकालम्) । ततश्च स नृप्रांसः चुक्षुभे । (किल द्विपादो बभूव)[53] ।...। मलवतोः आपः...।...अप ससर्प पौरुषमानसत्वं [पौरुषमानसः]...।[54] (अस्य पौरुषमानसत्वं इदं बभूव यद् असौ चैतन्यं स्थाने दधौ) ॥[55]

N.B :—The Av. text obviously means that K., *though* manly-minded, was so startled by what he thought to be a green-hillock rearing itself up, that he ran away. But Yast XIX (41-44) mentions that he came back on recovering from his surprise and slew the monster.

Pandit Vidhuśekhara :

...शृंगभरम् (=शृंगधरम्) यं अश्वगिरम्...विषमरोहत् अंगुष्ठवर्हम् (=अंगुष्ठगाढम्)...अयसा (=अयपात्रेण) पितुम् (खाद्यम्) अपचत आ मध्याह्नं कालं, ततश्च (भवितुमारभत) स मर्यः अत्रसत् (खिन्नो भवितुमारभत वा)...यस्यन्तीम् (=क्षुभ्यन्तीम्) आपम् (अपः)... ।

12.

कस्-थ्वाम् तूइर्यो हओम मश्यो
अस्त्वइथ्याइ ऊनूत गएथ्याइ ।
का अह्माइ अषिस् ऋनावि
चिट् अह्माइ जसट् आयप्तेम् ॥

कस्त्वां तुर्यः सोम मर्त्यः
*अस्थिवत्यै सुनुत गैयायै ।
का अस्मा आशीः *ऋणावि
किम् अस्मै गच्छत् आप्तम् ॥

(Zaraϑustra asked :)

"Which mortal, O Haoma (was) the fourth (who) worshipped thee for (the sake of) the material world? What blessing unto him was granted? What profit to him accrued?"

तुर्यः is found in the Upanishads. See also Whit., § 487c.

13.

आअट् मे अएम् पइत्यओख्त
हओमो अषव दूरओषो ।

आत् मे अयं *प्रत्यवोचत
सोमो ऋतावा दुरोषः ।

[51] The Pahlavi says *asp bālāk* (the height of a horse) and hence it is surprising why Nair. translates thus. Kan. follows Nair., as do others as well.

[52] Guj. कढा.

[53] Stood on his hind legs.

[54] Owing to his close and literal adherance to the Pahlavi Nair. makes bad mistakes in Skt. grammar, see Bharucha, op. cit., note 47.

[55] स्थाने दधौ is the Guj. ठेकाणे राख्युं, lit. kept his senses in their proper place.

(पोउरुषस्पो मांम् तूइर्यो मश्यो	पुरु अश्वो मां तुर्यो मर्त्यः
अस्त्वइथ्याइ ह्नूत गएथ्याइ ।	*अस्थिवत्यै सुनुत गेथायै ।
हा अह्माइ अषिस् ऋनावि	साऽस्मा आशीः *ऋणावि
तत् अह्माइ जसत् आयप्तेम् ।	तत् अस्मै गच्छत् आप्तम् ।
यत् हे तूम् उस्-ज़यङ्ह	यत् अस्य त्वं *उज्जायथाः
तूम् ऋश्वो ज़रथुश्त्र ।	त्वं ऋजो जरथुश्त्र ।
न्मानहे (पोउरुषस्पहे	दमस्य पुरुअश्वस्य
वीदएवो अहुर-ट्कएषो ॥	*वि-देवो *असुरातिचक्षाः ॥

Thereupon this Haoma the righteous, hard to overcome, replied unto me: "Pourušaspa (was) the fourth mortal (who) worshipped me for (the sake of) the material world. This blessing unto him was granted, this profit to him accrued: namely, unto him *thou* wast born, thou, O righteous Zaraϑuštra, in the house of Pourušaspa, (thou who art) opposed to the Daēvas (and) follower of the Law of Ahura."

पुर्वश्वः—The father of Z. According to Av. texts[56] the name implies having many horses—पुर्वश्वः (like पुरुक्षु, पुरुत्मन्, etc. in the RV.).

ऋजो—Vocative. Cf. RV., II. 27. 9 (ऋजवे मर्त्याय) and elsewhere. Barth.[57] takes it as an adv. (originally neu. sg.). This usage is also paralleled in RV. II. 3. 7 (ऋजु यक्षतः); V. 46. 1 (ऋजु नेषति) and X. 67. 2 (ऋतं शंसन्त ऋजु दीध्यानाः) where the adv. means "in the proper manner".

दमस्य—Of the house (i.e. family). The Skt. दम is found in the Gāϑās as (दमान (=Skt. *दमान, धामन्) with a strong accent on the second syllable. This leads ultimately to dropping out of the weak vowel ə and the intermediate form *द्मान passes by regular assimilation to the न्मान of younger Avesta.

*विदेवः—वि is used in the sense of opposition. Cf. AV. III. 31. 1—11, व्यहं सर्वेण पाप्मना.

*असुरातिचक्षाः—I have attempted to construct this compound for the Av. अहुर-ट्कएषो (see above, verse 10) The second part means here "law" or "religion" and the compound would mean "one who follows the Law of Ahura."

[56] Yašt XXIII. 4; but see Barth., Wb. 903. [57] Wb. 355.

Nairyosang :

...त्वं निर्मलो जरथुश्त्र मंदिरे पोउरुषस्पीवे विभिन्नदेवो होर्मिज्द[58]-न्यायी ॥

Pandit Vidhuśekhara :

...पौरुषाश्वः...यदस्य त्वं उदगायस्व त्वं ऋजुः (=पुण्यात्मा)...सद्मनः...वि-देवः (=देवविरोधी) असुर-धर्म्मानुष्ठाता ॥

14.

स्रूतो अइर्येने-वएजहे	[वि]श्रुत आर्य-बीजे
तूम् पओइर्यो जरथुश्त्र ।	त्वं पूर्व्यः जरथुश्त्रः ।
अहुनेम् वइरीम् फ्रस्रावयो ।	अहुनम् वइर्यम् प्राश्रावयः ।
वीबरेथ्वन्तेम् आथ्रुइरिम्	*विभृतवन्तम् *आतुर्यम्
(अपरेम्) ख्रओज्योतरया फ्रस्रूइति ॥	(अपरम्) *क्रुद्धतरा [च] प्रश्रुती ॥

Famed through (all) Airyana-Vaējah, thou, O Zaraθuštra, (wast) the first, (who) recited aloud the Ahuna-Vairya, with the proper divisions (of metre and syllables), four times, (and yet) another (time) with a louder chant.

आर्य-बीजे—The name (meaning "the cradle of the Āryas") was applied to the ancient land of the Iranian peoples. In later times it became इरानवेज़ or इरान् (Pers. ایران‌ویز, *Irānvez* or ایران, *Irān*).

अहुनम्-वइर्यम्—The hymn beginning with the words यथा अहू वइर्यो. This is the holiest of the *mantras* of the Z. religion. It has in our ritual the same sanctity as the गायत्री. We get frequently in the Av. the phrase, अहुनेम्-वइरीम् तनूम् पाइति (the A.-V. protects the body).

*विभृतवन्तम्—From √भृ + वि to divide into parts: cf. RV., I. 70. 5 (पितुर्न जिव्रेर्वि वेदो भरन्त); X. 1. 2 (अग्ने चारुर्विभृत ओषधीषु); etc. In Av. the meaning is specialised and the term is applied to dividing up a *mantra* into words and syllables.

*आतुर्यम्—On the analogy of आदादश्राम्[59] in RV., X. 114. 6 (छन्दांसि च दधत आदादश्राम्). The meaning is that the *mantra* (अहुन-वइर्य) is to be repeated four times. It belongs to a class of chants that has to be repeated four times (वच चथ्रुसाम्रूत[60]).

*क्रुद्धतरा—Ins. sg. of a fem. adj., Vedic form.[61] The Av. word is a compound root, √ख्रुद् + √दा (क्रुध् + धा) meaning to be angry, hence

[58] Ahuramazda. [59] Whit., § 1313b. [60] Vendidād, X. 11. [61] Whit., § 365a.

to be loud. And to this the ईयस् (comparative suffix) is added. As such a formation is impossible in Skt., I have tried to keep the sense (and some of the sound) by using another root altogether. I have used √ क्रुश्, to cry out, and I take the word to mean "louder".

प्रश्रुती—Ins. sg., see Whit., § 341 c; cf. RV., IV. 54. 3 (अचित्ती यच्चकृमा दैव्ये जने)

Nairyosang :

विख्यातः एरांवेज देशे। त्वं पूर्वं जरथुश्त्र अहुनवरं[62] प्रावोचः विना क्रमणेन (अभाषणेन च)[63]...[64]पश्चात् गाढतरः प्रौढस्वरेण॥

Pandit Vidhuśekhara :

...विस्तवानम् (=तत्र तत्र सविरामम्) चतुष्कृत्वः अपरं तारतरया प्रश्रुत्या (=स्वरेण)॥

15.

तूम् ज़मर्-गूज़ो[65]आकरनवो	त्वं *ज्मागुहः आकृणोः
वीस्पे दएव ज़रथुश्त्र।	विश्वान् देवान् जरथुश्त्र।
योइ पर अह्माट् वीरो-रओथ	ये परा अस्मात् *वीररोचाः
अपतयेन् पइति आय ज़मा।	(अ)पतयन् प्रति अया ज्मा।
यो अओजिश्तो यो तर्ष्चिश्तो	य ओजिष्ठः यस्त्वचिष्ठः
यो थ्वक्षिश्तो यो आसिश्तो।	यस्त्वक्षिष्ठः य आशिष्ठः।
यो अस्-वरथ्रजस्तमो	यो अतिवृत्रघ्नतमः
अबवत् मइन्यवो दामांन्॥	अभवत् मन्व्योः *धामानि॥

"Thou O Zaraθuštra, caused all the demons to hide underneath the earth, who before this (thy coming), ran about upon this earth in human shape, (thou) who (art) the strongest (and) bravest, who (art) the most active (and) the swiftest, (and) who hast become in the highest degree victorious among the creatures of the (two) Spirits."

62 The Pahlavi form of अहुन-वइर्य.

63 The Pahlavi version translates the word विइश्करन्तम् as "without interruption"; see Bharucha, op. cit., note 50.

64 The version of Nair. seems defective here as a word of the text, बाश्तूरतेम्, is omitted: Bharucha, loc. cit.

65 Geld. reads °गूरो; I have taken the reading of Kan.

*ज्मागुहः—Acc. plu. of *ज्मागुह् (hidden under the earth). The word ज्मा is found in RV., frequently. For the compound see Whit., § 1269.

*वीररोहाः—वीर is used in the sense merely of मनुष्य. The meaning is मनुष्याकृतयः "having human shape".

अपतयन्—This and अभवत् below are among the rare examples of an augment being used in Av. with a verbal form. पत् when it means "to move" is a दएव-word; the अहुर-word corresponding is फ्राचर्.

अया—Ins. sg., cf. RV., II. 24. 1 (अया विधेम नवया महा गिरा)

ज्मा-Ins. sg.; this form is found only once in RV., VI. 52. 15 (ये के च ज्मा महिनो अहिमाया दिवो जज्ञिरे अपां सधस्थे) where the word means, just like here, "upon the earth".

यः—Refers to Z.

त्वक्षिष्ठः—त्वक्ष् is found in the sense of motion. The word means "bravest".

त्वक्षिष्ठः—RV., II. 33. 6 has त्वक्षो यसा वयसा नाधमानम् and the meaning is much the same as here, differing only in the degree of comparison.

अतिवृत्रहन्तमः—Cf. RV., VIII. 93. 30 (त्वामिद्वृत्रहन्तम सुतावन्तो हवामहे) and other passages.

मन्वोः—The word मन्यु is used in the special sense of a deity or a being of the spiritual world. When in the du. the word signifies the two Spirits who have created all this world.

*धामनि—Used in the special sense of "creation". The acc. plu. form[66] is used for loc. plu.

Nairyosang :

त्वं जगतीगुप्तान् अकरोः...। ये...वीरविक्रमाः अपतन्...।...। यो बलवत्तमः यो दृढतमः। यो व्यवसायितमः यो वेगवत्तम विजयवत्तमो जातः परलोकिनां[67] सृष्टिभ्यः।...

Pandit Vidhuśekhara :

त्वं ज्मा-गूढान् (=भूमध्ये गूढान्)...वीररोहा (वीराकृतयः)...यः ओजिष्ठः यः दृढिष्ठः यः त्वक्षिष्ठः (=तेजिष्ठः कर्मिष्ठः ...) यः आशिष्ठः (=आशुगामितमः)... अभवत् मन्व्योः धाम्नः[68] ॥

[66] Jack., § 308.

[67] Nair. evidently takes मन्यु in the sense of the spirit-world, i.e. परलोक. He obviously overlooks the dual.

[68] He explains the last word in the Bengali translation thus: धामে অর্থাৎ সৃষ্টলোকে.

16.

आअत् अओख़्त ज़रथुश्त्रो ।	आत् अवोचत ज़रथुश्त्रः ।
नेमो हओमाइ वङ्हुश् हओमो	नमः सोमाय वसुः सोमः
हुधातो हओमो अषं-दातो ।	*सुधात सोमो *ऋषिधातः ।
वङ्हुश्-दातो बएषज्यो	*वसुधातः भैषज्यः
हुकेह्रप्श् ह्वरेम्श् वेरेथ्रजातो ।	सुक्ऌप् *सुवृक् वृत्रहाः ।
(ज़इरि-गओनो नम्यासुश्) ।	(हरिगुणः नम्रांसुः) ।
यथ ख़्वरेन्ते वहिश्तो	यथाऽश्नवते वसिष्ठः
उर्वनए च पाथ्मइन्योतेमो ॥	उर्वाने च *पथवत्तमः ।

Thereupon Zaraθuštra said: "Salutation unto Haoma! Haoma (is) excellent, well-created is Haoma, truth-created (as well); created by excellence, (and) health-giver; well-shaped, working for good, (and) victorious; golden-hued (is he) with bending twigs; just as (he is) best for (the body) of the drinker, (so) also (he) best points out the way unto (the) soul."

वसुः—The epithet is used for सोम in RV., IX. 98. 5 (वसो वसु पुरुस्पृहः) In Av. the word assumes two forms, वङ्हु and the more regular वोहु, and both forms are found mixed up in the declension.[69]

*सुधातः—Cf. सुधित in the Veda (Grass., Wb. 1537).

*ऋषिधातः—This is the nearest equivalent to the Av. अषं-दातो. I have used the term ऋषि in the sense of ऋत,[70] and hence the compound means "truth-created". Cf. ऋतेन य[71] ऋतजातो विवावृधे, RV., IX. 108. 8.

*वसुधातः—I have ventured to make this a compound; Gelder prints the words separately.

भैषज्यः—भेषज in the sense of "healing" (adj.) is found in RV., II. 33. 7 (क्व स्य ते रुद्र मृळयाकुर्हस्तो यो अस्ति भेषजो जलाषः) and in X. 137. 6 (आपः सर्वस्य भेषजीस्तास्ते कृण्वन्तु भेषजम्).

सुक्ऌप्—The word क्ऌप् (f.) is found in RV., to mean "form" or

[69] Jack., §§ 108-129 for the representation of Skt. सु in Av. For the declension, see Kan., *Av. Gram.*, §§ 116-118.

[70] See my article on ऋषि in this volume.

[71] Sc. सोमः

"shape".[72] Cf. दिविद्युतत्या रुचा परिष्टोभन्त्या कृपा । सोमाः शुक्रा गवाशिरः ॥ RV., IX. 64. 28.

*सुवृक्—The form स्ववृक् is found in RV., X. 38. 5 (स्ववृजं हि त्वामहमिन्द्र शुश्रवानानुदं वृषभ रध्रचोदनम्). The वरेज (Skt. वृज्) in Av. means to work; hence this epithet means one who works for good. The three commandments of the Z. religion are हुमत, हुख्त and हुवर्श्त.

हरिगुणो नम्रांशुः—I regard this *pāda* to be a later interpolation. For these words could apply only to the *plant* Soma, not to the *Deity*.[73] The word गुणः is used here in the sense of colour. Mod. Pers. گون (*gūn*) means "colour." Cf. RV., IX. 65. 8 (यस्य[74] वर्णं मधुश्चुतं हरिं हिन्वन्त्यद्रिभिः).

वसिष्ठः—The word is found in the sense of "best," used as an epithet of इन्द्र in RV., II. 36. 1; of अग्नि in RV., II. 9. 1 and VII. 1. 8[75]; of पुरूरवस् in RV., X. 95. 17 and probably also adjectivally in RV., X. 150. 5 (अग्निं वसिष्ठो हवते पुरोहितः).[76]

उर्वाने—The word उर्वान् is used in Av. to mean the soul, the आत्मा. The derivation given is from √वृ, to choose, the soul being regarded as free to choose the path either of the Good Spirit or of the Evil Spirit.[77] The aorist participle उराण is found in the Veda; as in RV., VII. 73. 3 (अर्हेम यज्ञं पथामुराणा इमां सुवृक्तिं वृषणा जुषेथाम्).

पथवत्तमः—Best pointing out the way. Cf. RV., IX. 106. 5 (स इन्द्रायामा पथिकृद्विचक्षणः).[78]

Nairyosang:

उत्तमो हुमः सुखदानम् [सुदत्तः] । (किल सद्व्यापारतया दत्तोऽसि) । हुमः सत्यदानः । (किल किंचित्तस्मै दत्ते यस्मै युज्यते दातुम्) । ... । सुकलेवरोऽसि । ... । सुकामो[79]ऽसि । ...सुवर्णवर्णो मृदुपल्लवोऽसि । यः खादयितां उत्कृष्टत्वं आत्मने सचयितृतमोऽसि । (किल निधिं आत्मनो त्वया उत्तमतरं प्राप्यते कर्तुं यतः गरोथमानित्वं[80] त्वया भवति ॥

[72] Found only in ins. sg. कृपा. Grass., Wb. 347.

[73] See an article by me in the Guj. monthly चेतन (May, 1920).

[74] Sc. सोमस्य.

[75] Can it be an intentional play on the word in this last case?

[76] Grass., Wb. 1234.

[77] Jack., *Av. Reader*; p. 61.

[78] Sc. सोमः

[79] Guj. काम = कार्य.

[80] गरोथमान = Av. गरो-न्मान, lit. "the house of Praise", i.e. the highest heaven.

Pandit Vidhuśekhara :

वसु... (उत्तमः) सोमः...शुद्धतया (वि-)च्छित... भैषज्यः (°म्) सुकल्पः सुकर्म्मा वृत्रहा (=शत्रुघाती) हरिगुणः...नम्रांशुः (=नम्रपल्लवः)। यथा पानाय वसिष्ठः (=उत्तमतमः) आत्मनः पथ्यतमः ॥

[N.B.—Pandit Vidhuśekhara's published version ends here.]

17.

नी-तै जाइरे मदेम् म्रुये	नि ते हरे मदम् ब्रुवे
नी अमेम् नी वृथ्रघ्नेम् ।	नि अमम् नि *वृत्रघ्नम् ।
नी दखरेम्[31] नी बएषजेम्	नि दक्षरम् नि भेषजम्
नी फ्रदथेम् नी वरेदथेम् ।	नि *प्रदधम् नि वर्धम् ।
नी अओजो वीस्पो-तनूम्	नि ओजो विश्वतनुम्
नी मस्तीम् वीस्पो-पएसङ्हेम् ।	नि मतिम् विश्वपेशसम् ।
नी तत् यथ गएथाहु	नि तद्यथा गैथासु आ
वसो-ख्शथ्रो फ्रचराने ।	*वशक्षत्रः प्रचराणि ।
त्बएषो-तउर्वाओ द्रुजेम्-वनो ॥	द्विषुर्वाणो द्रुहंवनः ॥

I ask of thee, O Golden-hued, for fervour, for power (and) for success (as well); for health (and) for the means of gaining health; for advancement (and) for increase; for strength of (this) whole body, (as well as) for wisdom all-embracing;—for (all) this (I ask) so that in (all) lands I may move about free at will, overcoming opposition, (and) conquering evil.

मदम्—Used very frequently in Veda in connection with सोम-drinking.[32]

*वृत्रघ्नम्—This is a compound from the phrase घ्नं वृत्राणां of RV., III. 49. 1. See also verse 27 below.

*दक्षरम्—The word दक्ष (√दस्+म)[33] is found in Veda as well as in Av.[34] I have made this word from the same root but with the suffix वर, the noun being neuter as in Av.[35] The word दखर (or दखरे) in Av. is always used with बएषज and the combination means "health and

[31] I have adopted this reading in preference to Geldner's दखरे.
[32] Grass., Wb. 981ff. [33] Whit. § 1166. [34] Barth., Wb. 702.
[35] Whit. § 1171; also Jack., § 823.

means of health." In Veda the word दक्ष means "shining," or "possessing extraordinary power," or "wonderful."[56] The word दक्ष, strong is also cognate; cf. RV., I. 116. 16 (आधत्तं दस्रा[57] भिषजावनर्वन्) and RV., VIII. 86. 1 (उभा हि दस्रा भिषजा).

*प्रदघम्—On the analogy of इलादघम्[58] Pāṇini III. 1. 139.

वर्धम् is used in the RV., once only in the sense of वृद्धि, X. 12.4 (अर्चामि वां वर्धायापो घृतस्नू).

विश्वतनुम्—Of the whole body. It is an adj.

मतिम् विश्वपेशसम्—Cf. RV., I. 61. 16 (एषु विश्वपेशसं धियं धाः). The Av. word मस्ति is taken by Jack. from √मद् (मद्) + ति[59]; Kan. takes it as from मज (मज्ज) + ति[60]; and Barth.[61] takes it from the compound root मन्द् (मन् + दा[62]) + ति. The word means "wisdom" or "spiritual knowledge" as also in RV., X. 25. 10 (मतिं विप्रस्य वर्धयत्) and other passages.

*वशक्षत्रः—Ruling at will, i.e. absolute master. Cf. अनु वशं, RV., II. 24. 13.

द्विषुर्वाणो—Just as in Vedic Skt., the word द्विष् (द्विष्) means both "the hater" and "the hatred".[63] For तुर्वाणः, cf. the epithet तुर्वणि applied to इन्द्र and अग्नि in the RV.[64]

दुष्टंवनः—Cf. दुष्टंतरः in RV., I. 127. 3 (स हि पुरु चिदोजसा विरुक्मता दीद्यानो भवति दुष्टंतरः परशुर्न दुष्टंतरः).

Nairyosang:

नितांतं त्वं सुवर्णाभ विद्यां ब्रूहि। (किल किंचित् तस्मै विद्यया ब्रूहि येन मे परिज्ञानित्वं भवेत्।...महोत्साहित्वं[65]।...विजयित्वं।...सुरूपत्वं।...अरोग्यत्वं।...वृद्धिदातिं।...पुष्टिदातिं।...ओजः विश्वस्मै वपुषे।...निवार्गज्ञानितां विश्वस्मिन् विरचिताम्।...। नितान्तं तस्मात् यथा जगति कामराजानः प्रचरामो बाधां निहन्मो दुष्टं अपनयामः॥

[56] Grass., Wb. 584; see also the words दस्मत् and दस्मा (ib., loc. cit.).

[57] Sc. अश्विनौ. The उभा in the next quotation also refers to these two.

[58] This is the name of a यज्ञ mentioned in the Ait. Br. (III. 4. 2) and also in various Sūtras. Cf. also शर्धंजह (Kāśikā on Pāṇ., III. 2. 28), करञ्जह (RV., X. 48. 8). Such compounds are fairly common also in Pāli, e.g. मच्चकामंदद, पञ्ञादद (= प्रज्ञादद), कप्पंजह (from √हा, to leave). When the verb is with an उपसर्ग the rule is not applied in Skt.

[59] *Av. Reader*, p. 86. [60] In his Dict.

[61] Wb. 1155 and also 1136.

[62] Skt. धा. See below मांम्..दथानरे (verse 31).

[63] Grass., Wb. 653. [64] Ib., 543.

[65] Av. आसम्. The other words follow in order with नितान्तम् preceding.

18.

नो तऽ यथ तउर्वयेनि	नि तत् यथा तुर्वयाणि
वीस्पनाम् ट्बिष्वताम् ट्बएषो ।	विश्वेषाम् द्विष्वतां द्विषः ।
दएवनाम् मश्यानाम्-च	देवानां मर्त्यानाम् च
याथ्वाम् पइरिकनाम्-च ।	यातूनाम् *परिकाणां च ।
साथ्रांम् कओयांम् करफ्नांम्-च	शास्ता-*कव-*कृपणानां (च)
मइर्यनाम्-च बिजङ्ग्रनाम् ।	*मर्याणां च द्विजंघानाम् ।
अषे-मओघनाम्-च बिजङ्ग्रनाम्	*ऋतमोघानां च द्विजंघानां
वेहर्कनाम्-च चथ्वरे-जङ्ग्रनाम् ।	वृकाणां च चतुर्जङ्घानां ।
हएन्योस्-च पृथु-अइनिकयो	सेनाया(श्च) पृथ्वनीकायाः
दवांइथ्यो पतांइथ्यो ॥	दवन्त्याः पतन्त्याः ॥

(And I ask) for (all) this so that I may overcome the enmity of all (my) enemies,—(both) of Daēvas and of mortals, of wizards and of witches, of tyrants wilfully blind and wilfully deaf, and of two-legged serpents, and of two-legged distorters of the truth, and of four-legged wolves, also (that I may overcome) the armies (of all such foes) rushing and dashing onwards in a wide battle array.

तुर्वयाणि—√तुर्व्, to, overcome.[96]

*परिकाणाम्—In Av. the word is associated with यातु. The meaning is "witch". Pers. پری (*peri*) is from this. The word seems to be from √पर् to seduce, to lead astray, and hence परिका is an evil spirit who leads astray the followers of the Law of अष. The RV. shows a root पर्, to lead across (a stream), and figuratively to lead a person across difficulties. It also means "to overcome".[97] It may also mean as here "to lead away from".

शास्ता-*कव-*कृपणानां—I have made a द्वन्द्व of these three words for metrical reasons. The word सातर् (gen. plu. साथ्रांम्) has been explained as "a tyrant". A variant is सास्तर् (see verse 31 below) is also found.[98] The word is from √साह् (शास्), to rule. The word literally means a ruler and then it has come to mean a ruler who abuses his power. The word शास्तृ is found in the sense of a ruler in Maitri Up. VI. 8 (एष हि

[96] Grass., Wb. 543.

[97] Ib. 777ff.

[98] Barth., Wb. 1570 and 1573.

(of) thee: health for this body (of mine). This (is) the third gift, O Haoma, hard to overcome, (that) I request (of) thee: long continuance of (my) vital powers."

*यानम्—Gift; from √यम् (यच्छ्) to favour, to grant a gift, used often in RV., as in VIII. 30. 4 (अस्मभ्यं शर्म सप्रथो गवेऽश्वाय यच्छत); IV. 67.2 (यन्तं सम्नं रयिप्रादसा); also VIII. 15. 3 (इन्द्र मैत्रां अवस्यां च यन्तवे). In Av. यात is also used in the sense of "a possession", "a thing granted"[107]. The formation is the same as that of जाना from जन्[108] or रूजाना from रुज्[109].

गद्यामि—√गद्, to ask (in Av. of the दिव्- or 4th-class). The root is found in Skt. in the sense of to speak or to chant, e.g. Maitri Up., I. 2. राजेमां गाथां जगाद.

*वहिष्ठं-अहुम्—This is the special conception of the "best-life" (i.e. highest heaven) found in the Av. The word has come down in the Pers. بهشت (*bihisht*), paradise.[110]

*विश्वख्वनित्रम्—From √ख्वन्, to flash out, to shine. See above, verse 1. The compound means "all glorious". For the formation see Whit., § 1185.

*ध्रुवतातिम्—Health: lit., endurance or continuance. For the suffix see Whit., § 1238.

*दीर्घजीतिम्—√जी (Skt. जिन्व्, जी, to live). The word means "long life", or "long duration".

उश्तानस्य—The word means almost exactly what is implied by प्राण. Jack. calls it "the vital power, the physical life inherent in the body and lost at death".[111]

Nairyosang:

इदं त्वत्तः प्रथमं कल्याणं क्षम याचयामि उत्कृष्टतरं भुवनं[112] मुक्तात्मनां सदोद्योतं समस्तशुभम्।...रूपप्रवृत्तिं[113] एतस्मै वपुषे।...दीर्घं जीवितं जीवस्य॥

[107] Barth., Wb. 1283.

[108] RV., I. 95. 3; X. 72. 1.

[109] RV., I. 32. 6; also Whit § 1175*a*.

[110] It may be noted that the अहु has dropped out.

[111] Quoted by Barth., Wb. 419.

[112] The Pah. word for अहु may be read both as *ahu* and *khān*, and Bharucha (op. cit., note 55) suggests that भवन might have been meant by Nair. as a translation of Pah. *khān* (Pers. خانه *khānah*) house.

[113] Bharucha suggests उपप्रवृत्तिम्.

20.

इमेम् थ्वाम् तूइरीम् यानेम्	इमं त्वां तुरीयं *यानम्
हओम जइध्येमि दूरओष ।	सोम गद्यामि दुरोष ।
यथ अरेषो अमवाो थ्राँकेषो	यथा *एषः अमवान् तृप्तः
फ्रग्फताने जेमा पइति ।	प्र[ति]ष्ठानि ज्म[या] प्रति ।
त्बएषो-तउर्वाो द्रुजेम्-वनो ॥	द्विष्टर्वाणो द्रुह्वंवनः ॥
इमेम् थ्वाम् पुथ्येम् यानेम्	इमं त्वां *पंक्तं *यानम्
हओम जइध्येमि दूरओष ।	सोम गद्यामि दुरोष ।
यथ वेरेथ्रजाो वनत्-पेषनो	यथा वृत्रहा वनत्पृतनः
फ्रग्फताने जेमा पइति ।	प्र[ति]ष्ठानि ज्म[या] प्रति
त्बएषो-तउर्वाो द्रुजेम्-वनो ॥	द्विष्टर्वाणो द्रुह्वंवनः ॥

This (is) the fourth gift, O Haoma, hard to overcome, (that) I request (of) thee: that I, happy (and) powerful, my task accomplished, may progress through the world overcoming opposition, conquering evil. This (is) the fifth gift, O Haoma, hard to overcome, (that) I request (of) thee: that I, victorious, (and) battle-winning may progress through the world overcoming opposition, conquering evil.

*एषः—One who does what he likes. From √इष्. In RV., I. 180. 4 (अपो न चोदोंऽइगीतमेषे) the word means "wish" or "desire". In Bṛhad. Up., III. 5. 1 (also IV. 4. 22) the word एषणा occurs in the same sense. Kan. reads यथ-अरेषो as a compound, in which case we may translate यथेच्छः.

तृप्तः—Satisfied, implying the *successful* accomplishment of his task of saving the world.[114]

प्रतिष्ठानि —The sense here is of setting forth on a triumphal progress through the world. This connotation of प्रस्था (a successful advance) is paralleled in RV., I. 40. 7 (प्रप्र दाश्वान्पस्त्याभिरस्थितान्तर्वावत्क्षयं दधे). The same sense might have been implied in Praśna Up., II. 4.

*पंक्तम्—For पंचमम्. Cf. the name पङ्क्तिरथ used in classical Skt. for दशरथ. Cf. RV., I. 40. 3 (अच्छा वीरं नर्यं पंक्तिराधसं) and X.117.8 (सम्यञ्चःपंक्तीरुपतिष्ठमानः). The form पंचथ is also found, but very rarely.[115]

[114] See गाथा अहुनवइति (Yas. XXIX) for the task set before Z.

[115] Showing an allied suffix-थ; see Whit., § 487c.

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*यानम्—Gift; from √यम् (यच्छ्) to favour, to grant a gift, used often in RV., as in VIII. 30. 4 (अस्मभ्यं शर्म सप्रथो गवेऽश्वाय यच्छत); IV. 67.2 (यन्तं सुम्नं रिशादसा); also VIII. 15. 3 (इन्द्र जैत्रा श्रवस्या च यन्तवे). In Av. यात is also used in the sense of "a possession", "a thing granted"[107]. The formation is the same as that of जाना from जन्[108] or रूजाना from रुज्[109].

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20.

इमेम् थ्वाँम् तूइरीम् यानेम्	इमं त्वां तुरीयं *यानम्
हओम जइध्येमि दूरओष ।	सोम गद्यामि दुरोष ।
यथ अरेषो अमवा थ्रातेथो	यथा *एषः अमवान् तृप्तः
क्र्ष्वाने ऽेमा पइति ।	प्र[ति]ष्ठानि ज्म[या] प्रति ।
त्बएषो-तउर्वाँ द्रुजेम्-वनो ॥	द्विषुर्वाणो द्रुहंवनः ॥
इमेम् थ्वाँम् पुख्धेम् यानेम्	इमं त्वां *पंक्तं *यानम्
हओम जइध्येमि दूरओष ।	सोम गद्यामि दुरोष ।
यथ वेरेथ्रजाो वनत्-पेषनो	यथा वृत्रहा वनत्पृतनः
क्र्ष्वाने ऽेमा पइति ।	प्र[ति]ष्ठानि ज्म[या] प्रति
त्बएषो-तउर्वाँ द्रुजेम्-वनो ॥	द्विषुर्वाणो द्रुहंवनः ॥

This (is) the fourth gift, O Haoma, hard to overcome, (that) I request (of) thee: that I, happy (and) powerful, my task accomplished, may progress through the world overcoming opposition, conquering evil. This (is) the fifth gift, O Haoma, hard to overcome, (that) I request (of) thee: that I, victorious, (and) battle-winning may progress through the world overcoming opposition, conquering evil.

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प्रतिष्ठानि—The sense here is of setting forth on a triumphal progress through the world. This connotation of प्रस्था (a successful advance) is paralleled in RV., I. 40. 7 (प्रप्र दाश्वान्पस्त्याभिरस्थितान्तर्वावत्क्षयं दधे). The same sense might have been implied in Praśna Up., II. 4.

*पंक्तम्—For पंचमम्. Cf. the name पङ्क्तिरथ used in classical Skt. for दशरथ. Cf. RV., I. 40. 3 (अच्छा वीरं नर्यं पंक्तिराधसं) and X.117.8 (सम्यञ्चन्पंक्तीरुपतिष्ठमानः). The form पंचथ is also found, but very rarely.[115]

[114] See गाथा अहुनवइति (Yas. XXIX) for the task set before Z.

[115] Showing an allied suffix-थ; see Whit., § 487c.

Nairyosang :

...यथा सोत्सवाः महोत्साहाः समृद्धाः प्रचरामो जगत्यां उपरि बाधां निहन्मो दुर्जं अपनयामः ।...यथा विजयिनः टालकयुनः [टालकयुद्धेन] प्रचरामो...। (टालकाः अश्वभस्य) ॥

21.

इमेम् थ्वाँम् ख्ष्तूम् यानेम्	इमं त्वां षष्ठं *यानम्
हओम जइध्येमि दूरओष ।	सोम गद्यामि दुरोष ।
पउर्व तायूम् पउर्व गधेम्	पूर्वं तायुम् पूर्वं गघम्
पउर्व वेह्र्केम् बुइध्योइमइधे ।	पूर्वं वृकम् बुध्येमहि ।
मा-चिश् पउर्वो बुइध्यएत नो	माकिः पूर्वो बुध्येत नो
वीस्पे पउर्व बुइध्योइमइधे ॥	विश्वे पूर्वं बुध्यामहि ॥

This (is) the sixth gift, O Haoma, hard to overcome, (that) I request (of) thee: may we become aware beforehand (of) the robber, beforehand (of) the murderer, (and) beforehand (of) the wolf. Let not any (of our foes) become aware beforehand (of) us, (but) may we become aware beforehand (of) all.

गघम्—The word means a highwayman or a murderer. The word त्रिगघ occurs in Āp. Śr. Sū., XIX. 26. 4. The word गध्य (meaning booty) is found thrice in RV.; IV.16.11, and 16; and IV.38.4. The word वाजगन्ध्यम् is found in RV., IX.98.12, where Grass.[116] says that गन्ध्य means गध्य. The √गन्ध्, to injure, is mentioned in गणपाठ. Probably the words गदा and अगद are cognates.

बुध्येमहि—Note the ātm. In Av. the paras. and ātm. are used more often in their original significations than in Skt. The sense is "may we know" or "may we become aware of". The form उद्बुध्यध्वम् is found in RV., X. 101. 1, in the sense of "wake up".

माकिः—No one. Cf. RV., VIII. 71. 8 (अग्ने माकिष्टे देवस्य रातिमदेवो युयोत).[117]

Nairyosang :

...पुरश्चौरेभ्यः पुरो नृशंसेभ्यः पुरो व्याघ्रादिभ्यः पश्याम । (उपायम्)। वयं... अहं प्रिय्याश्च [मे] ॥

[116] Wb. 1252. [117] Grass., Wb. 1028.

22.

हओमो अएइबिश् योइ अउर्वन्तो	सोमः एभ्यो ये अर्वन्तः
हित तखेंष्ति अरेनाउम्	सिता *तक्षन्ति *अरणाम् ।
जावरे अओजास्-च बख्शइति ।	जवः ओजश्च *भक्षयति ।
हओमो आज़िज़नाइतिबिश्	सोमः आजीजनन्तीभ्यः
दथाइति ख्शएतो-पुथ्रेम् ।[118]	दधाति क्षयत्पुत्रम् ।
उत अषव फ्रज़इंतीम् ।	उत ऋतावत्प्रजातिम् ।
हओमो तएँ-चित् योइ कतयो	सोमः ते-चित् ये कतयः
नस्को-फ्रसाओङ्हो आओङ्हॆन्ते ।	नस्क-प्रशासाः आसन्ते ।
स्पानो मस्तीम्-च बख्शइति ।	घ्नुनम् मतिं च *भक्षयति ॥

Haoma granteth strength and courage unto those warriors who urge well-trained (pairs of) steeds to victory. Haoma bestoweth upon women (who are) bearing, a brilliant son (and) a righteous progeny as well. Haoma granteth wisdom and fervour unto all those householders who are occupied in teaching scriptures.

अर्वन्तः is used in the sense of "(swift) warriors" (Barth. Wb. 200 f.). In RV. the word is used as an epithet of अग्नि (VI.12.6) and of इन्द्र (VI.36.2).

सिता—Cf. RV., VI. 6. 4 (विषितासो अश्वाः) and III. 33. 1 (अश्वे इव विषिते हासमाने). This is a Vedic du.

*तक्षन्ति—The word is used here in the sense of "send forth" or "urge forward". Most of the Vedic commentators take √तक्ष् in the sense of "make", "create" or "prepare". But I think in RV., I 130. 6 (इमां ते वाचं वसूयन्त आयवो रथं न धीरः स्वपा अतक्षिषुः) the word may bear the meaning of "sent forth". So also in RV., I. 163. 2 (गन्धर्वो अस्य[119] रशनामगृभ्णात्सूरादश्वं वसवो निरतष्ट), where I would like to translate the last clause, "O Vasus, from the sun ye led forth the horse".

*अरणाम् is here used in the sense of "battle" or "victory." From √ऋ ; cf. समर. Kan. translates "race-course".[120]

[118] Geld. reads पुथ्रीम्.

[119] Refers to the अश्वोऽग्निर्देवता of the hymn.

[120] Was the thinking of *arena*? But this word is *not* cognate (see Walde, *Lateinisches etymolo. Wb.*).

जवः—Av. forms a much larger number of neuters with the र्-suffix, than is the case in Skt. The word जावरे gives the Pers. زور (*zaor*) strength, from which the word has come into most of our vernaculars as जोर.

*भक्षयति—In the sense of भाजयति, in causal (?) form. The √भक्ष् (to enjoy) is used only once in RV., X. 167. 3. But here the sense is "to bestow". The word has passed on in Pers. بخشیدن (*bakhshīdan*), to grant a favour; hence our word बक्षिस.

आजौजनन्तीभ्यः– The Av. uses ins. for dat. The form is an intensive participle.

दधाति—√धा here means "to bestow" or "to grant", as in RV., X. 79. 5 (यो अस्मा अन्नं तृष्वाइ दधाति) and other passages.

क्षयत्पुत्रम्—I have accepted this reading in preference to Geldner's *पुथ्रौम्. Cf. क्षयद्वीरः used often for रुद्र and others. The word here means "a royal (lit. ruling) son".

प्रजातिम्—Offspring. This word is frequently found in the Upanisads. Pers. فرزند (*farzend*), offspring.

ते-चित्—The nom. case used for dat. by attraction of the ये following. Note also the use of चित् with the dem. pron.

*कतयः—The word means a householder. From √कट् (Skt. चत्[1]) to dig, to build. Pers. کد (*kad*) means house. The word कत is used in Vendidad (II. 26) in the sense of a house and in V.10 and 11 it is used for a receptacle dug out in the floor to receive a dead body. The Vedic √चत् is found in several places, e.g. RV., I. 65. 1 (पश्वा न तायुं गुहा चतन्तम्).

नस्क-प्रशासाः—The Nasks were the original 21 books which contained the whole of the collected writings of the Z. faith. They were mostly destroyed at the time of Alexander's conquest. प्रशास्ता in the sense of "teacher" is used twice in RV., I. 94. 6. (त्वमध्वर्युरुत होतासि पूर्व्यः प्रशास्ता पोता जनुषा पुरोहितः) and II. 5. 4 (साकं हि शुचिना शुचिः प्रशास्ता क्रतुनाजनि). शास (m.) is also found in the sense of "master" or "lord" in RV., X. 152. 1. (शास इत्था महाँ असि) and in III.47.5 (दिवं शासमिन्द्रम्). See also verse 18 above. The compound means "teaching the scripture".

शासनम्—For an obvious reason I have not rendered the Avesta स्तान

[1] The Skt. word means "to hide oneself (in a hole)"; Grass., Wb. 432.

(wisdom) letter for letter. Barth. connects this word with स्पितम (verse 2, above)[122] and स्पनह् (n.) (verse 27, below) and स्पन्त He compares the Lith. word *szveñtas* (holy) and Old Bul. *svętŭ*.[123] The basic meaning seems to be "wisdom". There is a root स्पा in Av. which means "to advance".[124] The corresponding root in Skt. is शु (श्वा) to grow, to swell, to advance. The word शुन (orig. p. pt.) means "blessing", "good fortune" and occurs in several passages, e.g. RV., X.126.7 (शुनमस्मभ्यमूतये वरुणो मित्रो अर्यमा । शर्म यच्छन्तु) and IV.57.8 (शुनं नः फाला वि कृषन्तु भूमिं शुनं कीनाशा अभि यन्तु वाहैः । शुनं पर्जन्यो मधुना पयोभिः शुनासीरा शुनमस्मासु धत्तम् ॥). Also found in words like शुनपृष्ठः (RV., VII.70.1) and शुनहोत्र (RV., II.18.6).

Nairyosang :

हुमस्तेषां ये प्रस्तमंतः महायान्[125] अध्ययनमयिनः कुरुते । (किल अश्वान् क्षत्रियाणाम्) प्राणं ओजश्च वर्धति [वर्धयति ?] ।...अजातकेभ्यो...दीप्तिमंतं पुत्रं...एवं पुण्यसंततिम् ।...ये गृहस्था नस्कप्रशिक्षया निषीदंति । (किल अध्ययनं कर्तुम्) । महत्वं निर्वाणज्ञानं च वर्धति ।

23.

हओमो ताँस्-चित् यो कइनीनो	सोम तांश्चित्-याः *कनीनाः
आोङ्हइरे दरेघेम् अग्र्वो ।	आसिरे दीर्घम् अग्रुवः ।
हइथीम् राधेम्-च बक्षइति	सत्यम् *राधम् (च) *भक्षयति
मोषु जइश्यमो क्रतुष् ।	मक्षु गद्यमानः सुक्रतुः ॥

Unto all those who have remained virgins for a long time, without husbands, Haoma doth grant faithful and loving (bridegrooms), as soon as the Wise One is entreated.

*कनीनाः—The fem. कनीना is not known in Veda, but the mas. is found in four places—RV., I. 117. 18 ; III. 48. 1 ; VIII. 69. 14 and X. 99. 10 ; in the last two cases it is an epithet of Indra. The forms कनीनक and कनीनका are both found in RV., once each[126], and the latter

122 Which may be rendered into Skt. by श्वितम्.

123 Barth., Wb. 1621.

124 Ib., 1616 (2. *spā*). Barth. compares the Old High Ger. *spuoen*, to grow.

125 Bharucha explains (op. cit., note 56)—" 'Helpers to those who bear weapons', i.e. horses, charioteers, etc."

126 Grass., Wb. 312.

once in Bṛh. Up., II. 2. 2 (या कनीनका तयादित्यः) in the Up. it means however "the dark-iris (of the eye)".[127]

अग्रुवः—Without a गुरु (husband).[128] Cf. RV., I. 140. 8 (तमग्रुवः केशिनीः सं हि रेभिरे) and I.191.14 (सप्त स्वसारो अग्रुवः) in both which cases the word is nom. plu. The word अग्रु is found used in the Veda in mas. also, by an extension of meaning, to mean an unmarried person.

*राधम्—Lover. The fem. form राधा is well known. राध in Veda, however, has the meaning of "gift" or "offering".

गद्यमानः—Pronounce गद्यम्नः as in the Av.

Nairyosang :

...या कुमार्यें[129] निषीदंति दीर्घं अप्रहीताः। (अपरिणीताः इत्यर्थः...)। प्रकटं दातारं च वर्धति। (किल ताभ्यो भर्तारं प्रकाशयति)। आशु याचयितारं सुबुद्धिम्। (किल तत्कालमेव अन्तः कार्यें संतिष्ठमानम्) ॥

24.

हओमो ८तम्-चिट् यिम् कृसानीम्	सोमस्तं-चित् यम् कृशानुम्
अप क्षथ्रेम् निषाधयट् ।	अप क्षत्रम् *निषादयत् ।
यो रओक्ष क्षथ्रो-काम्य ।	यो *अरोढ क्षत्र-कामा ।
यो दवत नोइट् मे	यो *धुनत नो इत् मे
अपाम् आथ्रव अइविश्तिश् ।	*अपाम् अथर्वा *अभ्यक्तिः ।
वइथ्यै दइङ्हव चराट् ।	वृद्धये दस्यौ चरात् ।
हो वीस्पे वइधिनाम् वनाट्	स विश्व-वृद्धीनाम् वनात्
नो वीस्पे वइधिनाम् जनाट् ॥	नि विश्व-वृद्धीनाम् हनात् ॥

Him indeed, (who) was Kərəsāni, did Haoma cast down from his power, (him) who was swelled up in his pride of sovereignty, (and) who (had) bragged: "Never henceforth shall any priest, learned in the Avesta, go about for (the sake of bringing) prosperity into my land; (otherwise) he might overcome the whole of (my) grandeur, (he) might strike down the whole of (my) greatness.

127 S.B.E., XV, p. 106.

128 Grass. (Wb. 11) suggests the derivation from अ + √गिर् i.e. not betrothed.

129 Nair. evidently means कौमार्ये i.e. अविवाहितस्थित्याम्, Bharucha, op. cit., note 60.

तम्-चित्—In Av. चिट् is added to all pronouns and also to nouns for either giving an indefinite sense or to be mildly emphatic.[130]

कृशानुम्—In the Veda he figures as the guardian of सोम; see RV., IV.27. 3 and IX.77.2, also I.112.21and I.155.2.

निषादयत्—Dethroned. The augment अ of the लङ् is dropped.

*अरोढ—An aorist form of √रुध्, to grow, to swell up.[131] This root is found in RV., VIII.43.6 (अग्निर्यद्रोधति क्षमि) and in I.67.5. The Av. form रओस्त is the atm. s-aorist.

क्षत्रकामा—Ins. sing. ending in आ.[132] Cf. यज्ञायज्ञा in RV., I.168.1.

*धुनत—I have made up this word from √ध्वन् to sound, to make a noise. In the RV., we find the word धुनि (adj.) meaning loud etc.,[133] e.g. VII.5.5 (गिरः सचन्ते धुनयो घृताचीः). It is also found as the name of a demon overcome by इन्द्र, RV., VI. 20. 13 (where he is mentioned with another, चुमुरि) and elsewhere. The name of the demon probably means "the noise-maker" The Av. √दव् to speak is a दएव-word;[134] hence I have used the √ध्वन्. The etymology of the √दव् is not known: It gives th Pahlavi *davistan* to howl.[135] Could it be connected with the Skt. √धू (धवति), to shake, and hence mean originally "to stutter"?

मे refers to दस्यौ below.

*अपाम्—An adverb meaning "henceforth." Adverbs with the acc. sg. termination but in the fem. form are rare in Skt. except with the comparative and superlative forms.[136]

अथर्वा—The word is found in the sense of a "fire-priest"[137] in the Veda. The word in Skt. is used later as a proper noun. But in the Veda we get the original sense in RV., X.120.9 (एवा महान्बृहद्दिवो अथर्वावोचत्); X. 48. 2 (अहमिन्द्रो रोधो वक्षो अथर्वणस्त्रिताय गा अजनयमहेरधि) and three other places.[138]

*अभ्यक्तिः—Pt. Vidhuśekhara has suggested that this word should

[130] Barth., Wb. 588ff.

[131] वरद is known in Skt., Whit. § § 834d and 882a. The *guṇa* strengthening is irregular to correspond with the Av. form; see Whit. § 887a.

[132] Whit. § 330a. [133] Grass., Wb. 687.

[134] The corresponding अहुर-word is मू (= ब्रू).

[135] Barth., Wb. 688.

[136] Whit., § 1111e. [137] Grass., Wb. 32-33.

[138] VI. 47, 24; VIII. 9. 7; and IX. 11. 2.

be taken as an adj. to the previous word (अथर्वां). The word from √अस् + अभि has been always used in Skt. the sense of "reading the Vedas", and so too we should take it *mutatis mutandis* in the Av. I have made this word with the suffix -ति and used it as an adj.[139] Dastur Kaikobad Adarbad Nosherwan, the High Priest of the Parsis in the Deccan, in a very illuminating article[140] has suggested that the word *Avesta* itself is from the same root and it thus literally means "Scriptures". Barth. takes अइभिस्तोश्र as gen. sg. and connects it with the दइघ्यै following.[141]

*दस्यौ—The word दस्यु is the exact phonetic equivalent of Av. दश्यु (var. दइह्यु). The meaning is however apparently widely different. But it is not impossible to connect these two. The word in Av. means "country" or "land" and passes in Mod. Pers. to ده (*dih*), country. From the land to the people the transition of meaning is not at all improbable. In Veda the word is often found to mean the people who are opposed to the देव-worshipping Aryas of India, e.g. RV., II.11.19 (सनेम ये त ऊतिभिस्तरन्तो विश्वाः स्पृध आर्येण दस्यून्); RV., X.49.3 (न यो रर आर्यं नाम दस्यवे). The word in this sense is always used in the Veda in contrast with the word आर्य.[142] Here the word means "through (my) land".

The idea in the verse seems to be that if priests were allowed to go about the land they might by their prayers increase the prosperity of the land and thus may injure the prosperity attained by the infidel ruler ख्शानि

Nairyosang :

ख्शनस्तांश्चित् ये कलश्रियाकाः अपराज्यान् निवारयति। (येषां प्रबोधः[143] तर्साकदीनिः[144])। ये समुदिताः राजकामतया। (किल राजत्वेन उपरि समागताः सन्ति)। ये प्रलपन्ति मा अस्माकं पश्चात् आचार्यः अधिकाध्ययनतया स्वेच्छया ग्रामेषु प्रचरतु। स विश्वेषां वृद्धं [वृन्दम् ?] टालयति।...

[139] Whit., § 1157 2f.

[140] *Cama Memorial Volume*, pp. 274ff.

[141] I have myself taken it thus in my *Selections from Avesta and Old Persian, Part I.* But I think Pt. Vidhuśekhara's suggestion embodied here is certainly better.

[142] Grass., Wb. 584-585; Barth., Wb. 706ff.

[143] Bharucha (op. cit., note 62) explains this as "awakening from ignorance, i.e. preaching belief (in Christ?)".

[144] Pers. ترسا (*tarsā*), a Christian, and دين (*dīn*) religion.

N.B.—The word कलिस्रियाकाः[145] is a Pahlavi word which means Christians. The Pahlavi writing is really responsible for this strange anachronism of Nair. The Av. word क़ारेसानि, when transcribed into Pahlavi, may be read either as *karsāik* or *kalisāik*. The latter term was applied in the Sassanian times (the period of the Pahlavi commentaries) to their contemporary Christian enemies of Byzantium, and in general to all infidels.[146] It seems therefore natural that the same term was also applied to the enemy of हओम. This confusion has apparently led Darmesteter to suggest that the word क्ष्सानि symbolises the Greek dominion in Persia.[147]

25.

उष्त-ते यो ख्वा अओजङ्ह	*उष्टं ते यः स्वा ओजसा
वसो-क्षथ्रो अहि हओम ।	*वेशक्षत्रः असि सोम ।
उष्त-ते अपिवत़हे	*उष्टं ते [यो] *अपिवित्से
(पोउरुवचाम् ऋशूख्धनाम् ।	पुरुवचसाम् ऋजूक्तानाम् ।
उष्त-ते नोइत् पइरि-फ्रास	*उष्टं ते नेत् *परिप्राश्रा
ऋशूख्धम् पेरसहि[148] वाचिम् ॥	ऋजूक्तम् पृच्छसि वाचम् ॥

Hail to thee! O Haoma, who through (thine) own power art thine own master. Hail to thee! who dost understand the truthful word full-spoken. Hail to thee! never dost thou question by cross-questioning the word true uttered.

*उष्टम्—The Av. उष्त means "hail", like Skt. स्वस्ति. I have made the Skt. word as a sort of past participle of √वश्. This would accord well, as Pt. Vidhuśekhara thinks, with Nairyosang's शोभनः. Is वषट् also connected ?

स्वा = स्वेन

*अपिवित्से—Note the ātm. here. The *upasarga* अपि is unknown with विद् in Vedic. The meaning is the same as वि-विद् in Veda.

पुरुवचसाम्—Full-spoken words, i.e. unequivocal words.

*परिप्राश्रा—I have tried to make this word from √प्रच्छ् + परि (to

145 Pers. كليسا (*kalisā*), Church. The Pahlavi is a direct borrowing of the Grk. ἐκκλησία.

146 In one place (*Bahman Yašt*, III. 3-5) it is even applied to Alexander the Great.

147 *Zend-Avesta*, Vol. II, p. 93.

148 Geld. reads ātm. °हे.

cross-question). The word प्रतिप्राश्न is found in AV., II.27.1[149] (प्राशं प्रतिप्राशो जहि). The idea is that हओम does not test the truth of his worshippers by round-about and varied questions, he trusts in their good faith implicitly.

Nairyosang :

शोभनः त्वं यो निजौजसा कामराजाऽसि...।...। शोभनः त्वं मध्यं [अधिकम् ?] जानासि प्रचुरवचसाम् सत्योक्तानाम् ।...। शोभनः त्वं न ऋते प्रश्नत्वात् सत्योक्ताम् पृच्छसि वाचम् । (किल किंचिदपि नोद्गिरसि यद् होमिंज्दः[150] अन्तः प्रश्नत्वेनोवाच) ॥

26.

फ्रा-ते मज़्दाो बरट्	प्र ते *मह्ज्दाः [अ] भरत्
पउर्वनीम् अइव्याोङ्हनेम् ।	*पूर्वाणाम् *अभियासनम् ।
स्तहर्-पएसङ्हेम् मइन्यू-ताश्तेम्[151]	स्तर्पेशसम् मन्यू-तष्टम्
वङुहीम् दएनाम् माज़्दयस्नीम् ।	वस्वीम् *ध्यानाम् *मह्ज्दा-यज्नीम् ।
आअत् अइङहे अहि अइव्यास्तो	आत् अस्याः असि अभियस्तः
बरेशनुश पइति गइरिनाम् ।	*बर्हंशु प्रति गिरीणाम्
द्राजङ्हे अइविधाइतीश्-च	*द्राघसे अभिधातेश्च
ग्रवस्-च मांथ्रहे ।	*ग्रभश्च[ापि] मन्त्रस्य ॥

Forth for thee did the Almighty bring the first (sacred) girdle, star-begemmed, woven by the two Spirits—(the girdle which is) the excellent religion of Mazda-worship. Since then, invested with this (girdle), thou hast been (dwelling) upon the mountain heights, through all ages (entrusted with) the words, and meanings too, of the Scriptures.

*मह्ज्दा—I understand मज़्दा to be made up of मज़् (=मह्), greatness + दा (=धा), to create,[152] Barth.[153] explains the word as from √मन् + √धा and says literally it means "memory" that which notes everything (*Memor, der (alles) merkt*). Older scholars explained the word as identical with Skt. मेधस्.

*पूर्वाणाम्—On the analogy of पुराण.[154]

[149] But not from √प्रच्छ्, to ask.

[150] अहुरमज़्द.

[151] Geld. reads °न्यु°.

[152] So also Kan. Dict., pp. 388 and 390.

[153] Wb. 1162ff.

[154] Whit. § 1245f.

*अभियास्ननम्—The sacred girdle worn by every Zoroastran (both men and women) round the waist. From अभि + √यास्, to gird round. It may be noted that this girdle (now called *kustī*) is worn round the waist like the Hindu मेखला.

स्तर्पंग्रसम्—The word स्तर् is found in several places in the RV., in the sense of star, e.g. VI. 49. 3 (स्तृभिरन्या[155] पिपिशे).

The star-begemmed gridle pictured in the sky is the belt of Orion, and probably this is a reference to a very ancient Aryan myth.[156]

मन्यू-तष्टम्—Woven by the *two* Spirits. Note here again the close association of the two. I have kept the dual in the prior number of the compound on the analogy of इनूकम्प.[157]

*ध्यानाम्—The Av. word दएना is from √दी, (=Skt. ध्यै) to see, to think.[158] Hence the word means religion (that which enables one to see the right from the wrong). The fem. gender is kept up in the Skt. here, for the Av. word is fem. Pers. دین (*dīn*) means "religion".

°क्षीम्—Which worships etc.

आचद्—Since then.[159]

*वर्ष्णम्—Peak. From √वर्ष् (वर्ध्), to grow, with नु-suffix.[160]

*द्राघसे—Adv. (orig. dat. sg.) meaning "for a long time". The √द्राघ् is the basis of a number of words indicating length in space or in time. Grass. compares Old Norse. *draga*, to drag.[161] Cf. RV., III. 62. 17 (द्राघिष्ठाभिः शुचिव्रता) where the word द्राघिष्ठाभिः is adverbial, meaning "for a long time".

*अभिधातेः—Of the word. The words अइभिशाइतिश् and ग्रवस् are in the gen. to be construed with अइव्यास्तो above. This latter word has the double meaning of "girded with" and "entrusted with".

*ग्रभः—Of the meaning. From √ग्रभ् to grasp, to hold. The word ग्रभ् (f.) in the sense of "holding" or "capturing" occurs twice in RV., VII. 4. 3 (नि यो गृभं पौरुषेयीमुवोच दुरोकमग्निरायवे शुशोच) and VIII. 17. 15

155 Sc. the Night.

156 The point is very finely discussed by B. G. Tilak in his *Orion* (ch. VI), where he fully discusses this verse (Yas. IX. 23) and compares it with the corresponding Indian version of the myth.

157 Whit. § 1250g.

158 Kan. Dict., p. 264; Pers. دیدن (*dīdan*), to see, is cognate.

159 I.e. since the girdle was bestowed on Haoma by मज्दा

160 Whit. § 1162 (especially section e).

161 Wb. 646.

(भूर्णिमश्वं नयत्तुजा पुरो गृभेन्द्रं सोमस्य पीतये). The last four *padās* are rendered variously.[162]

Nairyosang:

प्रदत्तं इदं तुभ्यं होमिंज्दोऽदात् प्राक्तनां अइविश्चंघनतां[163] तारारचितां परलोक[164] घटितां उत्तमां दीनिं[165] माज्दइस्नीम्।[166] (अस्य अइविश्चंघनत्वं इदं यत् यथा कुस्ती[167] समं मनुष्येण ऐकीकृता दीनिश्च एवं समं हूमेन ऐकीकृता। अस्याः ऐकीकृतत्वं इदं यत् यावत् हूमं न खादति दीन्या सुनिश्चितो न भवति। हूमखादनकार्यं अन्तर् इजिस्नौ[168] आस्ते)। ततस्तया असि आवेष्टितः शिखरेषु उपरि गिरीणाम्।...। दीर्घा उत्कृष्टप्रवृत्तिं यावत् गृहीतोऽसि मांथ्रवाण्या। (किल त्वं यावत् वपुः प्रास्तात्यं[169] अंतर इजस्नि कार्यं समादिष्टोऽसि)॥

27.

हओम	सोम
न्मानो-पइते वीस्-पइते	*दम-पते विश्-पते
ज़ंतु-पइते दइङ्ह-पइते।	*जन्तु-पते *दस्यु-पते।
स्पनङ्ह वएध्या-पइते।	*श्वनसा [च] विद्या-पते।
अमाइ-च थ्वा वृथ्रघ्नाइ-च	अमाय (च) त्वा *वृत्रघ्नाय (च)
मावोय उप-स्तूये तनुये।	*मह्यम् उपस्तुवे तन्वे।
थ्रिमाइ-च यत् पोउरु-वाथ्रनहे॥	*त्रिमाय (च) यत् पुरुभोजसे॥

O Haoma! Lord of the house, Lord of the village, Lord of the province, Lord of the land, (and) through (thy) holiness Lord of (all) Wisdom! Thee I invoke for courage and victory as well, for my ownself), and for strength that bringeth salvation unto many.

*दम-पते—Veda has दम्पति, used generally of अग्नि, as in RV., I. 127. 8 (वस्वीनां त्वा विशां पतिं हवामहे सर्वासां समानं दम्पतिं भुजे).

विश्-पते—विश् is here used in the sense of "village". विश्पति is

[162] For other renderings see my *Selections, Part I*, pp. 45f.

[163] Nair. merely transcribes the Av. word.

[164] मइन्यु also means "heavenly" in Av. Hence this rendering of Nair. But this implies the reading मइन्यु-°; see note 151, above.

[165] Av. दएना religion, Pers. دین (*dīn*).

[166] The Av. word is transcribed by Nair.

[167] The sacred girdle.

[168] Ijisna or Yasna (= यज्ञ). He refers to Chapters X and XI of the Yasna, during the recital of which the Haoma juice is to be drunk.

[169] Pahlavi *tan-i-pasīn* (the future body), the time of resurrection (Bharucha, op. cit., note 68).

found in RV. too, but in only two places apparently the word bears a sense similar to that it bears in the Av. The passages are RV., VIII. 60. 19 (अग्ने जरितर्विश्पतिस्तेपानो देव रक्षसः । अप्रोषिवान् गृहपतिर्महाँ असि दिवस्पायुर्दुरोणयुः ॥); and RV., I. 127. 8, quoted above.

*जन्तु-पते—The word ज़न्तु in Av. is taken to be "province"—the next higher unit of social life after the house and the village. The word is used in the Veda as a collective in the sg. to mean "mankind".[170]

*श्वनसा—I have rendered the Av. word letter for letter. The word is formed by adding नस-suffix to √श्वा (Skt. श्रु, श्वा).[171] The Av. word स्पनङ् is found only here. The word means "holiness".[172]

*वृत्रघ्नाय—The word would mean "for the sake of victory". In Veda we find the word वृत्रहथ once in this sense.[173] For the formation of the word, cf. पर्णयघ्न used once in RV., X. 48. 8 (यत्पर्णयघ्न उत वा करञ्जहे प्राहं महे वृत्रहत्ये अशुश्रवि); सुघ्नाय in RV., VIII. 70. 11 (सुघ्नाय दस्युं पर्वतः); and अहिघ्ने in RV. VI. 18. 14 (अनु त्वाहिघ्ने अध देव देवा मदन्विश्वे कवितमं कवीनाम्). See above, verse 17.

*मभ्यम्...तन्वे—Cf. RV., I. 165. 11 (इन्द्राय वृष्णे सुमखाय मह्यं सख्ये सखायस्तन्वे[174] तनूभिः). The Av. मावोय corresponds exactly to *मभ्य, which is found in the RV. in the broken down form मह्य.[175]

उपब्रुवे—Cf. RV., I. 179. 5 (इमं नु सोममन्तितो हृत्सु पीतमुप ब्रुवे) and RV., III. 37. 5 (इन्द्रं वृत्राय हन्तवे पुरुहूतमुप ब्रुवे).

*त्रिमाय—For strength. The word *त्रिम I have made from √त्रा (in weak grade त्रि[176]) with the suffix-म.[177] RV., shows the form त्रामन् (n.) twice (I. 53. 10 and V.46.6) in the sense of "protection".

पुरुभोजसे—The Av. word is in gen. sg. instead of dat. sg. This is used as an adj. qualifying the previous word. It means "bringing salvation to many". Cf. RV., III.34.9 (इन्द्रः ससान पुरुभोजसं गाम्) where it means "nourishing many".

170 Grass., Wb. 476.

171 Whit. § 1152b.

172 Barth., Wb. 1612.

173 RV., III. 16. 1.

174 Note that the word तन्वे is to be read तनुवे here.

175 Grass., Wb. 164.

176 So also, from √स्था there are the weak forms स्थिष् and स्थित् and the derivative स्थाम; Grass., Wb. 1617.

177 Whit. § 1166; Jack., § 808.

Nairyosang :

इम गृहपतिरसि वीस्पतिरसि जन्द[178]-पतिरसि ग्रामपतिरसि ।...।...विजयत्वं च मदीये उपरि च वृष्टि वपुषि । (आशीर्वादेन) ।...। ऋद्धत्वं च यत् संपूर्णशुद्धि ।...॥

28.

वी नो ट्बिश्वतांम् ट्बएषैषविश्व	वि नो द्विष्वतां द्वेषेभ्यः
वी मनो बर ग्रमेङ्तांम् ।	वि मनो भर घर्मवताम् ।
यो चिश्-च अह्मि न्माने	यः [कः] चित् [च] अस्मिन्दमे
(यो अङ्हउहे वीसि	(यो अस्याम् विशि
यो अह्मि ज़ङ्त्वो	यो अस्मिन् जन्तौ
यो अङ्हउहे दङ्हउश्चो)	यो अस्याम् दस्यौ)
अएनङ्हो अस्ति मश्यो ।	एनस्वान् अस्ति मर्त्यः ।
गेउर्वय-हे पाधवे ज़ावरे	गृभाय अस्य पद्भ्यां जवः
पइरि-षे उषि वरूदधि ॥	परि अस्य उषि *वृणधि ।
स्कोङ्देम् षे मनो करूडधि ॥	खिन्नम् अस्य मनः *कृणुधि ॥

Away from the hatred of enemies and away from the (enmity) of angry foes do thou remove our mind(s): and whosoever the mortal, who in this house, who in this village, who in this province, (or) who in this land is full of evil, from (both) his nether-limbs take (thou) away strength, turn his brains upside-down, (and) reduce to disorder his mind.

घर्मवताम्—द्वेषेभ्यः is to be construed again. The heat here is the metaphorical heat of anger. Hence the word means angry foes.[179]

एनस्वान्—Used in the sense of "full of evil", here as also in the Veda.

गृभाय—Caus. imp. 2nd sg. paras. Cf. RV., VIII. 17. 5 (गृभाय जिह्वया मधु).

उषि—Used here in the sense of intellect; cf. Pers. هوش (*hōsh*) intelligence. It generally means "ear" in the दएव-sense, the अहुर-word being करेन (= कर्ण).[180]

खिन्नम्—The √खिद् in Skt. was an older ×स्खिद्,[181] and that is pro-

[178] Pahlavi word. [179] Barth., Wb. 529. [180] Ib. 444. [181] Grass., Wb. 373f.

bably connected with the Av. √ख्वान्द्[182] The idea is the same as in RV., VI. 53. 7 (आ रिख किकिरा कृणु पणीनां हृदया कवे).

Nairyosang :

विना अस्मान् [अस्माकं] बाधाकराणां बाधां विना मनस्य कुरु[183] कष्टं वासयताम्।[184] ...अस्ति मनुष्यः। (पापकारी)। प्रहाणं तस्य पादयोः प्राणम्। प्रणष्टं तस्य चैतन्यं परिवर्तय। भंगं तस्य मनसः कुरु।...॥

29.

मा ज़्बरथएइब्य फ्रतुयो	मा *ह्वृताभ्याम् प्रतुयाः
मा गवएइब्य अइवि-तूतुयो।	मा *ग्राभाभ्यां अभितूतुयाः।
मा ज़ाँम् वएनोइट् अषिब्य	मा ज्माम् *वेनात् अक्षिभ्याम्
मा गाँम् वएनोइट् अषिब्य।	मा गाम् *वेनात् अक्षिभ्याम्।
यो अएनङ्हइति नो मनो	य *एनस्यति नो मनः
यो अएनङ्हइति नो केहर्पॅम्॥	य *एनस्यति नः कृपम्॥

Give not strength unto (his two) crooked-shanks, nor power grant unto (his two) grasping-paws; let him not view this earth with (his) eyeballs, let him not behold the creation with (his) eyeballs, who works harm (to) our mind, who does injury (to) our body.

*ह्वृताभ्याम्—The Av. word ज़्बरथ is a दएव-word and means "leg". The word is really a participle (past) of √ज़्बर् (ह्वृ, ह्वर्), to be crooked. Hence the word may be translated "crooked-shanks".

*ग्राभाभ्याम्—The word ग्राभ is found in Veda in the sense of grasping or snatching as in the compound ग्रावग्राभः found in RV., I. 162. 5 in the sense of "he (sc. सोम) who holds the pressing stones". I have taken the word in the दएव-sense of "grasping-paws", because the word गव is a दएव-word in Av. The dropping of a र् is sometimes found in Av. under certain conditions especially with a long vowel[185] (cf. जह्निका verse 32). Frachtenberg[186] connects this गव with Av. √गव् to walk, to hasten, (cf. Skt. जवते). Hence गव would mean really the foot and is used for "hand" because "only animals walk on their hands".

182 Barth., Wb. 1587.

183 Construe विना..कुरु, render futile.

184 Those who cause us to dwell in misery (Bharucha, op. cit., note 69).

185 Reichelt, *Awest-Elementarbuch*, § 106.

186 *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, pp. 279f.

वेनात्—The Av. √वएन् (Skt. वेन्) means to see; cf. Pers. بين, (*bīn*).

*एनस्यति—Injures.

Nairyosang :

मा पादाभ्यां प्रपतयताम् । मा पाणिभ्यां अधिकं प्राप्नोतु । मा जगतीं विलोकयतु अक्षिभ्याम् ।... । यो द्वेष्टि नः कलेवरम् ॥

30.

पइति अग्नोइम् जइरितहे	प्रति अहेः हरितस्य
सिमहे वीषो-वएपहे ।	*घ्रिमस्य विष-वामस्य ।
केहर्पेम् नाषेम्नाइ अषओने	क्षपम् *नश्मने ऋतावने
हओम जाइरे वदरे जइधि ।	सोम हरे वधर् *जधि ।
पइति गधहे वीवरेज्दवतो	प्रति गधस्य विव्रक्षवतः
ग्रवीश्यतो ऊकरानो ।	*क्रविष्यतः *जाहुणान[स्य] ।
केहर्पेम् नाषेम्नाइ अषओने	क्षपम् *नश्मने ऋतावने
हओम जाइरे वदरे जइधि ॥	सोम हरे वधर् *जधि ॥

Against the serpent, green, dreadful (and) poison-breathing, smite, O golden Haoma, (thy) weapon for protecting the body of the righteous. Against the murderer, acting contrary (to the Law), blood-thirsty (and) fuming, smite, O golden Haoma, (thy) weapon for protecting the body of the righteous.

प्रति—In the Veda it takes the ablative when it means " against ".[187]

*घ्रिमस्य—The word in Av. means "horrible" or "dreadful." The word by itself is not known in Veda but we have घ्रिमीवत् (powerful) e.g. RV., X. 38. 1 (अस्मिन्न इन्द्र पृत्सुतौ यशस्वति घ्रिमीवति क्रन्दसि प्राव सातये) where the word might also mean " dreadful " or " awe-inspiring ". The name घ्रिमिदा is found in AV., IV. 25. 4, as that of a wicked woman. घ्रिम्यु is also found in the sense of " wicked " or " inimical " RV., I.100.18 (दस्यूञ्छिम्यूंश्च...हत्वा) and RV., VII. 18. 5 (शर्धन्तं घ्रिम्युम्). We also find the adj. अघ्रिमिदा (not inimical, non-destructive) in RV., VII. 50. 4 (सर्वा नद्यो अघ्रिमिदा भवन्तु).

*नश्मने—For the protection of. √नश् (to attain)[188] + मन् suffix.[189]

[187] Grass., Wb. 868. [188] Also Vedic, see Grass., Wb. 718f. [189] Whit. § 1168.

ऋतावने—The dat. instead of gen. by case-attraction.

वधर्—The word is used in the sense of a weapon in the Veda, e.g. RV., VIII. 24. 27 (वधर्दासस्य तुविन्दम्ण नीनमः)[190]

*जधि = जहि.

विहृतवतः—In Skt. "abandoned". The Av. meaning is perhaps connected "acting against (the Law)". Both are from वि + √हृत्.

*क्रविष्यतः—Blood-thirsty. The word क्रविष्णु is found in RV., X. 87. 5 (क्रव्यात्क्रविष्णुर्वि चिनोतु वृक्णम्).

*जाहृषानस्य—On the analogy of जाहृषाण (intensive participle) which is found in RV., I. 101. 2 (जाहृषाणेन मन्युना).

Nairyosang :

उपरि अहौ लोहिते भयंकरे विषावासे। कलेवरं विनाशयति पुण्यात्मनो हुम सुवर्णाभ प्रकाशय विघातम्। (किल उपायं कथय)। उपरि न्दष्टांसे विच्छिन्नकर्मणि छेदकर्तरि पीडयितरि।...

31.

पइति मश्येहे द्रवतो	प्रति मर्त्यस्य द्रवतः
सास्तर्ष्यं अइव्रि-वोइरदयन्तहे कमेरेधेम्।	प्रास्तुः *अभिवेनयतः कमूर्धानम्।
केहर्पेम् नाश्नाइ अषओने	क्ृपम् *नश्नने ऋतावने
हओम जाइरे वदरे जइथि।	सोम हरे वधर् *जधि।
पइति अषे-मओयहे अनषओनो	प्रति *ऋतमोचस्य अन्ऋतवतः
अङ्हुम्-मर्न्चो अइओह्या दएनयाो।	*असुंमृचः अस्या *ध्यानायाः।
मांस-च दथानहे	*मनो- वचो दधानस्य
नोइत् श्यओथ्नाइश्र अपयन्तहे।	नेत् च्यौत्नैः आपयतः।
केहर्पेम् नाश्नाइ अषओने	क्ृपम् *नश्नने ऋतावने
हओम जाइरे वदरे जइथि॥	सोम हरे वधर् *जधि॥

Against the unbelieving mortal, the oppressor (proudly) raising up (his) wicked head, smite, O golden Haoma, (thy) weapon for protecting the body of the righteous. Against the unrighteous distorter of Truth, the soul-destroyer, (who though) bearing in mind the commandments of this (true) religion, (still) never applies (them) in his actions, (against

[190] Grass., Wb. 1202.

such an one) smite, O golden Haoma, (thy) weapon for protecting the body of the righteous.

ग्रास्तु:—Used in a bad sense; cf. verse 18 above.

*अभिवेजयतः—The Av. word occurs only here. Barth. takes it as a pres. participle of वोइग्नदा (to smite, to lift up)[191] with अइति, taking कमेरेदेम् as its object, and translates "(proudly) holding up his (wicked) head". The compound root वोइग्नदा[192] is from √वोइग्न्(=विज्, वेज्)+√दा(धा). The Vedic word अभिवेग[193] in RV., X. 27. 1 is also a connected word.

*असुंम्रचः—Soul-destroyer.

*मनो...दधानस्य—Bearing in mind. The Av. word is from the compound root मांस्दा (=मन्+दा) and I have ventured to make a compound verb *मनोधा, though such a form as a *verb* is not used in Sanskrit.[194] But we get the form मनोषृत् in RV., III. 38. 2 (इनोत पृच्छ जनिमा कवीनां मनोधृतः सुकृतस्तक्षत द्याम्). The separation of the componant parts of such a compound form is paralleled in Skt. in RV., II.12.5 (श्रदस्मै धत्त).

चौत्नैः—The word is found in the sense of "strong action" of gods, men or demons,[195] e.g. RV., VIII. 16. 6 (तमिच्च्यौत्नैरार्यन्ति तं कृतेभिश्चर्षणयः).

आपयतः—Present participle of the causal of √आप्, to reach, to obtain.[196] The meaning is "applying", lit. "causing to attain to (the perfection of the Law)".

Nairyosang :

उपरि मनुष्यस्य दुर्गतिमतो अन्यायिनः अधिकनिन्दादातुमंस्तके ।...। उपरि आम्रोगे[197] अमुक्तात्मनि भुवनविनाशके अस्याः दीनेः मनोवचोदातरि[198] न कर्मणा परिप्राप्ते । (किल मन्यते यद् ब्रवीमि करोमि वा न करोमि) ।...

[191] Wb. 1574.

[192] Cf. यवन्दा in verse 1.

[193] Griffith translates this by "determination".

[194] At least not with धा, except श्रद्धा With कृ such forms are found in Skt. (Grass., Wb. 334; Whit. §§ 1078—1079 and 1090ff.)

[195] Grass., Wb. 460.

[196] Barth., Wb. 70ff. He says in a note (5) that the participle is thematic, i.e. ends in अ, irregularly.

[197] See verse 18, above; also footnote 99. The word is spelt differently in the two places as may be noticed.

[198] Nair. evidently takes मंस्-वचो to be a द्वंद्व. Kan. also makes a similar suggestion.

32.

पइति जहिकयाइ यातुमइत्याइ	प्रति *इस्त्रिकायै यातुमत्यै
मओधनो-कइर्याइ उपश्ला-वइर्याइ।	मोदनकर्यै उपस्थभर्यै
यैडहे क्रक्रवइति मनो	यस्याः प्रप्रवति मनो
यथ अव्रम् वातो-शुतेम्।	यथा अभ्रम् वातद्रुतम्।
केहर्पेम् नाघ्रमाइ अषओने	क्रपम् *नभ्मने ऋतावने
हओम जाइरे वदरे जइधि।	सोम हरे वधर् *जधि।
(यत्-हे) केहर्पेम् नाघ्रमाइ अषओने	(यदस्याः) क्रपम् *नभ्मने ऋतावने
हओम जाइरे वदरे जइधि॥	सोम हरे वधर् *जधि॥

Against the wicked woman, full of wiles, voluptuous (and) lustful, whose mind tosses about like a wind-driven cloud, smite, O golden Haoma, (thy) weapon for protecting the body of the righteous; indeed (against) her do thou smite, O golden Haoma, (thy) weapon for protecting the body of the righteous.

*इस्त्रिकायै—Barth.[199] connects this with the Vedic इस्त्रा used in RV., I. 124. 7 (जायेव पत्य उशती सुवासा उषा हस्रेव नि रिणीते अप्सः), where the word means "smiling". The Av. word is degraded in sense to mean "smiling wantonly", hence a वेश्या. The corresponding good word is नाइरी (नारी). For the dropping of the र्, see above गव in verse 29. Pt. Vidhuśekhara suggests the rendering जसिका from √जस् to go[200] and compares the word इत्वरी.[201]

यातुमत्यै—The word is used in RV., I. 133. 2 and 3.

मोदनकर्यै—Dat. sg. of °करि. Used in a bad sense here.

उपस्थभर्यै—Dat. sg. of °भरि. Cf. सहोभरि (strength-bringing) in RV., V. 44. 3 (स[202] होता सहोभरिः). Barth. for an unknown reason translates this word, "—?— bringing".[203]

प्रप्रवति—Intensive of √प्रु.

वातद्रुतम्—From √द्रु, to set in motion. Cf. RV., X. 68. 5 (बृहस्पतिरनुमृश्या वलस्याभ्रमिव वात आ चक्र आ गाः)

Note the repetition of the last two *pādas* to mark the close of a hymn.

199 Wb. 606. 200 Nighaṇṭu II. 14. 201 Amara, II. 6. 10.
202 Sc. अग्नि 203 Wb. 397.

Nairyosang :

उपरि वेश्यायां शाकिन्यां मंदत्वं कुर्वाणायाम् ।...। प्रतिपत्तृत्वं[204] विभ्राणायाम् । (किल रक्षां पापकर्मिणां कुरुते)। यस्याः प्रस्फुरति मनः यथा अभ्रं वातोत्सारितम् ।...

[204] This strange rendering of Nair is due to misreading the Pahlavi, which (as Barth. notes, loc. cit.), may be read *upast-i-burtār* or *panāhih-i-burtār* (giving protection).

ORIGINS OF INDIAN CIVILISATION.

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It appears to be popularly believed that India owes its civilization to a body of invaders, termed Aryans, who brought the Sanskrit language and the earliest Vedic hymns into India from some country to the north-west. This theory appears to have originated from the deep impression made upon western students by the discovery of Sanskrit literature when they first came into contact with it. There has followed the curious theory which Max Müller did so much to popularise, although he finally recanted it, that the kinship between the various Indo-Germanic languages indicated a common *racial* origin among the people who speak such languages, and that there was an ancient Aryan race which spread from some centre either in Western Asia or in Europe, over a vast area reaching from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Bay of Bengal, and in more recent years, through European emigration, to all parts of the world. It is now universally recognised among scholars that language is no test of race, that there never was an Aryan race in the extended significance in which that term was used, and, more particularly, that the Nordic race which predominates in North-Western Europe originated in the area where it is still dominant, i.e. round the shores of the North Sea. It is also extremely probable that the Indo-Germanic languages which the people of the Nordic race now speak were borrowed by them at some ancient period from peoples living further to the east, and that their original languages have disappeared without trace.

Nevertheless that part of the theory which attributes Indian civilisation to the Sanskrit-speaking immigrants still holds its place in practically all books dealing with early Indian History, with a resulting tendency to regard Dravidian peoples as an inferior race. So far as race is concerned, there is, I believe, a practical unanimity among anthropologists to the effect that the Tamils, Telugus, Malayalis and Canarese are a branch of the great Mediterranean race, marked by slight build, orthognathous faces, black hair, dark eyes, and narrow

skulls; the race which gave the world Egyptian and Cretan culture, which was probably responsible mainly for Babylonian culture also and which to-day contributes the largest element to the population of Italy, Spain, and France, and enters very largely into the racial make-up of the British Isles. There, however, remains the question, a most interesting question which appears to me to have practically escaped attention, to what extent this Dravidian or Mediterranean race which laid the foundations of European civilisation, also contributed to the ancient civilization of India.

My first suspicions with regard to the theory of the Aryan origin of Indian culture were roused by a cursory study of Tamil grammar. We have here a language-system structurally entirely alien from the Indo-Germanic languages, one which belongs to a more ancient type of language, for the study of inflections in the Indo-Germanic languages shows that these are the degenerate remains of separable additions to roots or stems, and in Tamil such linguistic decay has not taken place. The fact that present day spoken and literary Tamil perpetuates a much more ancient stage in the evolution of language than that represented by even the most ancient Sanskrit seems to suggest that the Tamil language became fixed in its literary character at an extraordinarily ancient date, and points to an extraordinarily ancient Dravidic civilisation. Then again the wonderfully logical and subtle character of the language is such as to arouse the admiration of any student. Thus, for example, I do not suppose any other language could be found with so complete and scientific a system for expressing all the possible shades of meaning which can be given to a statement when turned into the interrogative or negative form. This indicates that the ancient Dravidic culture was of a very advanced character.

When I first arrived in Madras I put my suspicions to a test on meeting the architect, Mr. H. V. Lanchester. I asked him how the native architecture of South India compared with that of North India, and he replied that South Indian architecture was vastly superior. I asked him whether South Indian architecture appeared to him to be to have been evolved locally, or to be the result of the action of foreign influences; and he replied that he was confident that it was a local evolution. I asked him if this was consistent with the theory that civilisation entered India from the north and he answered that it was difficult to reconcile the facts with such a theory.

From time to time I have discovered other indications suggesting that South Indian Dravidian civilisation is of independent growth, or at least that it owed little or nothing to the Sanskrit speaking conquerors from the north. It would seem indeed as though the people who chanted the *Ṛg Veda* were only in a pastoral stage of civilsation, which itself indicates a borrowed and not an evolved culture, so that they probably had acquired what culture they possessed by direct or indirect contact with Babylonia; but that the Dravidian population they found established in India had developed agriculture, trade, manufacture, and a philosophy of religion, and even very ancient contact by sea with other pioneers of civilisation. Thus, for example, we have the wonderful discovery in the Hyderabad urns of pottery with inscriptions similar to those used by the ancient Cretans in that period of pre-Homeric civilisation which Sir Arthur Evans has termed "Minoan." Then Logan in his *Malabar* mentions the existence of a little island of the West Coast, which has its own numerical system and counts not by tens but by twelves. This appears to me to be one of the most curious anthropological facts ever discovered, for counting in twelves, if we could attain it now, would represent a tremendous triumph of reason and science over ancient habit and tradition. The people who originated a duodecimal system must have been people of very high culture, and though the duodecimal system merely lingers on in this isolated spot as a historical survival it points to a very ancient connection by sea with some foreign centre of civilisation; and to be in contact with other countries by sea is itself an indication of culture. A somewhat similar indication is to be found in the megalithic remains in Cochin and other places recalling similar remains found in many other parts of Europe and Asia, the work of a long vanished race, but everywhere associated with sea-travelling and extraction of minerals.

But perhaps the most convincing and striking evidences of the antiquity of South Indian civilisation are comprised in the remains found in great burial urns of rough pottery in Tinnevelly, and now stored in the Madras museum. These include ornaments of gold beaten out into very thin films and evidently intended to be worn by a priesthood upon the forehead. These are exactly similar to priestly gold ornaments discovered in Crete. There are a great number of votive offerings in bronze, which I presume must have been an imported metal. These reproduce the forms of various domestic animals, by far

the most common being the buffalo; but it is notable that there is no instance of a bull or a cow. Evidently the people who produced this peculiar form of art were not acquainted with the sacred animal of the Sanskritic Aryans. On the other hand, they must have been in touch with the bronze, using civilisation of Europe and Western Asia.

On the whole therefore it appears to me to be far more probable than otherwise that at the time of the Aryan incursions the earlier inhabitants of India had a more advanced civilisation than the invaders. The gradual triumph of Sanskritic over Dravidian languages is easily accounted for by the fact that the former are easier to learn than the latter. Hence we find that in the north of India Europeans use Hindustani in speaking to servants, but in Madras servants use English in speaking to their European employers. In either case the easier language is used in preference to the more difficult one. In the conflict between languages the more difficult language tends to become extinct.

But if the above hypotheses be accepted we then are called upon, to enquire with an open mind what contributions the ancient Dravidian culture has made to historic Indian civilisation. The answer I am disposed to give to this question is that Indian religion is essentially Dravidic. There appears to be no recognisable connection between the worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu according to the tenets of the Śaivite and the Vaishnavite sects, with the worship of the gods of storm, rain, etc., which are hymned in the *Ṛg Veda*. If, on the other hand, we look for the origin of the existing sects in the traces of more ancient religions that we can find in any South Indian village, it is, I think, quite easy to see the dominant facts in the evolution of Indian religious thought.

I would suggest that probably the most ancient of all the religions of India are those of which cobra worship is a typical example, namely the propitiation of formidable creatures about whose existence there is no doubt. From this beginning a great advance in religious thought appears to be embodied in the worship of the so-called village goddesses These goddesses should not, I think, be regarded as many, but in all cases as but one all being local variations of Kāli or Durgā, who is also Diana of Ephesus, and many others. The thought behind the worship of Kāli is the realisation at once of the bounty and the cruelty of Nature, and the further realisation of Nature's fickleness and unaccountability, qualities which are naturally regarded as feminine. Then the

next stage in religious thought is that which is expressed in the worship of Ayanar. He, unlike the great goddess who expresses her wrath in famine, cholera, or small-pox, and who requires to be propitiated with countless bloody offerings of male buffaloes, rams and cocks, desires no sanguinary gifts. He is served by being provided with the horses of terra cotta or masonry whereon he rides round the village by night to drive away all malignant and hostile beings. The worship of Kāli, or Durgā, or Gangammā, and the worship of Ayanar, both appear to have originated in a period before the discovery of the fact of paternity and the physiology of generation. The discovery of this fact appears to have been made in India independently of its discovery elsewhere, and its realisation was evidently the most momentous event in the evolution of Indian thought and religion. The natural result was the worship of the God of Paternity, the Giver of Life, whose symbol is the *Lingam*, representing the male organ of generation, or the *Namam* representing the act of procreation, and whose name is Śiva among some people and Viṣṇu among others. For it was, I take it, the same thought process that created the god Śiva in the more southern country and the god Vishṇu in the more northern.

The failure to recognise the antiquity of South Indian civilisation is due to the disappearance of its more ancient remains. This again is due to pure accident. Ancient South Indian writing was upon palm leaves, ancient South Indian architecture was of wood and other perishable materials. The former fact is sufficiently well known and needs no demonstration. Of the latter fact any one can be convinced by visiting, for example, the ancient city of Conjiveram. There are found the remains of some of the most ancient stone temples in South India. These are built of an untractable material, a very hard granitic stone, and are yet most elaborately carved and ornamented. It is a style of architectural work which could never have been evolved on such a material. Broad outlines and massive style are what characterise the native art evolved in working upon granite, as Egyptian remains show sufficiently clearly. No craftsmen would have attempted the ornate work found in Conjiveram if they had not previously evolved their methods and forms while working upon much more tractable material. These most ancient of the stone temples indicate a very long period of architectural evolution in which the material worked upon was wood. Those old wooden temples have perished, but many of them

were Śaivite, and the sites of these are still marked by the practically imperishable stone *lingams* which can be seen scattered over the paddy fields.

We are tempted to follow this line of speculation and ask whether it does not throw some new light upon the question of the origin of caste. Because the Sanskrit word for caste means colour, and for various other reasons, the commonly accepted explanation of caste is that it is the result of the super-imposition of one race over another, each conquering race trying to maintain, as far as possible, its social superiority and purity of blood. But it is a curious commentary on this theory that it is in South India, where the super-imposition of conquerors upon conquered is least important, and not in North India where it is most important, that caste reaches its fullest development. Is it not possible that the caste system has fundamentally an economic root, and it has to be accounted for by an early industrial specialisation, characterising the ancient civilisation of a tropical country? The physiological fact of tropical lands, that early maturity is the basis of the social fact of early marriage, and the continued rule of parents over their children after they have become parents themselves. In a civilised community where there is early marriage, parental affection naturally leads the parents to guide and control their children in their married relations, and to bring up sons after the father's profession. Hence the customs of hereditary occupations, marriage at puberty or earlier, and social caste observances, which are all inter-related. Where an indigenous caste system already exists it is natural for a conquering race to take advantage of it, obtaining recognition from the earlier inhabitants as a distinct caste, and claiming caste superiority.

I am not in this paper endeavouring to prove any conclusions, but merely to state hypotheses. It appears to me that the questions I have here raised should be faced, and the answers to them should be sought for by careful investigation, and not by bold and baseless assumption.[1]

[1] The reader is also referred to Mr. O. C. Gangoly's article "On some Iconographic Parallels" in Vol. III. (Orientalia-Part 1) of this set—I. J. S. T.

OLD IRANIAN FORMS OF INVOCATION OF GOD.

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Ancient Persian writings began with some forms of invocation to God. All these forms meant to say that the writing was began "with (or in) the name of God." In the *Ahuramazda Yašt*, Zoroaster asked Ahura Mazda as to what part of the *mąθra* (मन्त्र) gave most courage, victory, etc. Ahura Mazda replied that it was the recital of his and his Aməšā Spəntās' names that gave one courage, victory, etc. On being further asked as to his particular names which were most efficacious, Ahura Mazda gives his twenty names, which, if properly recited day and night may give one help and pleasure, (*avaŋha* (अवस्) and *rafnaŋha*). Ahura Mazda then gives about 54 more names, the recital of which may help a person in his difficulties. Among these, two are *Ahura* (the giver) and *Mazda* (the Omniscient), which two names joined have given us Ahura-Mazda, the Avestaic name of God.

All ancient Persian or Parsi writers follow, as it were, this injunction and give in the beginning the name of God as a form of invocation. All Parsee prayers in the Avesta language begin with an invocatory formula: *χšnaoθra Ahurahe Mazdå*, i.e. "for the pleasure of Ahura Mazda" or "may Ahura Mazda be pleased," followed by the recital of an *Ašəm Vohu* formula.

Following this injunction, all Pahlavi books have some kind of invocatory formulas. I give below a list of such formulas found in various Pahlavi books.

I. *Pavan shem-i Dātār Auharmazd.*



i.e. In the name of the Creator Oharmazd.

This is found in:—

(*a*) The *Bundehash*, Justi's text, (Der Bundehash), p. I.

(*b*) The *Nirangestān*, the photo-litho facsimile by Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana.

(*c*) The *Minokherad*, Ervad Tehmuras's text published with Introduction from my pen. The rendering of it in the Sanskrit translation is श्री अहुरमज्दाय नमः ।

(*d*) *Aiyādgar-i Zarīrān*, Dastur Jamaspji's Pahlavi texts.

II. *Pavan shem-i Yazdān.*



i.e. In the name of God.

This is found in:—

(*a*) *Ardai Virāf-nām ah*, Dastur Hoshang Jamasp's text; also Dastur Kaikhosru Jamaspji's text.

(*b*) *Afdiya va Sahigiya-i Sistān*, Dastur Jamaspji's text, p. 25. Vide my translation, p. 123.

(*c*) *Khūsrū-i Kavatān va Retaki*, Dastur Jamaspji's texts, p. 27.

(*d*) *Andarz-i Peshingān*, ibid., p. 39.

(*e*) *Chitak Andarz-i Poryōtakeshān*, ibid, p. 41.

(*f*) *Andarz-i Dānakān val Mazdayasnān*, ibid, 51.

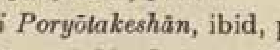
(*g*) *Andarz-i Anusheh-robān Atrapāt Marespandān*, ibid, p. 58.

(*h*) *Sakhun ayochand-i Atar Farobaj-i Farkhozādān*, ibid, p. 79.

(*i*) *Vajakīhā-i Bakht āfrid va Atarpāt-i Zartushtān*, ibid, p. 81.

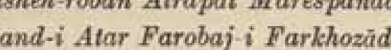
(*j*) *Honakhtunishn-i Mandum-i-Gēlī*, ibid, p. 82.

III. *Pavan shem-i Yazdān datak nayōk.*



By the name of God, the good Giver or the Giver of the good. This is used in (*a*) the *Dinā-i Mainu Khrat* (Minokherad), Dastur Darab P. Sanjana's text, and in (*b*) *Andarz-i Khosru-i Kavelān*, Dastur Jamaspji's Pahlavi Texts, p. 55.

IV. *Pavan shem-i Yazdān va nyāishn-i nayōk yehevūnāt.*



i.e. May this be in the name of God and His good praise. This is found in *An Old Zand-Pahlavi Glossary* by Dastur Hoshang Jamasp and Dr. Martin Haug.

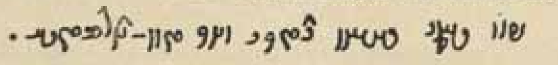
V. *Pavan shem-i Dātār-i vēh afzūnīk.*



i.e. In the name of God who is the good Increaser.

This is found in *Shatroiha-i Airan*, Dastur Jamaspji's text. Vide my translation, p. 51.

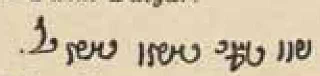
VI. *Pavan shem-i Yazdān datak-i nayōk tan-durestīh.*



i.e. In the name of God, the Giver of good health.

This is found in *Pand-nameh-i Dastur Ādarbād Maraspand*, Ervad Sheriarji's text and translation.

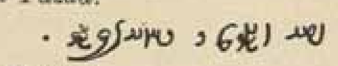
VII. *Pavan shem-i Yazat Dātgar.*



i.e. By the name of the Giver and the Just.

This is found in the Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dābistān-i Dīnek by Ervad Bamanji Naserwanji Dhabhar.

VIII. *Pa nām-i Yazdā.*

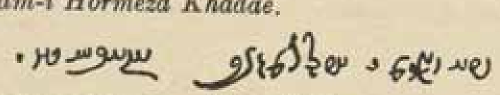


i.e. In the name of God.

(This form is the Pāzand rendering of the above-mentioned formula *Pavan shem-i Yazdān.*)

This is found in the *Aogemadaecā*; the text reprinted in Bombay in 1891 from Dr. W. Geiger's text.

IX. *Pa nām-i Hormezd Khadāe.*



i.e. In the name of Hormazd the God.

This is found in *Shikand-Gūmānīk Vijār*, the Pazand-Sanskrit text by Dastur Hoshang Jamasp and Dr. West.

This Pahlavi formula has assumed in later Persian books the form of *ba nām-i Yazad* (بنام یزد), i.e. In the name of God. This form is often amplified as بنام یزد بخشایندهٔ بخشایزگر مهربان, i.e. In the name of God the Giver, the Bountiful, the Merciful.

ŚAṄKARA'S COMMENTARIES ON THE UPANIṢADS.

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The object of the present paper is to show that the great Śaṅkarācārya cannot be held to be the author of all the commentaries of the Upaniṣads that carry his name. It is popularly believed that Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and other *ācāryas* in their attempt to explain the प्रस्थानत्रय, 'the Three Ways' (leading to the common destination, viz. ब्रह्मन्), i.e. श्रुति, स्मृति, and सूत्र, have written commentaries on the ten principal Upaniṣads which are included in the श्रुति. But this is contrary to the facts. For there are no commentaries by all the *ācāryas* on the Upaniṣads. The tradition may, however, be explained by saying that though there are no separate commentaries by all the *ācāryas* on the Upaniṣads a large number of passages or sentences of the latter have been quoted and dealt with by all of them in the course of their commentaries on the *Brahmasūtras*. But whatever may be the case we have strong reasons to believe that some of the commentaries of the Upaniṣads which are said to be the works of the great Śaṅkara are really not so, as will be evident in the course of this paper.

There are two commentaries on the *Kena Upaniṣad* called पदभाष्य 'Word Commentary,' and वाक्यभाष्य 'Sentence Commentary,' both said to be the productions of Śaṅkara. But nobody seems to have any explanation to offer as to why one of them should be called 'Word Commentary' and the other 'Sentence Commentary.' Both the works bear the same author's name, and as it is absurd to believe that one and the same person should indulge in the pleasure of writing two commentaries on the same work, an explanation has been sought for in vain in the assumption that it was owing to the desire of the author for dealing with the text in two different ways. But the internal evidence is strongly against it, for not only is the language in the two commentaries different but also the argument. Even the great Śaṅkara's well-known views are misrepresented in the 'Sentence Commentary.' We ask our readers to compare the two commentaries on

the *Kena*, IV. 7 (32), and they will be surprised to find how diametrically opposite they are to each other. The text of the Upaniṣad runs as follows:—

उपनिषदं भो ब्रूहीति ।

उक्ता त उपनिषद् । ब्राह्मीं वाव त उपनिषदम् अब्रूमेति । ३२ । ४ . ७ ।

The *Padabhāṣya* explains it thus:—

उपनिषदं रहस्यं यच्चिन्त्यं भो भगवन् ब्रूहीति । एवमुक्तवति शिष्ये आह आचार्यः — उक्ता अभिहिता ते तव उपनिषद् । का पुनः सेत्याह ब्राह्मीं ब्रह्मणः परमात्मन इयं तां... उपनिषदम् अब्रूम इति । उक्तामेव परमात्मविद्याम् उपनिषदम् अब्रूमेत्यवधारयत्युत्तरार्थम् ।

But it is explained in the *Vākyabhāṣya* as follows:—

उपनिषदं भो ब्रूहीत्युक्तायामप्युपनिषदि शिष्येणोक्त आचार्य आह— उक्ता ते तुभ्यम् उपनिषद् आत्मोपासनं च । अधुना ब्राह्मीं वाव ते तुभ्यं ब्रह्मणो ब्राह्मणजातेरुपनिषदम् अब्रूम वक्ष्याम इत्यर्थः । वक्ष्यति हि । ब्राह्मी नोक्ता उक्ता त्वात्मोपनिषद् । तस्मान्न भूताभिप्रायोऽब्रूमेति शब्दः ।

The contradictory nature of these two explanations will be evident if the reader takes note of the different treatment of the words अब्रूम and ब्राह्मीम् in these different works. It will also be noticed that the explanation in the former is evidently correct and far better than in the latter.

Other evidences[1] bearing on the point are easy for any careful reader to come across if he will try to compare these two commentaries.[2]

I have also reason to believe that Śaṅkara was not the author of the commentary on the *Śvetāśvatara*. The style and the mode of interpretation are far different from and inferior to these in the commentary of the *Brahmasūtras*. The long extracts from the *Purāṇas* with which the *Śvetāśvatara* commentary is filled are never to be found in any commentary of Śaṅkara the authorship of which is beyond dispute.

[1] Such as divergent explanations (*Kena*, II. 1. 2), different readings of the text (thus in II. 2, the *Padabhāṣya* reads नाहं while the *Vākyabhāṣya* has नाह), etc.

[2] It will be found in the "Proceedings of the first Oriental Conference" held at Poona (Nov. 1919), p. xcix, that Pandit Śrīdhara Śāstrī Pāṭhaka has arrived at the same conclusion showing further that the '*Pada* Commentary' is written by the celebrated Śaṅkara while the 'Sentence Commentary' is by one Vidyāśaṅkara who ascended the seat of the former.

The author of the commentary on the *Śvetāśvatara*[3] quotes a couplet from Gauḍapāda's *Kārikās* (III. 5) introducing it with the words तथाच शुकशिष्यो गौडपादाचार्यः. It is well known that Gauḍapādācārya was the परमगुरु of Śaṅkara being the direct spiritual guide of Govinda Bhagavatpāda, whose disciple was our Śaṅkara. So it is expected that Śaṅkara would designate his spiritual ancestor by some honorific epithet such as भगवत् as he has actually done on the occasion of quoting Vyāsa[4] the गुरु of Śuka. Or possibly he would quote from him without the mention of his name as he has done twice in the commentary of the *Brahmasūtras*.[5]

Now as regards the commentary on the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* which also bears the name of Śaṅkara, it will appear from the following facts that it, too, is not a work of the great Śaṅkarācārya. The commentary begins with two verses of such inferior quality that they could never have been composed by Śaṅkara. These verses are in the form of मङ्गलाचरण generally seen in comparatively modern works. And this book ends also with three verses of the same kind and quality, the last of which even contains grammatical inaccuracies.[6] The second of the opening verses is defective in its metre.[7] There is no salutatory verse in any of the authentic commentaries of Śaṅkara with the single exception[8] of the commentary on the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* which has three such *ślokas*, but these, too, can hardly be considered as genuine. Following the example of ancient teachers Śaṅkara generally plunges at once into his subject without making salutation to any deity, not

[3] I. 8 (Ānandāśrama Press, 3rd ed., p. 30).

[4] तथा च स्मरणमनुगीतासु भगवतो व्यासस्य ।—Comm. on *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, I. 4. 10 (Ānandāśrama Press, 1891, p. 167); निश्चितमुक्तं व्यासेन वेदाचार्येण भगवता ।—Comm. on *Īśa Up.*, 2 (Ānandāśrama Press, 1912, p. 7).

[5] तथा च सम्प्रदायविदो वदन्ति, *Brahmasūtra*, I. 4. 14; अत्रोक्तं । वेदान्तार्थसम्प्रदायविद्भिराचार्यैः, Ibid, II. 1. 9.

[6] The reading मज्जोन्मज्जच cannot be defended. One may read here मज्जदुन्मज्जच, but in that case the metre breaks down. मज्जन्मज्जच may, however, be right. But the use of नमस्ये is grammatically not admissable the correct form being नमस्यामि.

[7] The first three lines of the stanza are in *Mandākrāntā* metre while the last one is in *Sragdharā*. Such mixture is not allowable.

[8] *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi* and other minor works which are generally ascribed to Śaṅkara are not here taken into consideration. For they have not yet been critically examined and it has not been conclusively proved that Śaṅkara was the author of them all. Nor can it be ascertained that he is the author of the commentary on the *Viṣṇusahasranāma* or *Sanatsujātiya*, or at any rate of the salutatory verses in the beginning of these.

even to Brahman or Paramātman. The commentaries of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and *Kaṭha* are opened with salutation to the ancient teachers or Ṛiṣis by whom the *Brahmavidyā* has been handed down, but even these have the appearance of being interpolations. The printed books or the manuscripts which bear these texts cannot be fully relied upon. When compared with the other colophons of Śaṅkarn's works it will at once become evident that these could not be from his hand. He himself would never inscribe his name in his own work as परमहंस परिव्राजकाचार्यशङ्करभगवतः कृतौ. These colophons were certainly added to the genuine ones by later hands, as for instance, in the commentaries of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and *Chāndogya*.

It must also be taken into serious consideration that Śaṅkara has nowhere quoted *Māṇḍūkya*, even where it could serve his purpose, as for instance, in connection with the commentary on the passage, ओङ्कार एवेदं सर्वम् in the *Chāndogya*, II. 23. 3 which entirely corresponds to सर्वमोङ्कार एव of the *Māṇḍūkya* I. Had Śaṅkara been the real author of the present commentary of the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* he could not have helped referring to it in his *Chāndogya* commentary.

The first *Adhyāya* of the *Chāndogya* is professedly an explanation (उपव्याख्यानम्) of ओङ्कार. Had there been before Śaṅkara any other text dealing with the same subject[9] he would naturally have made use of it. But in all probability the *Māṇḍūkya* itself was not written before or even in the time of Śaṅkara. This point has further been discussed in my forthcoming volume on the *Āgamaśāstrā of Gauḍapāda*

In the introductory part of the commentary of the *Māṇḍūkya* there occurs a line as follows: रोगार्तस्येव रोगनिवृत्तौ स्वस्थता तथा [10] दुःखात्मकस्य आत्मनो द्वैतप्रपञ्चोपशमे स्वस्थता. In Vedānta and specially in Śaṅkara's philosophy आत्मा is आनन्दमय or आनन्दस्वरूप and never दुःखात्मा. Śaṅkara would certainly have expressed the same thought by some other word. Similarly the explanation of the word सर्वदुःखानाम् in the *Kārikā* I. 10, as

[9] For, it is well known that *Māṇḍūkya* deals with ओङ्कार, beginning with ओमित्येतदक्षरमिदं सर्वं तस्योपव्याख्यानं.... and ending in एवमोङ्कार आत्मैव संविशत्यात्मनात्मानं य एवं वेद, य एवं वेद।

[10] This तथा (or तथैव with MSS. घ, ङ, ञ, ट of the Ānandāśrama ed. 1911) is superfluous and cannot have i en used by Śaṅkara. But in justice to its author it should be statel that the word तथा is actually not to be found in the original reading of the passage which has been entirely quoted in the commentary of the *Nṛisiṁhapūrvatāpanīya Upaniṣad* ascribed also to Śaṅkara. See p. 3, Ānandāśrama ed.

प्राज्ञतैजसविश्वलक्षणानाम् as given in the commentary could never emanate from Śaṅkara. And, again, it is utterly strange for Śaṅkara to define his परमार्थतत्त्व as beyond the four points, viz. सत् 'existant,' असत् 'non-existant,' सदसत् 'existant and non-existant,' and असदसत् 'neither existant nor non-existant.' The *Māṇḍūkya* commentary (i.e. the commentary on both the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* and the *Kārikās* on it by Gauḍapāda) betrays such crudeness of thought and expression in its author that he could never be identified with the great Śaṅkarācārya. Detailed discussion will be found in my *Āgamaśāstra of Gauḍapāda* referred to above. The mere fact of Śaṅkara's name being in the colophons of different works must not lead us to assume their common authorship. For certainly there were more than one Śaṅkarācārya who were writers of Vedantic works. It appears to me to be certain that the author of the *Māṇḍūkya* commentary is different not only from the celebrated commentator of the *Brahmasūtras* but also from the commentator of the *Nṛsiṁhapūrvatāpanīya Upaniṣad*. The following are some of the reasons for this assertion.

There are numerous passages[11] common to both these works without any acknowledgement of debt in either of them. And yet it is not at all difficult to discover that it was the commentator of the *Nṛisiṁha* who quoted from that of the *Māṇḍūkya* and not *vice versa*. The grounds hereof are given below.

The introduction[12] contained in these two commentaries, almost identical in both of them, appears to be more relevant to the *Māṇḍūkya* than to the *Nṛsiṁha*. Certainly any attempt at explanation was needless such as was offered by the commentator of the *Nṛsiṁha* for stating first the सम्बन्ध 'relation,' अभिधेय 'subject,' and प्रयोजन 'object' of no

[11] (i) कथं पुनरोङ्कारनिर्णयः .. .. पद्यत इति कर्मसाधन पादशब्दः—*Māṇḍ.*, pp. 9-14=*Nṛ.*, pp. 44–45 (Ānandāśrama ed. 1900 and 1896 respectively).

(ii) एष हि स्वरूपावस्थः .. भूतानामेष इत ।—*Māṇḍ.*, p. 24=*Nṛ.*, p. 48.

(iii) सर्वेषु कारणेषु अविशेषेऽपि .. प्राणबन्धनं हि सोम्य मन इति श्रुतेः ।—*Māṇḍ.*, pp. 27–30 =*Nṛ.*, pp. 48–49.

See also the beginnings of both the commentaries.

[12] वेदान्तसारसंग्रहभूतमिदं प्रकरणचतुष्टयं.... अत एव न पृथक् सम्बन्धाभिधेयप्रयोजनानि वक्तव्यानि । यान्येव तु वेदान्ते सम्बन्धाभिधेयप्रयोजनानि तान्येवेह भवितुमर्हन्ति । तथापि प्रकरणव्याचिख्यासुना संक्षेपतो वक्तव्यानि ॥ *Māṇḍ.*, p. 5.

And अत एव पृथक्सम्बन्धाभिधेयप्रयोजनानि न वक्तव्यानि । यान्येव तु उपनिषत्सम्बन्धाभिधेयप्रयोजनानि तान्येव उपनिषद्व्याचिख्यासुना संक्षेपतो वक्तव्यानि । *Nṛ.*, p. 3.

other work but the Upaniṣad under discussion. Nor is the author's use of the word संक्षेपतः 'briefly' at all appropriate; while, on the contrary, in the *Māṇḍūkya* commentary it really serves some important purpose. The *Māṇḍūkya* commentary nowhere mentions the name of the *Nṛsiṁha*, but on the other hand, the *Nṛsiṁha* commentary not only makes mention[13] of the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* but also attempts to harmonise[14] its own views with those expressed in its commentary. Sometimes it gives a meaning quite different from that given in the *Māṇḍūkya* commentary and offers the reason thereof.[15] If both the commentaries had been by the same author, the *Nṛsiṁha* or its commentary would also have been referred to in the commentary of the *Māṇḍūkya*. But the fact is otherwise.

Moreover, it appears from the commentary of the *Nṛsiṁha* that its author has taken the *Kārikās* of Gauḍapāda as a part of the original text of the *Māṇḍūkya* and not as a separate work based on the latter as it is generally known. In this it differs in all appearance from the author of the *Māṇḍūkya* commentary. The following lines from the commentary of the *Nṛsiṁha* (p. 48) in the course of discussing some readings of both the Upaniṣads deserve to be quoted in this connexion:

अत ऊर्ध्वं माण्डूक्ये उक्त एवार्थे श्लोकान् पठित्वा तुरीयः पादः, एतस्मिंस्तापनीये तु तान् विहाय तुरीयः पादः।

'After this in the *Māṇḍūkya* on the very subject mentioned above, first some *ślokas* are read and then the तुरीय पाद; but here in the *Tāpanīya* the तुरीय पाद is read omitting them (i.e. the *ślokas*).'

These *ślokas* are nothing but Gauḍapāda's *Kārikās* beginning with बहिष्प्रज्ञो विभुर्विश्वः . . . (1), etc. It seems that the short sentences अत्रैते श्लोका भवन्ति, 'on this (subject) here are these (following) *ślokas* (*Māṇḍ.*, pp. 25, 46, 57, 61) introducing the *Kārikās* are wrongly taken by the author of the *Nṛsiṁha* commentary as forming the parts of the original Upaniṣad.[16] But it can easily be proved that the introductory sentences alluded to are really composed by the author of the *Kārikās*,

[13] *Nṛ*. comm., p. 46, four times; p. 48, once.

[14] *Nṛ*. comm., p. 46: नन्वेवं सप्ताङ्गानि . . . . माण्डूक्योपनिषत्प्रणवविद्यायां व्याख्यातम्। and ननु यथा माण्डूक्ये वैश्वानरशब्दसामर्थ्यात् . . . . व्याख्यातम्। See also the matter dealt with below.

[15] See the explanation of the words सप्ताङ्ग and एकोनविंशतिमुख, *Māṇḍ.*, p. 14; *Nṛ.*, p. 45.

[16] This question has been discussed more elaborately in my forthcoming work on the *Āgamaśāstra of Gauḍapāda*.

i.e. Gauḍapāda or by some other person. It may be noted here that some of the MSS.[17] of the commentary or its *ṭīkā* introduce the sentences saying अथ वार्तिककारोक्तं वाक्यम्. The *Vārtikakāra* mentioned here is no other than Gauḍapāda.

The *Nṛsiṁha* belongs to later *Upaniṣads* and is a Tāntric one mixed with Vedantic views. The author of its commentary is also the author of a Tantric book, *Prapañcāgamaśāstra*, or *Prapañcasāra*, as he himself styles it in quoting it frequently in the former work, where he clearly states that it is his own writing[18] This *Prapañcasāra* is still extant and its different editions are also available. Not less than six verses of this work have been quoted in the *Nṛsiṁha* commentary and they have all been traced and found in the former.[19] The *Nṛsiṁha* commentary has a strong flavour of Tantricism in it which is never found in the commentary of the *Māṇḍūkya*.

I shall show later on how defective is the commentator of the *Nṛsiṁha* in his knowledge of grammar, though the commentator of the *Māṇḍūkya* is not very far removed from him in this respect. But yet in the depth of ignorance in grammar the commentator of the *Nṛisiṁha* easily takes the first place. For not only he makes mistakes himself, but he also fails to detect them in others. As an instance, the following line which occurs in both the commentaries under review,[20] may be quoted: आत्मा परमार्थः सन् प्राणादि विकल्पस्यास्पदः। The word आस्पद is neuter and can never be used in the masculine. The commentator of the *Nṛsiṁha* has blindly quoted it and, as I am going to show, this is not unusual with him.

In language and in style the two commentaries are different and by far the superior one in this respect is the *Māṇḍūkya* commentary. In the commentary of the *Nṛsiṁha* the interpretations of the passages

17 Viz. ख, ग, ड of the Ānandāśrama ed.

18 See *Nṛ.*, pp. 30, 33, 35, 37, 51 and 61.

19 (i) *Nṛ.*, p. 30, हृदयं बुद्धिगम्यत्वात्.. = *Prapa.*, (*Vāṇīvilās* Press) p. 64, VI. 7.

(ii) *Nṛ.*, p. 33, तुष्टार्थत्वाच्छिरोऽस्य.. = *Prapa.*, p. 64, VI. 8.

(iii) *Nṛ.*, p 35, शिखा तेजः समुद्दिष्टम्.. = *Prapa.*, 64, VI. 9.

(iv) *Nṛ.*, p. 37, कवचपद इत्यस्माद्.. = *Prapa.*, 64, VI. 10.

(v) *Nṛ.*, p. 51, भूपदात्तु व्याहृतयः.. = *Prapa.*, p. 417, XXVIII. 7. 9.

(vi) *Nṛ.*, p. 61, अस्त्रनामादिको धातु.. = *Prapa.*, p. 64, VI. 12.

It is to be noted that as regards readings there is some difference between the works.

20 *Māṇḍ.* p. 9, and *Nṛi.* p. 9.

common to both the *Upaniṣads* are too forced and far-fetched while in the former they are not so.

I have already alluded to the defective grammar in the commentary of the *Nṛsiṁha Upaniṣad*, to prove which let me give a list of words used by the author which are grammatically wrong. These words are taken from the *Prapañcasāra*, another work by the author of the *Nṛsiṁha* commentary, as we have seen above.

(1) ऊनेत् (for जुऊयात् which, too, is used, XVIII. 6) VII. 62, 66; XVII. 5; XVIII. 5, 19.[21]

(2) प्रोक्षा (for प्रोक्ष्य) XVII. 11, 12; XIX. 10, 11.

(3) वीक्षयित्वा (for वीक्ष्य, XVII. 14) XVII. 13.

(4) संगच्छेत् (for संगच्छेत) XVII. 30.

(5) अधोऽधोमध्य (for अधो अधो) XVII. 33.

(6) लभेत् (for लभेत) XVII. 38.

(7) कमलज ते (for कमलज तव) XXXIII. 62.

(8) विद्योतद् (for विद्योतमान) XVIII. 4.

(9) द्युतद् (for द्योतमान) XX. 46.

(10) विभ्राजत् (for विभ्राजमान) X. 8.

(11) लिह्वताम् (for लीढ or लीढाम्) VII. 14.

(12) जप्यात् (for जपेत्) VIII. 20.

(13) जनिचौम् (for जनयित्रीम्) II. 5.

(14) मन्त्राणि[22] (for मन्त्रान्) I. 20.

(15) लोणा[23] (for लवण) VII. 64, 65.

(16) अच्युतकामिनि (for °कामिनी) XX. 44.

(17) सुधासरस्वति (for °स्वती) XX. 144.

As regards efficiency in the use of metres the author of the *Prapañcasāra* cannot be commended. He can hardly manipulate cæsura or pause (यति) in his metres, especially in longer ones, such as *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, *Sragdharā*, etc. His *Āryās* are also often defective going against the rules laid down for them.[24]

Thus it may be safely concluded that the great Śaṅkara must not be held responsible for the *Nṛśiṁha Upaniṣad* commentary and the

[21] This word which shows a Prākṛitism is found employed also in many Tantric works.

[22] Cf. आस्पदः (for आस्पदम्) referred to above.

[23] Indicating Prākṛitic influence

[24] See IV. 68, 69, 72; VII 79, 83.

Prapañcāgamaśāstra or *Prapañcasāra*. It has also been shown that the commentators of the *Māṇḍūkya* and *Nṛsiṁha Upaniṣads* are different persons and the commentator of the *Māṇḍūkya* cannot be our Śāṇkaracārya.

In support of the view that the commentaries on the *Māṇḍūkya* and *Nṛsiṁha Upaniṣads* were written by the same person, the following lines may be quoted from the *Nṛisiṁha* commentary :—

(i) नन्वेवं... वाक्यद्वयं माण्डूक्योपनिषत्प्रणवविद्यायां (*Māṇḍ.*, p. 14) व्याख्यातम्, तथात्रापि कस्मान्न व्याख्यायते । *Nr.*, p. 46.

(ii) ननु यथा... माण्डूक्ये (pp. 17–18)... व्याख्यातम्, तथात्रापि व्याख्यायताम् । Ibid.

Here it may be argued that the subject of both the verbs व्याख्यातम् and व्याख्यायते in the first extract, and व्याख्यातम् and व्याख्यायताम् in the second is one and the same, and it refers to the commentator himself; thus proving that the authors of the two commentaries are identical. But at the same time it presents no difficulty whatever in construing the verbs व्याख्यातम् and व्याख्यायते (or व्याख्यायताम् as in the second passage) also with different nominatives or subjects. And in that case the sense of the sentence becomes as follows : "Why do you not explain the passage in the way in which it has been explained by one (i.e. the commentator of the *Māṇḍūkya*) in the *Māṇḍūkya* ?" In face of the evidence against the identity of the two authors no other interpretation of the passages can reasonably be accepted.

The sentence, तत्रिवपि कियान् पाठभेदस्तद्व्याख्यानावसरे दर्शित एव (*Nr.*, p. 48), cannot refer to the *Māṇḍūkya* commentary where there is no variation of readings, but it must refer to the *Nṛsiṁha* commentary where we actually see the various readings only a few pages earlier (p. 46).

It follows, therefore, from what we have stated above that there are at least three different authors of the *Upaniṣad* commentaries who are all known by the name of Śaṅkara: first and foremost, the commentator of the *Brahmasūtras*, *Chāndogya*, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, *Gīta*, etc., second, the author of the *Māṇḍūkya* commentary, and the third, the commentator of the *Nṛsiṁhapūrvatāpanīya Upaniṣad*.

Though it has been proved that the authors of the *Vākyabhāṣya* of the *Kena Upaniṣad* and the commentary of the *Śvetāśvatara* are different from the great Śaṅkara, I am not yet in a position to say whether

they are one person or whether they may be identified with either of the commentators of the *Māṇḍūkya* or *Nṛsiṁhapūrvatāpanīya Upaniṣads.*

INTRODUCTION OF THE ALPHABET INTO TIBET.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Satishchandra Vidyabhūshaṇa,
Principal, Sanskrit College, Calcutta.[1]

The Tibetan alphabet consists of thirty letters as follows :—

ཀ་	ཁ་	ག་	ང་
ka	kha	ga	ṅa
ཅ་	ཆ་	ཇ་	ཉ་
cha	chha	ja	nya
ཏ་	ཐ་	ད་	ན་
ta	tha	da	na
པ་	ཕ་	བ་	མ་
pa	pha	ba	ma
ཙ་	ཚ་	ཛ་	ཝ་
tsa	tsha	dsa	wa
ཞ་	ཟ་	འ་	ཡ་
zha	za	ha	ya
ར་	ལ་	ཤ་	ས་
ra	la	sha	sa
	ཧ་	ཨ་	
	h'a	á	

These letters are traditionally known to have been introduced into Tibet by Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, from Magadha, in the 7th century A.D. But some scholars doubt

(1) that India could have been the place of origin of the Tibetan alphabet ; and

[1] This was probably the last article written by the talented author, about a fortnight before his lamented and unexpected death in April 1920.—I.J.S.T.

(2) that the Tibetan alphabet could have been invented at so late a date. The first objection has been advanced by Dr. A. H. Francke and Dr. Hoernle, and the second objection by Sir M. Aurel Stein.

The views of Dr. A. H. Francke and Dr. Hoernle.

Dr. Hoernle states his own view as well as that of Dr. Francke as follows:—

"Dr. A. H. Francke, in an excellent article in the *Epigraphica Indica*, has shown that, so far as the country of origin of the alphabet is concerned that understanding is erroneous and that the country from which Sambhoṭa brought the knowledge of the alphabet to Tibet was really Kāshmīra and, further, that there he had come into contact with a Brāhmaṇa from Khotan whom the Tibetan tradition calls *Li-byin* or 'Blessing of Khotan' and that that Brāhmaṇa taught him the alphabet of his own country. This, in effect, means that the alphabet, as introduced into Tibet, is the alphabet of Khotan, Li being the well known Tibetan name of Khotan. This is not the alphabet of India."[2]

Sir M. A. Stein's view.

Sir M. A. Stein expresses his view as follows:—

"Seeing that by the evidence of our *Endere* text this script is shown to have always assumed in the eighth century that final form in which it continued to the present day, while the classical orthography, so intimately connected with it, is proved to have been at that time already archaic, it seems difficult to resist a doubt as to the correctness of the tradition which places the invention of both the Tibetan orthography and characters only about a century earlier."[3]

Dr. Waddell's view.

I agree with Dr. L. A. Waddell that the Tibetan letters bear a strong family resemblance to the Kuṭila variety[4] of the Magadha alphabet of the 7th century A.D., e.g. Aphsad Inscription of Ādityasena of Magadha.[5]

Dr. Waddell[6] further observes that the edicts prepared by the re-

[2] Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Eastern Turkestan*, General Introduction, pp. xvii-xviii.

[3] Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, p. 427.

[4] *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, pp. 945 ff.

[5] See Pl. xxviii of Fleet's *Corp. Ins. Ind.*

[6] *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, pp. 1251 ff.

actionary and revolutionary party present the archaic forms while the edicts which were prepared by the staff of scholarly Indian and Tibetan monks, under the orders of the king, Khri-Sroṅ-lde-btsan, present remarkable classical purity in their orthography.

My own view.

My own view is given below with regard to these two points, viz. (1) the place of origin of the Tibetan alphabet; and (2) the antiquity of the Tibetan alphabet.

1. *Place of origin.*—Magadha is the place of origin of the Tibetan alphabet. When Tibet first emerges into the ken of history, we find one independent sovereign ruling over the whole country. Legends supply us with a fairly long list of kings of Tibet reaching back up to the mythical founder of the monarchy, Nya-khri-btsan-po, who is said to have lived about 416 B.C. The first king however of whom we know anything definite is Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, who was born about 600 A.D., and is reported to have introduced Buddhism and the art of writing from India into Tibet and to have founded Lhasa in 639 A.D. Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po was a contemporary of the famous Chinese pilgrim Huen-thsang who travelled in India between 629 and 650 A.D. The principal wives of this king were the daughter of king Aṁśuvarman of Nepal and a lady called Kongjo, who was a daughter of the Emperor of China.

Having established matrimonial connections with Nepal, he sent his minister Thon-mi-sambhoṭa to Magadha to learn the *Nāgarī* character and the Sanskrit arts and sciences. Thon-mi-sambhoṭa returned about 647 A.D. and shaped the Tibetan character on the model of *Ṛtags-ḥjug*. He prepared the first Grammar of the Tibetan Language, divided into eight chapters of which two, namely *Sum-cu-pa* (30 letters) and *Ṛtags-ḥjug* (introduction to gender) have come down to us. Situ, a commentator on Thon-mi-sambhoṭa's Grammar, observes that Magadha was the place of origin of the Tibetan alphabet. Situ's remarks in Tibetan may be translated as follows:—

"In conformity with the prophecy of our Teacher contained in the *Mañjuśrīmūla tantra*, etc., there arose in the centre of Tibet a city named Lhasa where, during the time of king Harṣavardhana,[7] was born in a

[7] "Dharmapāla" stands for Harṣavardhana.

royal line of the Litsabyi race a great king named Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, resplendent by renown as the sun. He received the three-fold title of *Sroṅ* (straightener) on account of his controlling all bad people by the two customary laws,[3] *btsan* (strict) on account of his possessing the strength of administering the right law without partiality, and *sgam-po* (profound) on account of the depth of his mind not being measurable. He truly flourished as the glory of mankind under the distinguished name of Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po (the strict and profound straightener). His chief minister was widely known by the bright name of Thon-mi-sambhoṭa. He, through his special meditation and by order of the king succeeded in going to Magadha, the country of the noble, and propitiating Paṇḍita Deva-vidyā-siṁha and Brāhmaṇa Lipikara and others, learnt many esoteric and exoteric sciences. Wearing the necklace of learning he came back to Tibet and resided at the royal castle named Ṣku-ṃkhar-ma-ru where he shaped the Tibetan character after the model of the *nāgarī*.

Having pleased the king with stanzas of eulogy, he wrote successively eight treatises on Grammar. Just as a person lights a lamp in darkness he illuminated the first path for spreading in the north the Śāstra of Śākya. From the eight treatises on Grammar only two, viz. Sum-cu-pa (grammar of thirty letters) and *Ṛtags-ḥjug* (introduction to gender) have come down to us. Many persons, wise and foolish, having undertaken to write commentaries on them, there grew up a series of books containing meanings different from one another. Nevertheless many persons of fine intellect, by the sharpness of the arrow of their learning, penetrated into the treatises and mastered their meanings. In the northern country, people in general, owing to the treatises having been damaged by fire and the commentaries that were extant having been incomplete, could not carry on their study from mere oral instruction. Though it is not easy for a person like me to write an accurate commentary, yet under the guidance of the people of precious intellect I venture to enter into the two most noble treatises to unfold their real meanings."

2. *The Age of the Tibetan Alphabet.—Da-drag-can* does not indicate antiquity. *Da-drag-can* is a term used for the *d* as a second final after *n*, *r*, and *l*, e.g. བསྟེནད། གྱུརད། སྦྱལད།. Observing the total absence

[3] Spirtual and temporal.

of the *da-drag-can* in the Tibeto-Chinese treaty on the Rdo-ring Tablet at Lhasa, Barnett and Francke concluded that the reform in spelling had already commenced in A.D. 783, the date on which the treaty was inscribed. If the Tibetan alphabet had not been created long before A.D. 783 we could not have noticed the *da-drag-can* as an archaic form within so short an interval.

In reply we say that at all times Grammar allowed the *da-drag-can*, as well as the absence of it. Thon-mi-sambhoṭa is perfectly silent in the matter. He lays down:—

རྗེས་འཇུག་ཡི་གེ་བཅུ་པོ་ནི།
མིང་གང་གི་ནི་མཐར་སྦྱར་བ།
དེ་ལ་ཨ་ལི་བཞི་པ་སྦྱར།
སླར་བསྡུ་བར་ནི་ཤེས་པར་བྱ།

The ten suffix-letters suitably used after any syllable and with the fourth vowel joined, are to be known as *lar-du*, "the finishing letters," e.g. *rtag-go, bzaṅ-ṅo, yod-do, yin-no, sgrub-bo, bsam-mo, bya-ḥo, ḥgyur-ro, sel-lo, byas-so.*

The commentators supply *to, do* being changed into *to*, after syllables ending in *n, r* and *l*, which are of great strength and which have a second suffix; e.g. *bstand-to, gyurd-to, stsald-to.*

According to them the three forms—*zind-to, zin-to* and *zin-no*—are correct.

The Rdo-ring Tablet presents the third form while the inscriptions on the pillar of Victory at Potala[a] bear the first form. Formerly the first form was extensively used. So all the three forms may have been simultaneous. One form does not indicate greater antiquity than the other. In fact *all the three forms* were used in the seventh century A.D.

Semitic Influences.

The Tibetan Alphabet exhibits Semitic influence as well. The *a* is included in *Kāli*, i.e. the K-series of thirty letters, while the *i, u, e,* and *o* may be joined with *a* as with *k*, etc. So the consonants to which the four vowel signs are joined are thirty. The commentator Situ remarks upon this as follows:—

[a] L. A. Waddell "Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa," *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, pp. 1251.

"The letter *a* must be included in *āli* which should consist of five signs viz. *a*, *i*, *u*, *e* and *o* and the *kāli* should consist of the remaining twenty-nine letters." In reply we say that in former times people occupying the rôle of the learned did not raise any objection to the letter *a* being included in the *kāli* group. We cannot deny the sound *a* inasmuch as it is impossible to pronounce a letter clearly unless the sound *a* is inherent in it. Without the sound *a* all letters are lifeless (སྲོག་མེད་). Now the letter producing the sound *a* cannot be included in the list of *āli* (the series of vowels) which performs a distinct function and produces sounds. It must be included in *kāli* or the special series of consonants inasmuch as the four signs of *āli* can be joined with *a* in the same way as with *k*, etc. In fact the so-called vowels (*i*, *u*, *e* and *o*) are mere *a* modified by means of any of the four signs on its head or at its foot. Therefore *a* is to be included in *kāli* (the series of consonants) which consists altogether of thirty letters.

Gsal-byed (གསལ་ བྱེད་) are the thirty simple letters, viz. *k*, etc.; *hdogs-can* (འདོགས་ཅན་) are the consonants joined with any of the four vowel signs such as ཀི་ ཀུ་ ཀེ་ ཀོ་ ཨི་ ཨུ་ ཨེ་ ཨོ་ These are like the Hebrew letters consisting merely of consonants with or without vowel signs. May not the Licchavi race to which Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po belonged, have been Semitic?

THE DOCTRINE OF REVELATION IN THE ṚGVEDA.

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A careful study of the Ṛgveda shows very clearly that the doctrine of Revelation was not unknown to the Vedic Ṛṣis or seers. Though it is generally held that the doctrine of Revelation is of very late growth in the Vedic age, a glance at the following verses of the Ṛgveda will convince any one that they very definitely presuppose a knowledge of that doctrine on the part of the seers of such hymns. For example one Rigvedic sentence runs thus: देवत्तं ब्रह्म गायत (sing the hymn bestowed upon by God or the gods). This is not an accidental sentence of the Ṛgveda, but it seems to contain a stereotyped idea embodying the opinion of the Vedic Ṛṣis on the doctrine of revelation, for it occurs more than once in the Ṛgveda.[1]

In the very third hymn of the Ṛgveda, we come upon a passage which according to many Indian commentators refers to the doctrine of revelation. Though it is not very exact, still it is significant and so the passage may be quoted first.

चोदयित्री सूनृतानां चेतन्ती सुमतीनाम् ।
यज्ञं दधे सरस्वती ॥[2]

"Sarasvati, the sender of true and delightful speech, the inspirer of right knowledge, accepted our sacrifice."

Here both Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara observe (for the passage also occurs in the *Śukla Yajurveda*, which they comment upon) that the "true and delightful speech" (सूनृत) refers to the collection of Vedic hymns or in other words Sarasvatī revealed the Vedic hymns to the Ṛṣis.[3]

[1] I. 37. 4 and VIII. 32. 27. - [2] I. 3. 11.

[3] Cf. *Śukla Yajurveda*, XX. 85. त्रयीलक्षणस्य वाग्विभवस्य चोदयित्रीत्यर्थः—Uvaṭa. वेदत्रयीशब्दानां प्रेरयित्री—Mahīdhara.

But there are other passages, which very clearly presuppose the doctrine and which are so precise that no doubts are possible

उप ते स्तोमान् पशुपा इवाकरम् [4]

"I present to thee the glorifying hymns (bestowed upon us by thee), as a shepherd (returns his sheep to their owner)".

This very clearly shows that the hymns were bodily derived from the gods and thus comes very close to the later doctrine of revelation.

यदा नः सूनृतावतः कर आदर्थयास इत् [5]

"When thou makest us possessed of true and delightful speech, thou art solicited with it". (That is we pray to you by means of the prayer which you give to us).

उस्रा इव सूर्यो ज्योतिषा महो विश्वेषामिज्जनिता ब्रह्मणामसि [6]

"In like manner as the sun, splendid by his radiance, generates the sunbeams, so art thou the generator of all prayers without exception."

Here we find that all the prayers or hymns without exception (observe the force of the particle इत्) are generated by Brahmaṇaspati.

In this way many other hymns may be quoted, which testify to the assertion made in the beginning of this note. But I shall not quote any more verses, I shall only refer to some other verses which speak in the same strain.

The verse VII. 66. 11 speaks of the holy text (the *Ṛks*) as established by the gods in the same way as the year, month, day and night are established by the gods.

The verse VIII. 75. 6, speaks of the eternity of the hymns and is quoted by Śabara Svāmin in his *Pūrva-mīmāṁsā-bhāṣya* to prove the eternity of the Vedic hymns.

The following verses from the tenth *maṇḍala* are also very significant; 28. 5; 88. 8; 98. 3 and 7; and others may be added as well.

[4] I. 114. 9. [5] I. 82. 1. [6] II. 23. 2.

ERRATA

To the Article on "The Eastern School of Prakrit Grammarians and Paiśācī Prakrit."

Page 127, line 1: *For* ऽत्र: *read* ऽत्र.

" 128, line 2: *For* पिच्चं *read* पिच्चस.

" 128, last line of note 9: *For* बोद्यं *read* बोध्यं.

" 130, line 2 from below: *For* मिसो ड्डवत *read* मि सोड्डवत.

" 130, verse 20. It has been suggested to me that for केरल-सुत्तं we should read केवल-सुत्तं 'only the thread.'

" 140, lines 9 and 14: Read *kāmákala*.

" 140, lines 10 and 15: Read *kāmâkara*.

George A. Grierson.

THE EASTERN SCHOOL OF PRĀKRIT GRAMMARIANS AND PAIŚĀCĪ PRAKRIT.

Sir George A. Grierson, K.C.I.E., I.C.S. (*retired*), Ph.D., D.Litt., LL.D.; *Superintendent, Linguistic Survey of India.*

(With two Plates.)

The illustrious Auguste Barth, in a foot-note to one of his fascinating *Bulletins des Religions de l'Inde,*[1] quotes a Tibetan authority to the effect that, while the Sarvâstivādin Buddhists employed pure Sanskrit in their liturgy, the Mahāsāṁghikas employed corrupt Sanskrit, the Mahāsammatīyas Apabhraṁśa, and the Sthaviras Paiśācī. To this Barth added the remark that by the last-named language was probably meant Pāli.

Quite independently, in an article on *The Home of Literary Pāli* in the R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume (p. 181). I myself suggested that a number of so-called Paiśācī dialects were probably only local varieties of Pāli. This would account for the presence in the western lists of such names as Bōṭa (Tibet), Pāṇḍya and Drāviḍa. I also remarked upon the obvious points of connexion between Paiśācī and Pāli, to which other scholars had previously drawn attention, and suggested as a probable explanation that Pāli,—a literary language based on Māgadhī Prakrit,—was much mixed with other forms of Indo-Aryan speech, and, in certain respects had drawn upon Paiśācī. I further pointed out that the Paiśācī influence could easily be accounted for by the fact that Takṣaśilā, the great Buddhist university, was situated in the country which was the home of the standard, Kaikēyī, Paiśācī; and drew a parallel with the growth, in Benares, of Hindī as a literary language, although its birth-place was the distant country in the neighbourhood of Delhi.

For the above reasons, I venture to think that Paiśācī Prakrit deserves more attention from scholars than it has hitherto received, and the present paper is offered as a contribution to the subject.

[1] *Collected Works*, Vol. II, p. 305, Note 1.

There were in India two schools of Prakrit grammarians, belonging to the West and to the East respectively. For shortness, we may call the former the school of Vālmīki,[2] and the latter the school of Vararuci. A collection of sūtras attributed to Vālmīki has been commented upon by Trivikrama in his *Prākṛta-vyākaraṇa*, by Lakṣmīdhara in his *Ṣaḍbhāṣā-candrikā*, and by Siṁharāja in his *Prākṛtarūpâvatāra*. Following the same system, but with independent sūtras, is the well-known Prakrit Grammar of Hēmacandra. These are the principal writers of the western school. Hēmacandra does not mention who were his predecessors. Trivikrama refers to Hēmacandra as his chief authority,[3] and Lakṣmīdhara consulted the works of Trivikrama, Hēmacandra and Bhāmaha. Siṁharāja does not name former authors as having been consulted by him.

The eastern school is headed by Vararuci, whose *Prākṛtaprakāśa*, with Bhāmaha's commentary, is well known. Bhāmaha's is the only name common to the two schools, and, as he was a Kāshmīrī, he is outside both of them, and is used indifferently by either. Later writers of this school were Rāmaśarman Tarkavāgīśa, the author of the *Prākṛta-kalpataru*, and Mārkaṇḍēya Kavîndra, the author of the *Prākṛta-sarvasva*.. Rāmaśarman mentions as his source (Introduction verse 13) the works of Laṅkêśvara, who, according to Rājêndralāla Mitra[4] was the author of a grammar entitled *Prākṛta-kāmadhēnu*,[5] and, under the name of Rāvaṇa, of a commentary thereon called *Prākṛta-laṅkêśvara*.[6] Mārkaṇḍēya was later than Rāmaśarman, and in his account of the dialects of Apabhraṁśa[7] he quotes him at length without naming him. He lived in Orissa, and in the preface of his grammar mentions as his predecessors and sources Śākalya, Bharata, Kōhala, Vararuci, Bhāmaha, Vasantarāja, 'and others.' About Śākalya and Kōhala, as authorities on Prakrit grammar, I can find no information except the few quota-

[2] Traditionally identified with the author of the Rāmāyaṇa. In his edition of the *Ṣaḍbhāṣā-candrikā*, Mr. Kamalāśaṅkara Prāṇaśaṁkara Trivēdī has shown clearly that this cannot have been the case.

[3] Pischel, *Prakrit Grammar*, § 38.

[4] *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Vol. IX, Nos. 3157, 3158.

[5] Note the correspondence of titles,— *-kāmadhēnu* and *-kalpataru*.

[6] It is greatly to be regretted that these manuscripts, of which full descriptions are given in the *Notices*, cannot now be traced. They are of importance for the history of Prakrit studies in Bengal, and I would urge that those who are more fortunately situated than I am should endeavour to find their present possessors.

[7] P. 122 of the printed edition.

tions made by Mārkaṇḍēya. Bharata, of course, is well known. Vasantarāja was the author of the *Prākṛta-saṁjīvanī*, a commentary on Vararuci's *Prākṛta-prakāśa*. He is quoted not only by Mārkaṇḍēya, but also, according to Aufrecht,[8] by Vasudēva in his commentary on the *Karpūra-mañjarī*. So far, therefore, as we can say for certain, we can trace the pedigree of the eastern school from Vararuci, through Laṅkēśvara and Rāmaśarman, to Mārkaṇḍēya.

The two schools of Vālmīki and of Vararuci differ from each other in several respects. Putting minor points out of consideration, their *gaṇas* rarely agree, and, above all, their accounts of Paiśācī Prakrit are mutually inconsistent. In fact, the Paiśācī of Vālmīki is not the same language as that of Vararuci. The Vālmīki sūtras describe a form of speech in which the only sonant mute that is universally hardened is *d*. According to the eastern school, *all* sonant mutes are hardened. It is true that the Vālmīki school does also describe the Vararuci Paiśācī, but it does so under another name,—*Cūlikā-paiśācika*,—and devotes only three sūtras to it. In other words, the Vālmīki school has its own Paiśācī, and treats the Vararuci Paiśācī as an insignificant variety; while the Vararuci school has its own Paiśācī, with seven different dialects, none of which agrees with the Paiśācī described by the westerners.

Hēmacandra, in his account of the Vālmīki Paiśācī, gives a large number of examples, but, *more suo*, does not mention the source or sources whence they are taken. Various scholars[9] have suggested that these were extracts from the famous, lost, *Bṛhatkathā*. This, however, is a supposition and nothing more, and Indian authorities are silent on the point. On the other hand, the only certain passage of the *Bṛhatkathā* that we possess is quoted by Mārkaṇḍēya[10] as an example of the Paiśācī described by the easterners, and of the two words there given one is wrong according to western teaching. We are thus driven to one of two alternatives. In one, we must assume that the eastern and the western Paiśācī are identical. In that case one of the two accounts must be wrong. They cannot both be right. In the other alternative, the examples given by Hēmacandra cannot have been

[8] *Catalogus Catalogorum*, p. 360.

[9] E.g. Pischel, Prakrit Grammar, § 27.

[10] xix, 9, *kupaci* for *kvacit*. The change of *v*(*b*) to *p* is directly contrary to the teaching of the Vālmīki sūtras and of Hēmacandra.

taken from the *Bṛhatkathā*, for that work can hardly have been written in two different dialects of Paiśācī.

In one respect the eastern grammarians are superior to those of the West. All our extant grammars of either school, except that of Vararuci, were written when Prakrit was a dead language. Hēmacandra belonged to the 12th century, and Lakṣmīdhara and Siṁharāja were much later. Rāmaśarman and Mārkaṇḍēya probably both belonged to the 17th century. While, no doubt, these authors had tradition to help them, the only real authorities for their rules, so far as they added to the rules of Vararuci and other old grammarians whose works had been lost, were Prakrit works, then surviving, by authors long since dead. By analyzing the forms contained in these works they formed their rules. Hēmacandra and the author of the Vālmīki sūtras did this most successfully, though, in doing so they often mixed up different dialects in great confusion. They got together an enormous number of grammatical forms, discovered a system under which they could be arranged, and wrote their grammars. But very rarely does Hēmacandra or, say, Lakṣmīdhara mention the sources from which he collected the words given by him in support of his rules. On the other hand, the authors of the Vararuci school, Rāmaśarman and Mārkaṇḍēya, are most careful to quote their authorities, and, when any unusual form occurs, they give the passage in which it is to be found, and name the author. The principal works from which they quote are the usual plays, Hāla's *Saptaśatikā*, Pravara-sēna's *Sētubandha*, Vākpati's *Gaüḍavahō* (including quotations from the lost books), and Rāja śēkhara's *Karpūra-mañjarī*; but many other works, now extant or non-extant, are drawn upon by them and named, and owing to this scholarly carefulness we possess authentic and precious fragments of works, such as the *Bṛhatkathā* already mentioned, which have long been lost to modern readers.

It has often been urged to me, when I have quoted Mārkaṇḍēya's authority against that of Hēmacandra, that the former was a late writer, and therefore of little consequence. No other objection could have been so unfair. It is true that he lived five centuries after Hēmacandra, but that is a fact of no importance in regard to the comparative correctness of their respective works. A still later writer than Mārkaṇḍēya was Professor Pischel, and the same opponent who objects to the one will quote the other as infallible. It is not a question of

date but of sources and of critical acumen. As already said, both Hēmacandra and Mārkaṇḍēya were dealing with what was to each a dead language. They had the same sources of inspiration,—the manuscripts of Prakrit works,—and each used these sources to the best of his ability. If date were a relevant point in such a matter, then the Latin grammars written at the present day would be of no value as compared with those written in the days of Henry VIII. If the manuscripts used by Hēmacandra and Mārkaṇḍēya had all survived to the present day, it would be quite possible for some great scholar of the twentieth century to write a new grammar still more authoritative and more accurate than that of either of the two authors whom we have been considering. The only extant grammarian whom we can assume to have been living when Prakrit was a spoken language was Vararuci, and he was an Easterner.

Of the eastern grammarians whose works are available, Vararuci is familiar to all students. His account of Paiśācī differs from that of the other two in regard to the treatment of sonant consonants. According to them, these are always hardened, but Vararuci (x, 3) excepts those which are initial or which happen to be members of a conjunct. Thus, while Rāmaśarman and Mārkaṇḍēya would write *kakana* for *gagana*, and *kaṅkā* for *gaṅgā*, Vararuci would write *gakana* and *gaṅgā*. In this, his Paiśācī agrees with a sub-variety of Cūlikā-paiśācikā mentioned in a single sūtra of the Westerners as taught by some authorities.

Mārkaṇḍēya's grammar is available in the excellent printed edition of Bhaṭṭanātha Svāmin, published in Vizagapatam in the *Grantha-pradarśanī* series. I have also, myself, been able to select variant readings of the text from five different MSS. The state of affairs regarding Rāmaśarman's *Prākṛta-kalpataru* is very different. So far as I know, our sole authority is one MS. (No. 1106) in the India Office Library, written in the Bengali character. It was long ago described by Lassen,[11] but his account is incomplete, partly owing to the corrupt nature of the contents, and partly because he did not notice that several pages had been misplaced. Since Lassen's time, much progress has been made in our knowledge of Prakrit, and in the following pages

[11] *Institutiones Linguæ Pracriticæ*, pp. 19ff. and Excursus I. On Plates I and II will be found slightly reduced facsimiles of the four pages of the manuscript which contain the portion dealing with Paiśācika.

I attempt to transcribe those portions of the MS. which relate to Paiśācī Prakrit, or, as Rāmaśarman calls it 'Paiśācika.' The task has been by no means easy. The old Bengali characters are difficult to read, and, in places, the text is atrociously corrupt. In those parts which the author had in common with Mārkaṇḍēya, I had the latter's grammar as a guide and check. For the rest I gratefully acknowledge the kind help which I have received from Dr. Thomas, the Librarian of the India Office, and from Dr. Sunīti Kumār Chatterji, whose presence in London gave me a fortunate opportunity of availing myself of his accurate scholarship and of his familiarity with old Bengali script. I desire to emphasize my indebtedness to these two gentlemen, as, without their help, I should not have ventured to write this paper.

The *Prākṛta-kalpataru*, or 'Wishing-tree of Prakrit' is divided into three *Śākhās*, or 'Branches.' Each *Śākhā* is again divided into so many *Stabakas*, or 'Cluster's,' and each *Stabaka* into so many *Kusumas*, or 'Flowers,' i.e. verses or paragraphs. The body of the work is mainly in the Upajāti metre, but other metres are also common. Occasionally a prose commentary is added to a verse. This is most frequent in the earlier *śākhās*, where each verse has its commentary, with numerous examples. In the later portions of the work, the commentary is much more rare, so that in the final *stabaka* of the third *śākhā*, dealing with Paiśācika, there is hardly any commentary at all.

I have already mentioned that Rāmaśarman speaks of Paiśācika (neuter), and not of Paiśācī. The two terms are not exactly convertible. Under 'Paiśācika' he includes not only the Paiśācī of other grammarians, which he calls 'Śuddha Paiśācika,' but also those polyglot *tours de force* loved by old Indian writers, in which Paiśācī or some other Prakrit form of speech is mixed, or combined, in the same poetical work, with Sanskrit. A familiar example is the thirteenth canto of the *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya*, which will be again referred to later in this paper. Rāmaśarman calls this mixture 'Saṁkīrṇa Paiśācika.' Other writers do not include it under the name of 'Paiśācī.'

The first page of the MS. is the most corrupt of all. It contains a few disjointed fragments of the Introduction to the work. This Introduction, according to its colophon, originally consisted of fourteen *Kusumas*, or verses; but fragments of only six are given, and most of

what is written is full of mistakes of the copyist. The earlier part of the page is a fragment of a list of Apabhraṁśa dialects. The two verses referring to Paiśācika are legible, but one word, which it is easy to supply from the fuller description to be subsequently given, is missing. The verses are as follows, the missing word being enclosed in square brackets. The last two pādas of the second verse are corrupt, and have been conjecturally emended, the original text being given in a footnote. For the emendations, I am indebted to a suggestion of Dr. Sunīti Kumār Chatterji.

[पैशाचिकं] केकय-शूरसेन-
पाञ्चाल-गौड-प्रभव-क्रमेण ।
स-मागध-व्राचड-सूक्ष्मभेदं
भाषाविशुद्धं मतम् अर्धशुद्धम् ॥
तथा चतुष्पादविशुद्धम् अन्यद्
अशुद्धम् एकादशधा तदित्थम् ।
तेषां स्थितानामविशेषमादौ
न सन्ति बोधे सुकरा ह्युपायाः[12] ॥

From this we learn that there are eleven kinds of Paiśācika, viz. :—

1. That born in Kēkaya.
2. ,, ,, Śūrasēna.
3. ,, ,, Pāñcāla.
4. ,, ,, Gauḍa.
5. Māgadha.
6. Vrācaḍa.
7. Sūkṣmabhēda.
8. Bhāṣā-viśuddha.
9. Ardha-śuddha.
10. Catuṣpādā-viśuddha.
11. Aśuddha.

The name 'Sūkṣmabhēda,' 'having minute points of difference, may give rise to doubts, but the author, as we shall see in the sequel does appear to name one variety thus, and, if we do not include it as a name, our list of eleven dialects will be incomplete. The author adds

[12] MS. तेषां स्थितानामशिषादौ नसन्तिबोधेसघरोह्युपायाः ॥

that there are no easy means for understanding the peculiarities of those of the first (seven) which stand (in the various accounts of them) without any special differentiation. Here he evidently alludes to Nos. 4–7, and, as we shall see in verse 13, especially to No. 7.

The fifteenth, and final, *stabaka* of the third *śākhā* of the *Prākṛta-kalpataru* deals with Paiśācika in detail. The MS. is here not nearly so corrupt as on the first page, and it can generally be read. Emendations are now and then necessary, but most of them are obvious. There are, however, a few passages which defy my efforts and those of my friends. I here give the text with my emendations, and with, when necessary, the actual readings of the MS. in the footnotes. Before proceeding, it is advisable to state again that Rāmaśarman's list of eleven kinds of Paiśācika falls into two groups of seven and four, respectively. The first seven are various forms of true Paiśācī, and the other four are different kinds of mixtures of different Prakrits with Sanskrit. The first seven are called *Śuddha Paiśācika*, and the other four are called *Saṁkīrṇa Paiśācika*.

पैशाचिकानि द्विविधानि शुद्ध-
  संकीर्ण-भेदेन न्यवोदितानि ।
तन् न्यादिमं सप्तकमत्र शुद्धं
  संकीर्णमन्यत्तु चतुष्कमाहुः ॥ १ ॥

कैकेय-पैशाचमथोच्यते, ऽस्य
  सिद्धिः स्मृता संस्कृत-शौरसेन्योः ।
सर्वत्र वर्गे प्रथम-द्वितीयौ
  त्रि-तुर्ययोश्च नियोजनीयौ ॥ २ ॥

1. Metre, Upajāti (⏓–⏑––⏑⏑–⏑–⏓). MS. संकीर्णमन्यत्तु चच्कमाहुः. Misled by this blunder of the copyist, Lassen (*Institutiones Linguæ Pracriticæ*, p. 22) speaks of a dialect named '*Chaska*, vox dubia et mihi ignota.'

2. MS. प्रथमद्वतीयौद्वितुर्ययोश्च, which is certainly a scribal error. Cf. Vararuci, x, 3, and Mārkaṇḍēya, xix, 2.

दन्त्यो ऽत्र सः स्यात् श-षयोः, ट-वर्गे-
णस्यापि दन्त्यः कथितो न-कारः ।
भार्यादिषु र्यस्य रिय्यः, सनञ् च
स्नानादिषु स्नस्य निरूपणीयः ॥ ३ ॥

रत्नादिके युक्तविकर्षमाहुः,
सृष्टे किहं, तदद् दृवे पिवं च ।
कष्टे तथा ष्टस्य सटः, पृथिव्यां
निपात्यते [वै] पुथुनीति रूपम् ॥ ४ ॥

हितपकं हृदये, प्रथमे पुनः
पुथुमम् इच्छति, विस्मय-सूक्ष्मयोः ।
पिसुमओ सुखमं, क्वचिदर्थकं
कुपचि, पद्म-पदे पखमं मतम् ॥ ५ ॥

कार्ये कच्चं, तून आदिश्यते ञः,
ण्य-ज्ञ-न्यानां ञ्ञो भवेन्नित्यमत्र ।
राज्ञो राचिञ् टा-ङसि-ङस्-ङिषु स्यात्
तस्मिन् रञ्ञा राचिना चैवमन्यत् ॥ ६ ॥

पैशाचिकं यत्किल शौरसेनं
तस्मिन् ष-सोः स्यात्प्रथमः श-कारः ।
सर्वत्र रेफस्य ल-कार एव
प्रकः च्छस्य कौच्छेयक-राच्छसादौ ॥ ७ ॥

3. MS. टवर्गेनस्यापि ।

4. I have inserted वै, in order to complete the metre. For पुथुनी, MS. seems to read पुथुई. This I have corrected as above to agree with Mārkaṇḍēya, xix, 19, where all my MSS. read पुथुनी, although the printed text has पुधुमी.

5. Metre, Drutavilambita (⏑⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑̲). MS. प्रथमे पुनः प्रथमामिच्छति । विस्मयश्च सुखमं क्वचिदर्थकं । प्रखमं मतम् । I have corrected to agree with Mārkaṇḍēya.

6. Metre, Śālinī (–––––⏑––⏑–⏑̲). MS. आदिश्यते ञः । In the third pāda, ङसि is clear in the MS., and is required by the sense; but it breaks the metre, which here requires ङसौ. After ङस् MS. has ङिसुयात्, which I have conjecturally emended as above. MS. रञोराचिना ।

7. Metre, Indravajrā (––⏑––⏑⏑–⏑–⏑̲). MS. प्रका चस्य. The प्रक is quite

अङ्गिण बुधैर्मतम् अधुना
भवति पिश्चं लिपि पिबतेः ।
कृत-मृतयोः कड-मड-वद्
गत उदितं गड मागधैः ॥ ८ ॥

मतं भारिश्चा-र्यादिकं पूर्वतुल्यं
तथा त्व् अत्थिश्चादौ पुनस् त्थस्य यद्वत् ।
इह स्था-विकारे ह्र-कारस्य च ठ्ठः
स्थिते तु त्थिश्चं चिठ्ठदीत्यादि बोध्यम् ॥ ९ ॥

निन्दादिके स्याद् अत ई, णिश्चाली,
अन्यत्र एद् एव, पले मनुश्शे ।
अमश् च वा ए कथयन्ति, गामे
गामं [न वा] केकयवत्प्रयोज्यम् ॥ १० ॥

र-लोः पुनः पर्ययत्वे वदन्ति
पाञ्चाल-पैशाचिकमत्र तज्ज्ञाः ।

clear in the MS., and agrees with the general character of the dialect, which closely follows Māgadhī, not Śaurasēnī, Prakrit. On the other hand, according to Mārkaṇḍēya, xx, 6, every च should become य्च्छ.

* 8. Metre, Tvaritagati (⏑⏑⏑⏑–⏑⏑⏑⏑⏓). MS. अण्डुणि, which breaks the metre. The printed edition of Mārkaṇḍēya has अङ्गणि, which suits the metre, and which is supported by three of my MSS. of Mk. Two MSS. of Mk. (Hnb) read अड्डणि, which will not suit the metre here. पिश्चं लिपि पिबतेः is doubtful. MS. has पिश्चल्लिपिपिबतेः. Mk. has nothing like it. MS कृतमतयोः.

9. Metre, Bhujaṅgaprayāta (⏑––⏑––⏑––⏑–⏓). The whole of this verse is corrupt. The first pāda is conjecturally emended. I think that the original meaning has been restored with fair certainty, though the wording is doubtful. The MS. has मतं भियरियादिकं पूर्व्वंतुल्यं. In the second pāda, MS. has अथि for अत्थि and थस्य for त्थस्य. In the third, it has स्ता for स्था. My emendation of the fourth is mere guess-work. MS. has किरिदथिश्चाफोष्ठदोत्यादिबोद्यं.

10. Metre, Upajāti (⏓–⏑––⏑⏑–⏑–⏓). MS. सिश्चाली. For पले मनुश्शे, MS. has चले मश्शे. The example, as emended, is taken from Mk. xx, 10. The words न वा are not in the MS.

तद् गौड-पैशाचिकमिष्यते [तु]
　　स्यातां र-लौ रस्य च लस्य च द्वौ ॥ ११ ॥

मतं मागधं नाम पैशाचिकं [तु]
　　यदा मागधानां प्रजायेत भाषा ।
अथ व्राचडं नाम पैशाचिकं तत्
　　पदानां यदा संस्कृतैर्मिश्रणा स्यात् ॥ १२ ॥

जचे श-भेदादपरो च पैशा-
　　चिकं भवेत्तत्किल सूक्ष्मभेदम् ।
गूडेक्षुमाधुर्यवदस्य तावत्
　　न विद्यते निर्वचनाय शक्तिः ॥ १३ ॥

संकीर्ण-पैशाचिकमत्र शुद्धा-
　　शुद्ध-प्रभेदात्प्रथमं द्विभेदम् ।
शुद्धं तु भाषा-पद-शुद्ध-भेदाद्
　　द्विधा विभक्तं कवयो वदन्ति ॥ १४ ॥

द्विविधं पद-शुद्धम् इष्यते
　　मतमेकं पुनर् अर्ध-शुद्धकम् ।
अपरं तु निरुच्यते चतुष्-
　　पद-शुद्धं तदिदं विविच्यते ॥ १५ ॥

यद्येकभाषामयमर्धमन्य-
　　भाषामयं चापरम् अर्ध-शुद्धम् ।

11. MS. प्रत्ययते । तज्ज्ञाः । The word तु. is not in the MS., and is added to complete the metre.

12. Metre, Bhujaṅgaprayāta (⏑ – – ⏑ – – ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏓). MS. omits तु. It has been added to complete the metre. MS. मागधानामजायेत.

13. Metre Upajāti (⏓ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏓).

14. MS. °पैशाचिकमाशुद्धोशुद्धेप्रभेदात् । शुद्धातुभाषापदशुद्धभेदाद्विधा ।

15. Metre, Viyōginī (⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏓, ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏓). MS. यपरन्तु निरुच्यते ।

चतुर्षु पादेषु यदा चतस्रो
भाषाश् चतुष्पाद-विशुद्धम् एतत् ॥ १६ ॥

तिलतण्डुलवद्यदा तु भाषाः
प्रविशन्तीह बहुप्रकार उक्ताः ।
तद् अशुद्धम् उदाहृतं तु कार्यं
तदिह स्वस्य च [कारितं] क्रमेण ॥ १७ ॥

यथा मम :—

कमला-कर-[फंस-]लोल कामाकल कालकोमलालीक ।
कलि-काल-काल-कलिलं मुञ्चसु मे मोह-कल्लोलं ॥ १८ ॥

[कमलाकरस्पर्शलोल कामाकर कालकोमलालीक ।
कलिकालकालकलिलं मुञ्चस्व मे मोहकल्लोलम् ॥ १८ ॥] अत्र पाञ्चालपैशाचिकाविलाः संस्कृताः [शब्दाः] । सर्वा एव पञ्चपञ्चाशद् भाषाः । संकीर्णशौरसेनीसंस्कृतयोः संकरो । यथा मालतीमाधवे :—

सरले साहस रागं परिहर रम्भोरु मुञ्च संरम्भं ।
विरसं विरहायासं सोढुं तव चित्तमसहं मे ॥ १९ ॥

एवं भाषा हरशंकरो ... ... तत्र अर्धशुद्धम् । यथा :—

भावेण विरहम्मि हि गोमालि-सच्छणी फुडिअ पडिअम्हि ।
कण्ठे केरल-सूत्रं विरहिण्यास्तु कलि-पाश इव ॥ २० ॥

16. Metre, Upajāti (⏓–⏑––⏑⏑–⏑–⏓). MS. यद्योकभाषामवनर्थं॰ । चतुर्षुपादेषुसदावेक्षोभाषाश्च॰ ।

17. Metre, Aupacchandasika (⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑–⏑–⏓, ⏑⏑––⏑⏑–⏑–⏑–⏓). MS. उदाहृतानि कार्यं. In the fourth pāda, some such word as कारितं is required by the metre. It is not in the MS.

18. The text is here corrupt, and the emendation given above is very doubtful. The MS. has कमलाकमं लोलाकामकलाकालरोमलालीका । कलिकालकालकलिलं मुचामुमोहकल्लोलं ॥ Assuming that three mātrās have been omitted (which I have supplied by inserting the word फंस), the metre of the verse, as emended, is Gāhā.

19. Metre, Gāhā. I give the verse as it is found in the printed editions of the Mālatī-Mādhava (6th Act). The MS. has सरलेसहेमवाक्यं परिहररम्भोरुमुञ्चसंरम्भं । विरसं विरहायमिसी इयतचित्तमसहं मे ॥ In the following prose passage MS. has एवं भाषा हरशङ्करोप्रहवः अर्धशुद्धं, of part of which I can make nothing.

[भावेन विरहे हि नवमल्लिकाशयने स्फुटित्वा पतिता ऽस्मि ।
कण्ठे केरलसूत्रं विरहिण्यास्तु कलिपाश इव ॥ २० ॥]

यथा वा कस्यचित् :—

जअइ मतम् आरुहन्तो गिरितणआ पणइ-कप्पलआ ॥ २१ ॥

[जयति मदमारोहन्ती गिरितनया प्रणयि-कल्पलता ॥ २१ ॥]

एवं लक्ष्यदृष्ट्या सर्वासां भाषाणां संकरो द्रष्टव्यः ॥

इति

प्राकृतशासने कल्पतरौ

पञ्चदशकुसुमैस्तृतीया शाखा निवृत्ता ॥

In the following annotated translation of these verses I shall so far as is possible give references to the corresponding sūtras of Mārkaṇḍēya's *Prākṛta-sarvasva*. These I shall usually quote from the printed edition, but, where necessary, I shall refer to MSS. of the grammar which I have been able to collate. These are :—

O. A valuable palm-leaf MS. in the Oṛiyā character, the property of Mahāmahōpādhyāya Sadāśiva Miśra, of Purī, of which I possess a photograph.

Hn. A copy in the Nāgarī character taken from the Bengal Asiatic Society's MS. No. 1555. This was lent to me by Dr. Hoernle.

20. Metre, Gāhā. Here, too, the MS. is corrupt, and my emendations are far from certain. It reads भावेण विरहमिंदिणोमणीसुमयणेसुफुडिअपडिरम्ह । कण्ठे केरलसुत्त विरहिण्णाः कलिपाश इव ॥ In the second line I have inserted तु, in order to complete the metre. In the MS. the following prose passage runs यथावाकस्यचित्.

21. Metre, Gāhā (half). MS. गिरिनणआ. In the following prose passage it has लच्च for लक्ष्य. As an example, the verse is incomplete, the Sanskrit half being, missing The entire verse appears in the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* (II, ii, 9) as follows :—

जयति जनताभिवाञ्छितफलप्रदः कल्पपादपो गिरिशः ।
जअइ अ तमभिछन्तो गिरितणया पणइकप्पलआ ॥

See Raṅganāthasvāmi Aryavaragun, in *Indian Antiquary* XLVIII (1919) p. 212.

In the Colophon, the word पञ्चदश is clear, but the Stabaka contains 21 Kusumas, or verses, or, if we omit the examples, 17. In the MS. the verses are regularly numbered down to, and including, 18. After that they are not numbered. We should almost certainly read पञ्चदशस्तबकैस्॰, as the Śākhā does contain fifteen Stabakas, that on Paiśācika being the last, and concluding the work.

Hb. Another copy of the same, in the Bengali character, also lent to me by Dr. Hoernle.

Io. India Office MS., Mackenzie, No. 70. It is on palm-leaf, and is in the Nāgarī character. It has evidently been copied from an original in the Oṛiyā character.

Ox. The Bodleian MS., Wilson, No. 158b. It is on paper, and is in the Nāgarī character. It also has evidently been copied from an original in the Oṛiyā character.

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1. The Paiśācikas fall into two groups,—viz. *Śuddha Paiśācika*, or 'Pure Paiśācika,' and *Saṁkīrṇa Paiśācika*, or 'Mixed Paiśācika.' Of these the first group of seven is 'Pure,' and the remaining group of four is 'Mixed.'

[There is nothing like this in Mk.[13] In the verses of the introduction quoted on p. 125, Rāmaśarman states that there are eleven kinds of Paiśācika, and gives their names. He now states that the first seven in that list are 'Pure,' and the remaining four 'Mixed.' The seven Pure Paiśācikas are therefore Kaikēya, Śaurasēna, Pāñcāla, Gauḍa, Māgadha, Vrācaḍa, and 'Sūkṣmabhēda.' The four Mixed Paiśācikas are Bhāṣā-viśuddha, Ardha-śuddha, Catuṣpāda-viśuddha, and Aśuddha. In the Commentary to verse 2 of the introduction of his grammar, Mk. quotes a list of eleven 'Piśācaja' languages, viz. Kāñcīdēśīya, Pāṇḍya, Pāñcāla, Gauḍa, Māgadha, Vrācaḍa, Dākṣiṇātya, Śaurasēna, Kaikaya, Śābara, and Drāviḍa. Mk. does not say who is the author of this list, and condemns it as absurdly meticulous. He adds that there are only three used for literary purposes, viz. Kaikēya, Śaurasēna, and Pāñcāla, and it is only these three that he describes in Chapters XIX and XX of his grammar. It may be observed that in the list on p. 125 Rāmaśarman names some forms of Paiśācika as 'born in' certain countries, while others are described by simple appellatives. In the *Ṣaḍbhāṣā-candrikā* (Introduction, 28–30), Lakṣmīdhara makes a similar distinction. He says that there are two kinds of 'Paiśācī,' viz. (1) that maintained (*niyata*) in the Piśāca-dēśas [each variety being affected by the qualities of its own special country]; and (2) that born among the Piśācas. I understand this to mean that the second kind was the vernacular of the Piśācas in their proper home, or at least the vernacular of some tribe or religious sect (? Buddhists), while the

[13] I shall employ this contraction throughout for 'Mārkaṇḍēya.'

second kind was the Paiśācī spoken by Piśācas settled in foreign countries, who no longer spoke their own language in its original purity. The 'Piśāca-dēśas,' i.e. the countries in which Piśācas had so settled were Pāṇḍya, Kēkaya (but it was here that according to the Easterners the standard Paiśācī was spoken), Bāhlīka, Siṁha (or Sahya), Nēpāla, Kuntalā, Sudhēṣṇa, Bhōja, Gāndhāra, Haiva (identified by Lassen with the Tuluva country), and Kannōjana (=Kanyākubja). All these countries except Sudhēṣṇa are well known. A variant reading of Bhōja is Bōṭa (Tibet). As previously stated, my opinion is that the various Paiśācīs of these countries were simply local varieties of Pāli.

Rāmaśarman now proceeds to describe the seven varieties of Śuddha, or Pure, Paiśācika, and begins with Kaikēya.]

Śuddha, or Pure, Paiśācika.

(1) *Kaikēya Paiśācika.*

2. Kaikēya Paiśācika is now described. The modifications observed in its established form are based on Sanskrit and Śaurasēnī. In it, in all cases, the first and second consonants of a class (i.e. surds) are to be substituted, respectively, for the third and fourth (i.e. sonants).

For the originals, cf. Mk. xix, 1, which is to the same effect. It should be noted that one of the originals is Śaurasēnī. On the other hand we shall find (see note to verse 7) that Śaurasēna Paiśācika is based, not on Śaurasēnī, but on Māgadhī. For metrical reasons, the author here calls the language Paiśāca, not Paiśācika.

Regarding the change of sonants to surds, cf. Mk. xix, 2. The MS. says that the first and third letters of a class are substituted respectively, for the second and fourth, but this is evidently a scribal error. If it were correct, it would mean that non-aspirates are substituted for aspirates, which is not borne out by any author of either the eastern or the western school.

3. A dental *s* is substituted for *ś* and *ṣ* (Mk. xix, 3). A dental *n* is substituted for the *ṇ* of the cerebral class (Mk. xix, 4). In the words *bhāryā*, etc., *ria* is substituted for *rya* (Mk. xix, 5), and *sana* is substituted for *sna* in *snāna-*, etc.

According to Mk. *bhāryā* becomes *bhariā*, with the first syllable shortened. With regard to *snāna-*, Mk. xix, 7 gives a general rule

that conjunct consonants are often resolved into their component elements, the inserted vowel being *a*. His examples are *kasaṭam* for *kaṣṭam* ; *sanānam* for *snānam* ; *tharama-patanī* or *thamma-pattī* for *dharma-patnī* ; and *cihamakō* or *cihmakō* for *jihmagaḥ*.

4. In *ratna-*, etc., the compound consonant is separated into its component parts (cf. Mk. xix, 7, quoted above). The word *gṛham* becomes *kiham* (Mk. xix, 8), and *iva* when it means 'like that' becomes *piva* (Mk. xix, 16). Moreover, in the word *kaṣṭa-*, *saṭa* is substituted for *ṣṭa* (cf. Mk. xix, 7, quoted above), and *pṛthunī* is irregularly used for *pṛthivī* (Mk. xix, 10).

The word *tadvad* in the text appears to indicate the particular meaning of *iva* when it is changed to *piva*. Mk. gives as an example *cantō piva*, i.e. *candra iva*. The form *pṛthunī* is doubtful. See the note to the text.

5. The word *hṛdayam* becomes *hitapakaṁ* (Mk. xix, 11). Again *pṛthumaṁ* is required in place of *prathamam* (Mk. xix, 15). For *vismayaḥ* and *sūkṣmam* we have, respectively, *pisumaō* (Mk. xix, 14) and *sukhamaṁ* (Mk. xix, 13). *Kupaci* is used in the meaning of *kvacid* (Mk. xix, 9), and the word *pakṣma* becomes *pakhamaṁ* (Mk. xix, 12).

The words *pṛthumaṁ* and *pisumaō* are doubtful. See the note to the text. The word *kupaci* is interesting. As an example Mk. gives a quotation from the Bṛhatkathā. He says: बृहत्कथायाम्— 'कुपचि पिसाचं' equivalent to the Sanskrit क्वचित्पिशाचम्. The प्रखमं of the MS. is certainly a scribal error for पखमं.

6. The word *kāryam* becomes *kaccaṁ* (Mk. xix, 6). The suffix *tvā* of the gerund becomes *tānaṁ* (Mk. xix, 17) The double letter *ñña* is substituted for *ṇya*, for *jña*, or for *nya* (Mk. xix, 18). In the instrumental, ablative, genitive and locative singular of the word *rajan-*, *rāci-* is employed. In this word there is also another (set of forms as in) *raññā* as well as *rācinā* (Mk. xix, 19).

Mk. says that the use of *rāci-* in *rājan-* is optional, and gives *rannā*, *rannō*, *ranni*, *raññā*, *raññō*, and *raññi* as optional forms.

This concludes Rāmaśarman's account of Kaikēya Paiśācika. Mk. adds two other rules. The first (xix, 20) is that in other respects Kaikēya-Paiśācikī follows Saurasēnī. The other (xix, 21) is that it follows Māgadhī in the forms of *yuṣmad-* and *asmad-*, but that in the forms containing *bh*, this *bh* does not become *ph*, as we

might expect from verse 2, above. Thus, it has *tumbhē*, not *tumphē*; and *ambhē*, not *amphē*. We now proceed to deal with Śaurasēna Paiśācika.

(2) *Śaurasēna Paiśācika.*

Rāmaśarman does not state on what Prakrit dialect his modifications for Śaurasēna Paiśācika are to be based. As, in his first verse, he mentions the letter *ṣ* as possibly occurring in the basal speech, and as this letter occurs only in Sanskrit, it is to be inferred that, as in the case of Kaikēya Paiśācika, he looks upon it as based on Sanskrit and Śaurasēnī. In this he differs from Mk., who takes his own Kaikēya-Paiśācikī as the basis of his modifications. The ultimate result is, of course, the same, but the adoption of different bases involves differences in the rules. For instance, in his first verse, Rāmaśarman teaches that *s* and *ṣ* both become *ś*. As Mk. takes Kaikēya Paiśācika as his basis, and, as in that dialect (see verse 3, above) *ś* and *ṣ* have already become *s*, he has only to say that every *s* becomes *ś*.

Although this is called *Śaurasēna* Paiśācika, it is most closely allied to Māgadhī Prakrit. Nearly all the points in which it differs from Kaikēya Paiśācika are typical of Māgadhī. Such are the changes of sibilants to *ś*, the change of *r* to *l*, the change of *kṛta-*, *mṛta-*, and *gata-*, to *kaḍa-*, *maḍa-*, and *gaḍa-* respectively, and others. This is borne out by Mk.'s 13th sūtra, for which Rāmaśarman has nothing corresponding. Mk. there says 'in other respects it (i.e. Śaurasēna-Paiśācikī) is like Prakrit (i.e. Mahārāṣṭrī), (but) some say that it is optionally like Māgadhī.'

7. In the Paiśācika which is (called) 'Śaurasēna' *ś*, the first of the three sibilants, is substituted for *ṣ* and *s* (Mk. xx 2). The letter *l*- and *l* alone, is under all circumstances substituted for *r* (Mk. xx, 3), and *śka* is substituted for *kṣa* in words such as *saukṣēyaka-* and *rākṣasa-*.

This typical Māgadhī change of *r* to *l* distinguishes this dialect from Pāñcāla Paiśācika, in which the interchange of *r* and *l* is mutual (verse 11). The MS. is quite clear in stating that in certain words *kṣ* becomes *śka* as in Māgadhī. But Mk. (xx, 6) lays it down as a general rule that *kṣa* becomes *ccha*.

8. According to the opinion of the learned *adhunā* becomes *ahuṇi* (Mk. xx, 12). When *tip*, the termination of the third person singular,

follows, *pia* is substituted for *pibati* [so that we get *piati*, not *pipati*, by verse 2, for *pibati*, he drinks]. *Kaḍa-* and *maḍa-* are substituted for *kṛta-* and *mṛta-*, respectively, and men pronounce *gata-* as *gaḍa-* (Mk. xx, 5).

Regarding the word *ahuṇi*, see the note to the text. The cerebral *ṇ* is surprising. As for *piati*, I have probably got what the author intended, but I am by no means sure of the text. Mk. does not mention any change.

9. It is considered that the *rya* (in such words as *bhāryā* becomes *ria* as in) *bhāriā*, as before (verse 3). But in the word *atthi* (=*asti*) the *tth* remains unchanged [and does not become *ścha*, as in Māgadhī, see Mk. xii, 7]. In the conjugation of the root *sthā-*, *ṇṭha* is substituted for the *ṭṭha* (in Śaurasēnī *ciṭṭhadi*), as in *ściṇṭhadi*, while *sthitam* becomes *thiaṁ*.

The whole of this verse is corrupt in the MS. and even with the conjectural emendments is difficult to translate. Mk. does not here mention *bhāriā*, as he has already given *bhariā* under Kaikēya-Paiśācikī (see note to verse 3). He makes no mention of *atthi*. He says that the *ṣṭha* of *tiṣṭhati* becomes *śṭa* (xx, 7). This is the reading of the printed edition and O Hnb read *ṇṇa*, and Io and Ox read *ḍa*. According to Mk. xii, 32, the Māgadhī form is *ściṇṭadi*. In the MS. of the present work, the only portion of the word which is clear is *ṇṭhadi*. The initial syllable seems to be *phī*, which I conjecture to be a scribal error for *ści*. In the Oṛiya character, *ṇ* and *ś* are easily confounded.

10. In the case of abuse or the like, the termination of (the nominative) of a noun whose base is *a*, is *ī*, as in *śiālī* (for *śyālaḥ*, a brother-in-law). Elsewhere, such nominatives end in *ē*, as in *palē manuśśē* (for *parō manuṣyaḥ*) (Mk. xx, 10). Also the accusative singular may optionally end in *ē*, as in *gāmē*, or, as in Kaikēya Paiśācika, *gāmaṁ* (for *grāmam*) (Mk. xx, 11).

Mk. says nothing about the *ī* termination of *a*-bases. We may compare the Māgadhī termination in short *i* (Mk. xii, 26). In Māgadhī, *śyālaḥ* becomes *śiālē* (Mk. xii, 12). In the printed edition of Mk. xx, 10, *sōr ōt* is a misprint for *sōr ēt*. This concludes Rāmaśarman's account of Śaurasēna Paiśācika. Owing to the condition of the MS. it is not so satisfactory as that for Kaikēya P. On one important point laid down by Mk. he is silent. Mk. (xx, 4)

states that the letter *y* is always prefixed to a letter of the *ca-varga*. This again is a peculiarity, as explained by later eastern grammarians (cf. Mk. xii, 21) of Māgadhī, and is apparently referred to by Vararuci (xi, 5). We next proceed to deal with Pāñcāla Paiśācika.

(3) *Pāñcāla Paiśācika.*

11. Those who are skilled in this matter say that Pāñcāla Paiśācika is distinguished by the confusion of *r* and *l*.

The meaning of पर्यंयत्व, which I translate by 'confusion' is made clear by the corresponding sūtra of Mk. (xx, 14), where the word used is विपर्यय, or 'inversion.' In other words, *r* becomes *l*, and *l* becomes *r*. In Śaurasēna Paiśācika, on the other hand, every *r* becomes *l*, but *l* remains unchanged. For the remaining kinds of Paiśācika, Mk. gives no rules. He simply ignores them.

(4) *Gauḍa Paiśācika.*

In Gauḍa Paiśācika either *r* or *l* may be used for *r* or for *l*.

I.e. *l* may optionally be used for *r*, and *r* may optionally be used for *l*. In Pāñcāla Paiśācika, on the contrary, the interchange is obligatory.

(5) *Māgadha Paiśācika.*

12. When the language originates (in the country) of the Māgadhas, it is regarded as the Paiśācika called Māgadha.

(6) *Vrācaḍa Paiśācika.*

In the next place Paiśācika is called Vrācaḍa in which there is an admixture of Sanskrit words.

Mk. says nothing about a Vrācaḍa Paiśācika. But both Rāmaśarman (xiv, 1), and Mk. (xviii, 1) describe also a Vrācaḍa Apabhraṁśa, which they say was spoken in the Sindhu-dēśa.

(7) *Sūksmabhēda Paiśācika.*

13. Another authority has recognized a Paiśācika, owing to a differentiation in regard to the letter *śa*. That, forsooth, is a *Sūkṣmabhēda*, for it has but a minute point of difference, and there does not appear to be any possibility of differentiation, any more than of differentiating between the sweetness of molasses and of sugar.

Saṁkīrṇa, or Mixed, Paiśācika.

This concludes Rāmaśarman's account of Śuddha Paiśācika. We now turn to his account of Saṁkīrṇa Paiśācika. As already stated, there is nothing in Mk. corresponding to this, and hence there is nothing to help us in regard to the corrupt text of the India Office MS. of the Prākṛta-kalpataru. For this reason there are one or two passages which defy my efforts at emendation.

According to Rāmaśarman, Saṁkīrṇa, or 'Mixed', Paiśācika is a mixture of various languages,—usually Paiśācika and Sanskrit, although other forms of Prakrit may be used instead of either. Writers on poetics often describe this kind of mixed language, the basis being not necessarily Paiśācī; but their accounts, and their systems of nomenclature do not tally with each other.

The *Sāhitya Darpaṇa* (642) says 'when a sentence is formed of words which are the same in a variety of tongues, it is named *Bhāṣā-sama*, or Linguistic Sameness.' The author then gives a verse which may be read as Sanskrit, or as Prakrit, Śaurasēnī, Prācī, Āvantī, or Nāgara Apabhraṁśa.

Rudraṭa (*Kāvyâlaṅkāra*, iv, 10–23) says that there are two kinds of *Bhāṣā-ślēṣa*. In one a passage may be read in one language with one meaning, and in another language with a different meaning. In the other, a passage may be read in two different languages, and have the same meaning in both. The latter kind is known as *Bhāṣā-sama śabda-citra*. (See Mallinātha to Bhaṭṭikāvya, xiii, 1. The whole, or nearly the whole, of the thirteenth canto of the Bhaṭṭikāvya is in this *Bhāṣā-sama*.) Rudraṭa gives several examples of Sanskrit-Paiśācī *Bhāṣā-ślēṣa*.

According to the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, ii, 17, and Ratnêśvara's commentary, in composition, there are six methods of using (*jāti*) language,—(1) *śuddha*, (2) *sādhāraṇī*, (3) *miśra*, (4) *saṁkīrṇa*, (5) *ananyagāminī*, and (6) *apabhraṣṭa*.

(1) *Śuddha* is when one language (Sanskrit, Prakrit, Paiśācī, etc.) is used throughout, according to its special grammatical rules (=Rāmaśarman's *Bhāṣā-śuddha*).

(2) *Sādhāraṇī*, or common, is when a passage may be read in two or more languages, with the same meaning in both cases (= *bhāṣā sama*, above). The languages are mixed like milk and water. According to the languages, and their number, there are altogether 57 varieties.

(3) *Miśra*, when it is in two parts (e.g. two different lines of a verse), one in one language, and the other in another, like the voices of a man and a lion answering each other (=Ramaśarman's *Pada-śuddha*).

(4) *Saṁkīrṇa*, when two languages are mechanically mixed in the same sentence, like sesame and rice (=Rāmaśarman's *Aśuddha*).

(5) *Ananyagāminī*, when two different languages are written consecutively, and the matter of the second has no connexion with that of the first.

(6) *Apabhraṣṭā*, when, in parody, or in imitation, corrupt forms (even of Prakrit or of Apabhraṁśa) are employed.

He gives examples of all these.

With this preamble, I attempt the following translation of Rāmaśarman's account of Saṁkīrṇa Paiśācika.

14. Saṁkirṇa Paiśācika is in the first place divided into two kinds, viz. *Śuddha*, or pure, and *Aśuddha*, or impure. Moreover, poets describe the Śuddha variety as being of two kinds, viz *Bhāṣā-śuddha*, or that in which the language is pure, and *Pada-śuddha* in which the different quarters of a verse are each pure.

> The author does not further describe the *Bhāṣā-śuddha* variety, the name being self-explanatory. It is the *Śuddha* method of using language described by the Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa, in which one language is used throughout a verse, according to its particular grammatical rules. The author now proceeds to describe the various kinds of *Padaśuddha-saṁkīrṇa Paiśācika*. Here a *pada*, as we shall see, means a quarter of a verse.

15. *Padaśuddha-saṁkīrṇa Paiśācika* is prescribed to be of two kinds. Moreover, one of these is considered to be *Ardha-śuddha*, or half-and-half pure, while the other is declared to be *Catuṣpāda-śuddha*, or having each of the four quarters of a verse (independently) pure. This division is now explained, as follows:—

16. *Ardha-śuddha* is when one half (of a verse) is in one language, and the other half is in another language. *Catuṣpāda-śuddha* is when the four quarters of a verse are in four different languages.

17. When languages enter into a verse (mixed together) like sesame and rice, uttered in varied ways, that is called *Aśuddha saṁkīrṇa Paiśācika*, as in the following verse of my own composition.

18. 'O Thou, who longest for [the touch of] the hand of Lakṣmī,

who art the source of love, with dark and tender forehead, release Thou me from the turmoil of delusion caused by the black confusion of the Kali age.' The above is Sanskrit polluted by Pāñcāla Paiśācika.

The text of the first line of this verse is altogether conjectural. The MS. is so corrupt here that it is impossible to do more than guess, and to make as few changes as possible. The true text must remain doubtful till another MS. is found. The word *alika* occurs in the Kādambarī in the meaning of "forehead," but I confess that it is not a likely word to occur here. I take *kāmakala*, as the equivalent of *kāmakara*. It might be taken as the equivalent of *kāmakalā*, were not that word specially employed as a synonym for Rati. The verse is, of course, addressed to Viṣṇu, who could not be compared with a woman. The pollution by Pāñcāla Paiśācika consists in the change of *r* to *l* in *kāmakala* for *kāmakara*.

There are altogether fifty-five languages.

There must be something wrong in the text here. The sentence begins a new folio (47*b*), and may have been misplaced. Or something may have been omitted between it and the preceding folio. Perhaps the author originally said that there are fifty-five possible kinds of Saṁkīrṇa Paiśācika. The Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhâbharaṇa calculates that there are fifty-seven possible kinds of Sādhāraṇī mixture, in which a verse may be read indifferently in two languages. The author now proceeds to give an example of this very Sādhāraṇī.

The following is an example of the blending of mixed Śaurasēnī and Sanskrit. It is taken from the Mālatī-Mādhava :—

The passage occurs in Act VI. It is capable of being read in either of these two languages, with the same meaning in each. I give Wilson's translation.

'Forego such desperate purpose, simple maid,
My heart, dear girl, will never bear thy loss.'

So, again, there is an *Ardha-śuddha* verse by Haraśaṅkara :—

20. 'Verily, in my loneliness, with broken heart, I am fallen upon my bed of jasmine flowers. For a lonely damsel, even the kērala-thread round her neck, seems as though it were a noose (of all the terrors) of the Kali age.'

There is a word in the prose introduction to this verse of which I can make nothing. I am not certain of the meaning of the expression केरलसूत्र. It appears to refer to a thread worn on the neck by married women of the Kērala country. Perhaps we should emend it to केसरसूत्र. The first half of the verse is in Śaurasēna Paiśācika, and the second in Sanskrit. The Haraśaṅkara mentioned as the author of the verse may possibly be Hariśaṁkara, the author of a work on prosody who is mentioned on p. 26 of the Kāvya-mālā edition of the Prākṛta-Piṅgala.

Or, again, another verse by an author not named:—

21. Victory to Pārvatī, the daughter of the Himâlaya, who ascends upon pride to destroy it, but who is a wishing-tree to him who bends low before her.

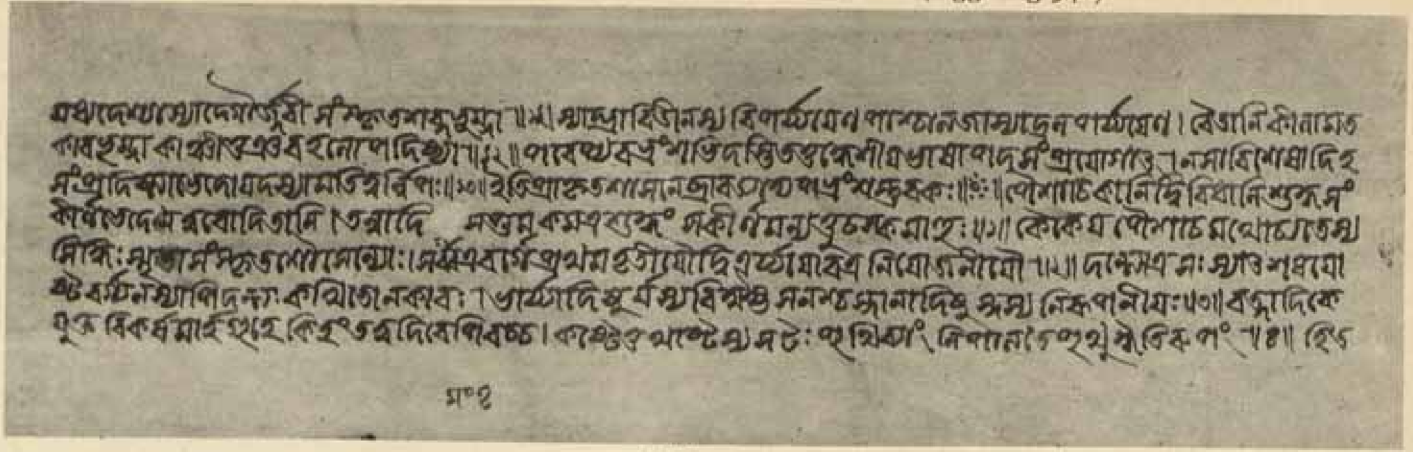
This is an example of the *Aśuddha-saṁkīrṇa Paiśācika*. Forms such as जयइ and कप्पलआ are ordinary Prakrit, while मतम् for मदम् is Kaikēya Paiśācika.

So, as we see from the above examples, it is to be understood that all other languages may be similarly mixed together.

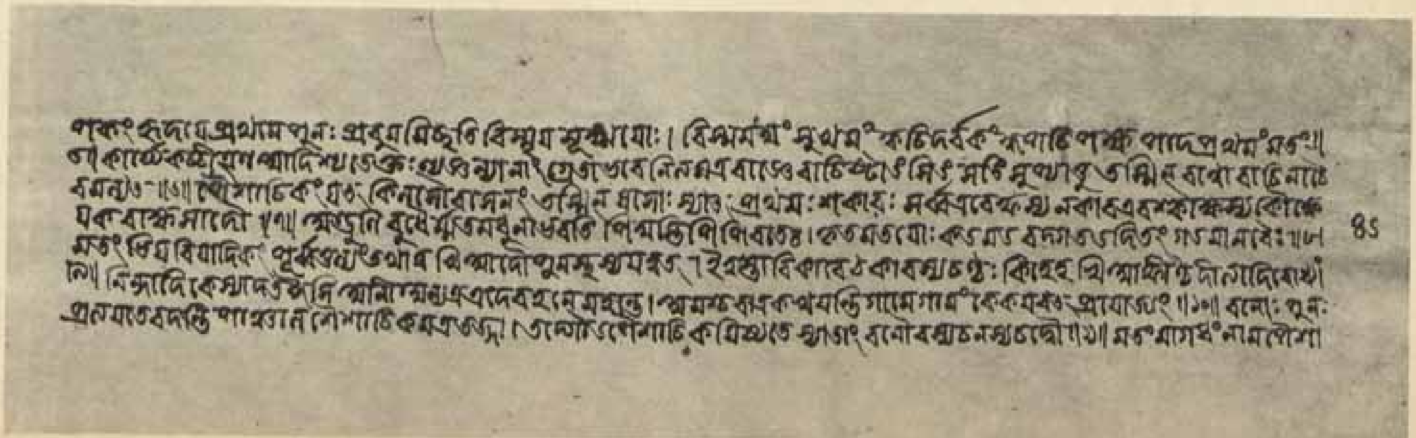
So ends the explanation contained in the third Branch, containing fifteen Clusters, of the Wishing-tree of Prakrit.

From the *Prākṛta-kalpataru* of Rāma-śarman (Tarkavāgīśa).

INDIA OFFICE SANSKRIT MS. No. 1106 (Eggeling 946).



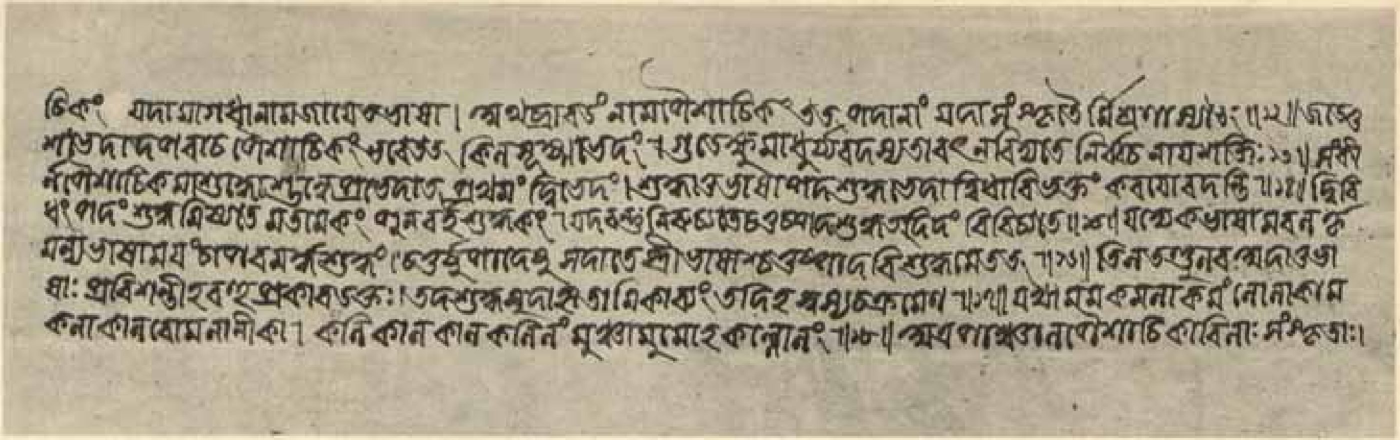
Folio 46a



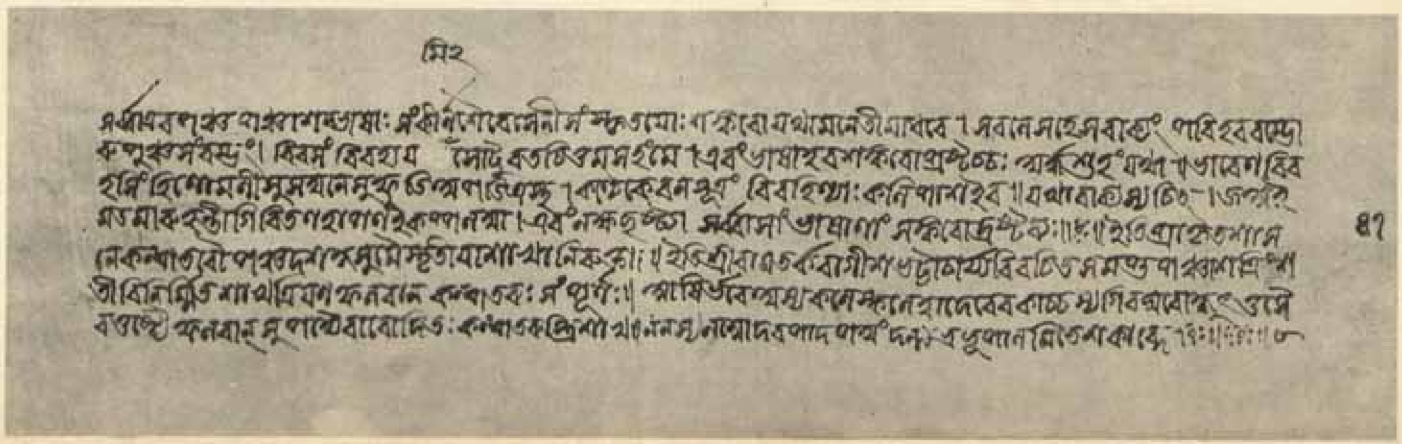
Folio 46b

From the *Prākṛta-kalpataru* of Rāma-śarman (Tarkavāgīśa). Plate II.

INDIA OFFICE SANSKRIT MS. No. 1106 (Eggeling 946).



Folio 47a



Folio 47b

ṚṢI.

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The last verse of the Yasna (LXXII. 11) reads :

aēvō pan̲tā̊ yō aṣ̌ahe
vīspe anyaēṣ̌ąm apan̲tąm,

"There is (but) one Path, that of Righteousness ; all the others are wrong paths." These words remind us at once of the ऋतस्य पन्था which occurs in so many Vedic passages, e.g. RV., VII. 65. 3 (ऋतस्य मित्रावरुणा पथा वामपो न नावा दुरिता तरेम).[1] There is thus a clear identity of *idea* between *aṣ̌ahe pan̲tā̊* and ऋतस्य पन्था for both mean the Path of Righteousness or Purity ; in other words *aṣ̌a* in Av. and ऋत in Skt. both imply Righteousness, the Law of God which regulates the whole of our upward progress. Doubtless this complete similarity of connotation helps us to understand more clearly the *phonetic* identity of the two words as established by Bartholomae.[2]

This phonetic identity is hard to understand at first sight. But there is a regular gradation observable in Avesta itself leading up from *ṛta* to *aṣ̌a*. Very probably the various steps in this gradation mark dialectic differences. These steps are *ṛta-ərəta-arəta-arta-arš* (or *ərəš*)-*aṣ̌a* ; and the most notable point about all these words is that their meanings are practically all identical.

As to the identity of the ऋत and *ərəta*[3] there can be no question. Bartholomae takes it as the past participle of $\sqrt{}$*ar* (ऋ).[4] This form occurs in Avesta in only two places and then only in composition. We get *Uxšyat̰-ərəta* (Truth-increaser) as the name of one of the three "mystic sons" of Zoroaster.[5] And in Ven. V. 59, we get the compound *aipi-ərətō-gātuš* (nom. sg. fem.) which means "she whose place is fixed

[1] See Grass(mann), *W(örter)b(uch zum Rig-veda)*, 284 for other passages.

[2] *Arische Forschungen*, II, p. 39.

[3] Skt. ऋ = Av. *ərə*.

[4] (*Altiranisches*) *W(örter)b(uch)*, 349.

[5] Barth. compares 'Οξυάρτης, *Wb.* 384, the name occurs in Yt. XIII. 128.

(by law)."[6] The word *ərəta* in this latter place means "the law of religion."

The form *arəta* occurs in a compound *arəto-karəθan*[7] in Vīs. I. 2 and II. 2 and in *Puršišnīhā* 39. In the Vīs. it is used as an adj. and is applied to *Hamaspaθmaēdaya* (the last of the six festivals of the year). The meaning of this compound as given by Spiegel is "full of holy works." The negative *anarəta* (अनृत)[8] is found only once, Yas. XII. 4.

The *arta* is found as the first member in the two names *Artaxšaθra* and *Artavardiya*. The former is the honoured name of many of the great kings of Irān, more familiar to us in the Greek form *Artaxerxes* or the Pahlavi form *Artakshīr*. The name could be translated as ऋतक्षत्र, the meaning being nearly identical with ऋतस्पति found in RV., VIII. 26. 21, where it is applied to Vāyu. The other —*Artavardīya*— is found in the Behistun Inscription (III. 6 and elsewhere)[9] as the name of a general of Darius and may be rendered into Skt. as ऋतवर्धन.

The form *arš*[10] is decidedly a younger Avestic form. The word by itself is not found at all in younger Av. but in the Gāθās we get the fuller *ərəš* fairly often.[11] This *arš* occurs only, incompound words not alone by itself. Such words[12] are *arš-uxδa* (Gāθic, *ərəš-uxδa*), truly-uttered, *arš-dāta*, truth-created; *arš-manah*, truth-thinking, *arš-vacah* (Gāθic, *ərəš-°*), truth speaking[13] and *arš-šyaoθna*, truth-acting.

The *arš* has been got out of the *arta* by a sort of spirantising of the *t* in conjunction with the *r*.[14] This change of the *t* to the spirant is regulated partly by rules of accentuation. We need not here enter into details beyond what Jackson gives—namely, as a rule, Av. *š*=Skt. *árt*, or *ṛt* (observe accent), and Av. *ərəta*=Skt. *ṛta* (observe, unaccented): e.g. Av. *mərəto*, Skt. *mṛtás*; Av. *bərətəm* "carried," Skt. *bhṛtám*; Av. (*fra*)-*bərətārəm*, title of priest, Skt. *bhartā́ram*. "Allowing a *shift* of accent, would explain a number of apparent anomalies where the law as to accent appears not to hold."[15] In Av. we find several words

6 Barth., *Wb.*, 83; see also ib., 185 (³*ar*).

7 Ib., 193. 8 Ib., 120. 9 Ib., 193.

10 The *š* used in the transliteration is a mere convenience, because in Av. the two letters *š*, and *ṣ̌* do not differ appreciably in pronunciation from each other and from the cerebral ष् of Skt. In any case the Av. *š* though represented as श् by convention (see Kanga, *Av. Gram.*, p. 3, ftn. 1 and 2) is *not* a true palatal.

11 Barth., *Wb.* 355. 12 Barth., *Wb.* 204–206.

13 The superlative °*tama* is also found (loc. cit.).

14 cf. Old Pers. *ṛr* changing to *ṣr*. in Av. (*Gurundriss d. iran Phil.* I, § 128).

15 *Av. Gram.*, § 163, note.

which show both varieties of forms, those with the *t* as well as those with the *ṣ̌* (or *š*) the *r* being present with the former: such are *marətan* and *mašya* "mortal"; *pərətu* and *pəṣ̌u*, "bridge"; *amərəta* and *aməṣ̌a*, अमृत, "immortal."[16]

The double forms may represent dialectical peculiarities and may have been originally caused by a shift of the accent as Jackson has hinted. But the whole has not as yet been clearly worked out. We are here concerned with the two words which practically form the two extremes of the Avestan series *ərəta* and *ərəš*. Phonetically we may construct the Skt. equivalents as ऋत and *ऋष्.[17] The latter as a noun is unknown in Skt. But I think the word ऋषि is a derivative from this *ऋष् (truth or righteousness). The word ऋषि, therefore, would mean literally "the righteous one", "the holy Sage", and the whole connotation of the word as used in Skt. fully supports this interpretation. This is especially supported by the various compounds of ऋषि found in the RV.[18] For instance ऋषिमनाः and ऋषिकृत्[19] are used of सोम in RV., IX. 96. 18 (ऋषिमना य ऋषिकृत्स्वर्षाः सहस्रणीथः पदवीः कवीनाम् । तृतीयं धाम महिषः सिषासन्त्सोमो विराजमनु राजति ष्टुप् ॥) and there is no reason whatever against our taking the ऋषि in both these compounds to mean "Truth" or "Purity"; and the former word is exactly the Av. *arš-manah*[20] found in Yas. XIX. 17. Thus there seems to be highly probable that the word ऋषि means literally "the truthful one" or "the righteous one."

It is remarkable that the word *aṣ̌a*, the last in Avestan series is the most often used of them all, both by itself and in its derivatives. In Skt. we find but one instance of the use of this word in RV. I. 173. 4 (ता कर्माषतरास्मै प्रच्यौत्नानि देवयन्तो भरन्ते), and the अषतरा (neu. plu.) here may well be rendered by the Av. *aṣ̌atara* meaning "more pious," Griffith translates "welcomest oblations."

As regards the accent also we find that there *is* such a contrast in Skt.—ऋत and ऋषि—as we might expect from the rule as given by Jackson, quoted above. In fact the Av. shows the *ṣ̌* when the Skt. ऋ has the accent and the *rt* when the ऋ is accentless. Probably this restatement of the rule may be found of some help in solving this problem.

[16] Kanga, *Av. Gram.*, p. 37. He also notices (p. 38) similar pairs of words in Persian, e.g. داشتن (*dāshtan*) and دارد (*dārad*); گشتن (*gashtan*) and گردیدن (*gardīdan*); etc.

[17] See footnote 10 above.

[18] Grass., *Wb.* 293.

[19] The Avesta translation of this word may be *arṣ̌dāta*.

[20] Barth., *Wb.* 206.

If other parallel cases could be cited from Skt. showing the same variation of form between *(r)t* and *(r)ṣ* our case would be complete. There may be some such pairs which may be semantically as well as phonetically connected. Thus कृत् and कृष् from a fairly obvious pair. I must confess that I have not come across another pair of such words in support of my argument. But even as it stands we can almost definitely say that ऋत and ऋषि form such a pair, and that the strongest argument in favour of bracketing them together is the meaning of these two words.

KHACCHE PHALU: A TIBETAN MORALIST.

JOHAN VAN MANEN.

The booklet of which I wish here to give a preliminary and brief account is one often met with and fairly generally known amongst the Tibetans in Darjeeling. In Tibet itself also it seems to be a very popular work. In the Darjeeling District I had no trouble in acquiring a few copies, and later on a Tibetan friend brought me another half a dozen on his return from a visit to Lhasa, though I do not know whether he obtained these there or somewhere on the road, for instance in Gyangtse. All my copies are blockprints in the very prevalent size and style of hundreds of small popular texts easily procurable in British territory. They measure about ten by three inches as to paper, and 8¾ by 2½ as to print. As in the case of several of these smaller texts they are printed on double sheets and folded together at the top, thus keeping the leaves better together, in contrast to larger and more voluminous prints which are always printed on loose single sheets. All my copies represent only two sets of blocks, very intimately akin. From the comparison of different editions of popular little works it seems to me to be evident that it is a typographical practice in Tibet to make new blocks by pasting printed sheets of an earlier edition upon new slabs, and then to cut the blocks after the model so obtained. Similarities in minutiae of the disposition of strokes and spaces, especially evident in the case of the vowel signs and similar significant details, make this a necessary assumption in the absence of matrices and cast letters. Nevertheless little deviations and variations make it certain that in the present case the two sets of blocks are different, though very intimately connected.

I am told that such a typographical practice as here described is indeed prevalent in Tibet. The text is printed for the purpose on one side of the sheet only, on paper thin enough to be transparent. The sheet is then pasted on the block upside down and the new block cut after the model thus obtained. This method is technically called པར་ལོག་ or པར་ལྡོག.

Studying the booklet with some care I found it exceedingly interesting from several points of view. Philologically it proved of value. Its flowery, and yet homely, language is not only modern and colloquial, but exceedingly idiomatic. I think that with mere dictionary knowledge, at the present stage of Tibetan lexicography, it would be hardly possible to understand the text fully in all places. Digging up this field has afforded me considerable pleasure. Except for the introductory chapter the book is metrical, written in nine-syllabled lines. The introductory chapter is in prose, of an intricate and long-winded style which seems scarcely so natural as that of the metrical part. The spelling of the booklet is atrocious, of the kind called "anarchistic" by Grünwedel. My emendations average about one for every line. This incorrectness is the result of a lack of grammatical or orthographic knowledge helped out by an unsystematic blend of phonetics and association. As no canons for a correct writing of modern and colloquial Tibetan have as yet been evolved, either by the Tibetans themselves or by Western students of the language, any attempt to produce an orthographically correct text of a colloquial modern book can at most be in the nature of a suggestion, and cannot be regarded as final. Here I give only my results, for what they are worth; and in order to furnish preliminary material for comparison for such readers as are desirous to draw their own conclusions about this matter, I append, after the corrected part, a small portion of the text in its original form, without any revision of the spelling.

After the philological value of the text, that of the contents ranks next. This is indeed a remarkable little poem. Its interest may be classed under three headings. First of all, one is almost tempted to regard it as containing in part a faint reflection in Tibetan literature of Sufi modes of thinking and expression. About this, something more later on. This hypothetic Sufi-element is, however, altogether assimilated by, or adapted to, Buddhist thought and phraseology. The reader will judge for himself in reading the translation. Be it enough to remark that a well-known Arabic scholar whom I showed this translation received the same impression from it. Secondly, this little poem, or *Lehrgedicht*, throws an unexpected light on the Tibetan *psyche* in one of its aspects and illustrates genuine ethical and mystical thought, and an unworldly and ethical frame of mind, entirely divorced from the ritualistic, demonological and Tantric influences which we are accus-

tomed to meet at every step in the great Tibetan literary jungle. This little book can be translated and understood in any language and any part of the world and needs no elaborate commentary to explain its system, terminology or doctrine. It is very pure and very human, in a word very universal. Lastly, much of the gentler teaching given in it is of considerable refinement and spirituality, free from grossness or materialism. Together with much which is exceedingly matter-of-fact and practical, bluntly worldly-wise, we also meet here with genuine *Weltschmerz*, renunciation, such as we find in the pessimism of Christians or Buddhists; and the ethical seriousness of the message in its naive form cannot but appeal to us. In short, this is a little book which, on the strength of what has been made known of original Tibetan literature, we would scarcely expect to find in Tibet as the production of a man belonging to only a generation ago. From this point of view the booklet surely gives food for thought.

Now, what can be said of the author and the circumstances which made him write his poem? Not much with certainty, and still less in detail. The author calls himself, in the final lines to several of the chapters, Khachhe Phalu. Phalu, I am told, is a family name, and Khachhe means in classical Tibetan "Kashmiri," but in modern Tibetan "Mohamedan." The history of Kashmir, of course, at once explains the transition in meaning. The difficulty is to decide whether Khachhe Phalu must be understood as Phalu the Kashmiri or as Phalu the Mohamedan. From internal evidence we would have to come to the latter conclusion. At least: perhaps. In lines 12 and 13 of the second chapter the author mentions God, and says:

> In Tibetan His name is the Precious Best Rarity,
> In my own language *Khodā*.

He speaks of language only, and not of religion, so that the saying is not absolutely conclusive. Students of Kashmiri would be able to enlighten us as to whether non-Mohamedan Kashmiris use the Persian name Khodā for God or not. If not, then the presumption is that Phalu was a Mohamedan, at least originally. If the term is used, however, also by non-Mohamedans, then no valid conclusion can be drawn from the passage. It may be argued that the introductory chapter is explicitly Buddhistic, and that in the body of the work several Buddhistic expressions occur. But against this it may be remarked that it is quite possible that this introductory chapter is not at all by Phalu

himself, but a pious heading to safeguard the orthodoxy of the body of the little work, perhaps prefixed by a friendly patron or adviser or editor, or else for the same reason by the author himself as a special pleading. And as to the Buddhist expressions in the work itself, they are evidently of so mystical a character that a Sufi might well use them in a Buddhist country, as mystics are apt to use any phraseology of the religious and literary milieu in which they express themselves. My Tibetan friends could at first tell me very little about the author and his history. The first story I heard about him was, as proved later, entirely legendary. It was said that the booklet had been written by one of the Grand Lamas, I think one from Tashilhunpo was meant, a so-called Teshu Lama, who was said to have composed it pseudonymously under the guise of a Mohamedan in order to shame his own co-religionists and compatriots who had become lax in religion and did no longer live up to the sublime precepts of Buddhism. By circulating this work as coming from a despised, semi-barbarian, Mohamedan, he meant, it was said, to teach his own people a salutary lesson. The story was attractive enough. Later on, however, I received more historical and, as it seems to me, reliable, information, which told another tale. It was said that Phalu was an official in the service of a previous, most likely *the* previous, Teshu Lama. He was a *chibs dpon*, groom, equerry, master of the horse, or whatever the equivalent name in English would be, in short the official in charge of the horse which form part of the Lama's state. He was a Kashmiri by birth, and was more or less vaguely said to have been a Buddhist, not a Mohamedan. I think, too, that it was stated that he had come from Kashmir, and had not been born in Tibet. This man was by nature much of a philosopher and, besides, personally a friend of, that is on an intimate footing with, the Teshu Lama, his master, to whom he had very free access. In his old age he met with some great sorrow or disappointment, and discarded all worldly rank and wealth, living the life of a recluse and philosopher. Then it was that he wrote his booklet. It is said that he practically left the world and became a hermit, but not in the sense of becoming a Buddhist monk. And this is all I have gathered about him. Tibetan friends vouch for it, however, that very old men, and people of an older generation, have known him personally living in Shigatse, and his *floreat* is fixed vaguely at about some thirty years ago. It is said that his descen-

dants still live in Tibet, belong to its nobility, and are people of position.

I have been told that on its first appearance the little book created quite a stir and was much admired, but that now it is not regarded as something very great, especially by the literati, as the book is not classical and not learned and "contains nothing new." Evidently the way of the world is the same in Tibet as elsewhere. That the booklet is very popular among the common people is certain, however, and that it appeals to them speaks well for and shows an attractive side of the Tibetan character. It is, for instance, the constant companion of my servant, who is a Tibetan in exile in Calcutta, and whenever he has nothing else to do, I see him either with his Khachhe Phalu or with his Timekunden, laboriously plodding away at their lines, ever anew, and always with the same evident pleasure. But to a simple Tibetan reading is hard work, and so the message does not become stale very soon, and the delight of it is a joy, if not for ever, still at least for a very long time.

The booklet numbers 28 sheets or 55 pages of text, the first page containing only the title. It consists of 11 short chapters, of which in all the copies the 10th is numbered 11th and the eleventh not numbered at all. The chapters are very unequal in length; some have more than a hundred lines, others less than or only a few over thirty. To work out in full detail every question suggested by the study of the work would require considerable space; my notes for the first half cover more than 200 pages foolscap. As my occupations do not allow me to finish and to prepare for publication, now, and probably for some time to come, a complete critical edition of the text, it may have its use to publish the net results of the work already done as a preliminary. No better occasion for that could be found than in the present volume in which we honour the man who in Calcutta has been such an active promoter of Tibetan studies, and who in so many ways has shown his enlightened interest in all what conduces to greater knowledge of the Snowland, its language and its civilisation.

So, hereunder, I give the text of the first five chapters of our booklet, in a corrected form in so far as I am able to establish it. The corrections, be it understood, are only in orthography, without any verbal modification, which would be uncalled for. Then I add the next two chapters which are short, in the original spelling. The first five I

have divided into paragraphs as their sense seemed to suggest. The next two are left as they appear in the original without further analysis. Next I give the translation of these first five chapters, which I have attempted to make practically literal, with as little polish as seemed indispensable to ensure a good understanding. In my manuscript notes I have attempted a full justification for my renderings, and I hope I shall, at some future time, be able to publish these in proper form in a suitable place. Meanwhile I hope that those competent to judge will find the translation reliable. I have taken especial pains to render colloquialism by equivalent colloquialism. A few brief notes at the bottom of the pages are intended to bring out better some implied meanings in the translation.

The question in how far Khachhe Phalu's booklet is an original production deserves some discussion. From the first chapter the impression is gathered that what he wrote was derived from Indian models, but a study of the text does not bear out that impression. In line 37 of the seventh chapter it is expressly stated that "Indian speech has been turned into Tibetan speech," but that seems a mere *façon de parler*. In most of the chapter endings Phalu indicates that his production proceeds from his own meditations, and the nature of his language and thought seems to tally with these statements. So we find in II. 55: "Khachhe Phalu reminds the world," quite in the style of "Kabir says." Again in III. 93: "Khachhe Phalu's exhortation is explained"; in IV. 105: "Khachhe Phalu's serious counsel"; in V. 26 "Khachhe Phalu's heart's word has flown over from his mouth"; and similar expressions in VI. 29; VIII, fourth line from the end; IX, idem; and, lastly, XI. fifth and fourth lines from the end. For the present it would seem that we are justified in taking his booklet as an original production, the unmixed expression of his own individuality. In the meantime this little contribution is only meant as a preliminary announcement of results and the subject must wait for its fuller treatment and discussion until I can find the leisure necessary for a publication on a much ampler scale, adequate to the subject. May, in the meantime, old Khachhe Phalu gain some new friends and the attention he deserves by what is now and here shown of him.

༄༅། །ཁ་ཆེ་པ་ལུའི་འཇིག་རྟེན་ལས་འབྲས་རྩིས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་བསླབ་བྱ་བཞུགས་སོ༎

༄༅༎ ཨོཾ་སྭསྟི།

སྔོན་རྒྱ་གར་འཕགས་པའི་ཡུལ་ན་སངས་རྒྱས་ དགུང་ལོ་བཅུ་ལ་ཕེབས་པ་ན། འཛམ་གླིང་ སྤྱི་དང་ ལྷག་པར་ ཡུལ་ དགའ་བའི་ གཡས་གཡོན་དུ་ རྟགས་དང་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པ་དང་། ཛུ་འཕྲུལ་མཁས་བཙུན་གྲངས་མེད་ཀྱིས་མཛད་པ་རྣམས་ འབྲི་དགོས་དང་། ཡོད་དགོས་བྱུང་ན་སེ་ཚེའི་ཁ་ལ་མི་ཆོས་མང་པོ་དགོས་འདུག་པས། མཚམས་ཀྱི་ཞུ་བར། དགུང་ལོ་བཅུ་ལ་ཕེབས་པའི་དུས། དང་པོ་དྲང་པོ་ནི་གཏེར་མཛོད། གཉིས་པ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་འབྱོར་ཁངས། གསུམ་པ་ངོ་ཚའི་རྒྱ་མཚོ། བཞི་པ་སྦྱིན་པའི་རྒྱལ་སྒོ། ལྔ་པ་ཆོས་གནང་བ་སོགས་རྩ་བ་ལུང་དང་མཉམ་པའི་སློང་པོ་ལ་ལོ་འདབ་རྒྱས་པ་ལྟ་བུའི་ཆོས་འཇིག་རྟེན། ལས་རྒྱུ་འབྲས། འཁྲིལ་ངོ་ཚ། བྱམས་སྙིང་རྗེ། ལམ་ ལུགས་སྤྱོད་སོགས་ གང་ཅི་རྒྱ་ མཚོ་ཐིག་པའི་ཐིག་ པ་དུས་ བུ་བརྒྱ་ཕྲག་ མང་པོར་ བཏང་ བའི་ བསླབ་ བྱའི་ཚོགས་ བཅད་སུ་རིག་ དར་ལ་ བརྒྱུད་པ་ བཞིན་ འདི་རྣམས་ ཚིག་ བདག་ཁ་ཆེ་པ་ལུ་འཇུ་ཡིས་ཡིག་ཐོག་དུ་བཀོད་པའི་བསླབ་བྱ་དངོས་གྲུབ་རྩ་མིག་གི་ ལེའུ་དང་པོ་འོ༎

1. ཆོས་ཀྱི་འབྱོར་ཁངས་རྡོ་རྗེ་ཁྲི་ཡི་ཐོག །
རྒྱབ་དུ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་བྲག་རི་དབུ་འཕང་མཐོ། །

མདུན་དུ་སྙིང་རྗེའི་མཚོ་མོ་འོད་ཀྱིས་ཁྱིངས།
དབྱར་དགུན་མེད་པ་ཉིན་མཚན་རིང་ཐུང་བསྒོམས།
དབྱར་ཁ་དྲོ་རྒྱུ་དགུན་ཁ་གྲང་རྒྱུ་མེད།
དབྱར་དགུན་རིང་ཐུང་དྲོ་གྲང་ལྡན་པའི་ས།
ཉི་མ་ནམ་མཁའི་དགུང་དུ་བསྒྲིབས་པའི་དུས།
ཁང་ཁྱིམ་ལྷུན་པ་གྲིབ་སོ་འཁོར་རྒྱུ་མེད།
དེ་ཚོ་འཛམ་གླིང་ལྟེ་བའི་རྟགས་བྱེད་ཡིན།
ལྟེ་བ་དེ་ནས་ལྟེ་བར་འགྲོ་བའི་ལམ།

11. ལྟེ་བའི་ལྟེ་བ་དེ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ།
བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་དུ་དཀོན་མཆོག་རིན་པོ་ཆེ།
རང་རེའི་སྐད་དུ་གོ་བཏྲལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ།

14. རྒྱ་གར་འཕགས་པའི་ཡུལ་དུ་འགྲོ་འདོད་ན།
སེམས་པའི་ཡུལ་ན་གཏིང་ཐུག་ཤུལ་མེད་བཟོས།
འདོད་ཆགས་ནག་པོ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་གཏིང་ལ་བསྐྱུར།
ཆགས་སྡང་ཞེ་སྡང་དམར་པོའི་མེ་ལ་སྲོར།
བསམས་རྒྱུ་གཅིག་ལ་སློས་རྒྱུ་དྲན་རྒྱུ་གཅིག
གཅིག་ལ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་འབྲེལ་སོ་མེད་ཟེར་ན།
ཆོས་ལ་འགྲོ་ཆས་སྒྲིག་ཤིག་པ་ཡི་བུ།

21. འགྲོ་གིན་འགྲོ་གིན་ལྷོད་མོ་མཐོང་ཡོང་ངོ་།
བྱས་ཚད་ཆོས་དང་བདང་ཚད་ལམ་ལ་འགྲོ
བསམས་ཚད་ཐེག་དང་དགོས་ཚད་ལག་དུ་འཐོབས།
ལབ་ཚད་གནམ་དང་དགོས་ཚད་འཞེན་ལ་འཐོག

25. དེ་འདྲའི་ས་ཙ་འགྲོ་འདོད་ཡོད་ཟེར་ན།
དགོས་རྒྱུའི་སྙིང་པོ་དོན་གྱི་ཇོ་ཁ་གསུམ།
དང་པོ།
སེམས་པ་མི་ཡོང་བཞིན་དུ་དང་གཅིག་དགོས།
གཉིས་པ།
དམ་ཚིག་གཙང་ཙུ་བཞིན་དུ་གཙང་གཅིག་དགོས།
གསུམ་པ།
ལག་རྒྱ་སེང་གེ་བཞིན་དུ་ཆེ་གཅིག་དགོས།
དེ་གསུམ་འཛོམས་ན་དེ་ཙ་སྐྱབས་པ་རེད།

31. དེ་འདྲའི་ས་ཙ་སྐྱབས་པའི་ཡོ་གཞོར་ཚོ།
རང་ལ་རང་གིས་གོ་བ་མ་བསྐོར་ན།
འཇིག་རྟེན་འདི་ཡི་འཁོར་དུ་ཕྱིར་ཡོང་ངོ་།

34. སང་སང་གནང་གནང་ཟེར་གྱིན་འགྲང་ཡོང་ངོ་།
དེ་འདྲའི་ངང་ནས་འབོད་མཁན་སླེབ་ཡོང་ངོ་།
དེ་དུས་འགོད་པའི་གླིང་ལ་རྒྱབ་ཡོང་ངོ་།

37. ཁ་ཟུར་སྟོང་པོ་སྨས་པོ་འདི་ཇོ་ལ་སྐྱེས།
ཡལ་ག་ལོ་འདབ་དེ་ས་ཐག་དུ་རྒྱས།
འདབ་ལོ་རེ་རེའི་ཕྲོག་དུ་མཚན་རེ་འཁྱུངས།
མཁས་པ་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་རིག་པ་མི་ཉམས་པ།
ལྷེ་བའི་སྐྱན་ཞུ་ལྷེ་བའི་རྡུང་དུ་ཕུལ།

42. བཀའ་ཤོག་རྒྱབ་རྟེན་དམ་ཕྱུག་སྐུ་རྒྱབ་དུ།
གཙུག་གི་ནོར་བུའི་དོན་གྱི་ཇོ་ཁའི་རྩོག
སྡིག་ཆེན་བདག་དང་འཁོར་བའི་སེམས་ཅན་སོང་།
ཆོས་ཀྱི་ལམ་སྟ་ཟིན་པའི་སྐྱན་ཞུ་ལ།

46. འདི་དང་ཕྱི་མ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་རེ་ས་དང་།
བློ་དང་སེམས་པ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བཞག་ས་ལ།
འབྲལ་བ་མེད་པ་ཐུགས་རྗེའི་རྒྱང་ནས་གཟིགས།
ཡེ་ཤེས་སྤྱན་གྱིས་གཟིགས་ནས་ཐུགས་ལ་ཞོག
བྱམས་དང་བརྩེ་བས་བསྐྱངས་ནས་ལམ་སྟ་སྟོངས།

51. སྐར་ཆེན་འོད་ཀྱིས་གླིང་ལ་ཞལ་གཟིགས་ནས།
སྐར་ཆུང་ཚོགས་བརྒྱ་ལྔ་ར་ཚུ་ང་གཉིས་བར།
སྨྲ་གུའི་བ་ཤད་པ་སྨྲ་གུས་གོ་སོང་ངོ་།

54. ནག་པོའི་རི་མོ་དཀར་པོའི་ཚིག་གིས་ཁེངས།
ཁ་ཆེ་པ་ལུའི་བསློབ་གསོལ་དྲན་པོས་ཕུལ།
བསླབ་བྱ་ལེའུ་གཉིས་པའོ ॥

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1. ཆོས་དང་འཇིག་རྟེན་ཁག་ཁག་སོ་སོ་རེད།
སེམས་དང་ལུས་པོ་རང་རང་སོ་སོ་རེད།
སེམས་པ་དཀའ་བ་སྤྱད་ནས་འགྲོ་འདོད་ཀྱང་།
ལུས་པོ་ཞིམ་པོ་ཟས་ནས་སྡོད་འདོད་ཆེ།
ལུས་པོ་སྐྱིད་པོ་སྡོད་པ་ཞག་གསུམ་དང་།

སེམས་པ་སྡུག་པ་ཕྱུག་གི་ཕྱུག་ནས་སྡུག །
སེམས་སྐྱིད་འདོད་ན་ལུས་ཀྱི་དཀའ་བ་སྤྱོད། །
ལུས་པོ་བསམས་ན་སེམས་པ་སྡུག་ལ་སྤྱོད། །
ང་ལ་ཉན་ན་ལུས་སེམས་དགེ་བ་ཚོང༌། །

10. གསེར་དང་རག་གན་རྫེ་མི་སྨིན་པ་རེད། །
གཡུ་དང་དོ་ལོ་ནོར་ན་ཀླུགས་པ་རེད། །
འདི་དང་ཕྱི་མ་ཁི་གྱོང་མི་ཤེས་ན། །
འཇིག་རྟེན་འཁོར་བའི་མི་ཚེ་འཁྱོལ་འགྲོ་ཟེར། །
ལོ་གཅིག་ལོ་གཉིས་མི་དགོས་བརྒྱ་ཡི་བར། །
ཐ་མ་ས་རྫེ་འི་ཕུང་པོ་ས་ལ་ཐིམ། །

16. རྒྱལ་པོ་གསེར་ཁྲིའི་སྟེང་དུ་བཞུགས་པ་དང༌། །
སྤྲང་ཕྲུག་བན་པོ་འི་འོག་ཏུ་སྡོད་པ་གཉིས། །
མི་རྟག་འཆི་བ་བྱུང་དུས་འདྲ་འདྲ་རེད། །
ཟས་ཀྱི་ཞིམ་མངར་ལྡེ་ནས་མིག་པའི་བར། །
འཁོར་བའི་སྐྱིད་སྡུག་ཞག་གསུམ་འདི་ཡི་རིང༌། །
སྤྲང་པོ་སྡུག་ཀྱང་མི་ཚེ་འཁྱོལ་འགྲོ་ལོ། །
རྒྱལ་པོ་སྐྱིད་ཀྱང་ཐ་མ་ཤི་འགྲོ་ལོ། །

23. དེ་སྔ་སོང་བའི་གྲངས་ཀ་མི་ཤེས་འདུག །
ད་དུང་འགྲོ་རྒྱུའི་གཏེང་ཚོད་སུ་ཡིས་ཤེས། །
ཡོང་གིན་ཡོང་གིན་འགྲོ་གིན་འགྲོ་གིན་དུ། །
དོན་དུ་ཡོང་མི་ཚང་མ་འགྲོ་མི་རེད། །

འཁོར་བ་འདི་ལ་རྟག་པ་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མེད།
རྟག་པ་མེད་པ་བདེན་པ་སུ་ལ་ཡོང་།
རྟག་པ་བརྟན་པ་མེད་པའི་མི་ཚེ་འདི།
ལ་མགོ་འདི་ཁ་ཡི་བྲི་གདུགས་ཉི་མ་འདྲ།
བྲོན་ན་མ་གཏོགས་བཞུགས་རྒྱུ་ཡོང་རོག་མེད།

32. ད་དུང་ཕྱུག་ཀུའི་སྣང་བ་མ་ཡིང་བ།
མཁས་པ་ཡིན་ན་དོན་གྱི་ཇོ་ཁ་སྒྲིལ།
དོན་ཙ་སྒྲིལ་ན་དཔའ་བོ་ཡང་རྩེ་རེད།

35. འཇིག་རྟེན་འཁོར་བའི་ལས་ལ་སྙིང་པོ་མེད།
འཁོར་བ་གདན་དུ་སྡོད་པའི་ས་མ་རེད།
འགྱུལ་པ་ཞག་གསུམ་གནས་ཚང་གནས་མགྲོན་རེད།
སོ་སོ་འི་བསམས་བློ་སོ་སོས་གཏང་བ་དཀའ།
འགྱུལ་པ་འགྲོ་ཚས་སྔོན་ནས་མ་བསྒྲིགས་ན།
གནས་ཚང་རྒྱབ་དུ་འཁྱེར་ནས་འགྲོ་རྒྱུ་མེད།
གནས་མོ་རོགས་ལ་འཁྲིད་རྒྱུ་ཡོང་རོག་མེད།
རང་ཉོར་རང་ལ་བདག་དུས་བསམས་བློ་ཐོང་།
ལྷོ་མིག་མི་ལ་ཤོར་དུས་འགྱོད་པའི་རྒྱུ།

44. ཕ་མ་ཤི་བ་མང་པོ་བྱུང་ཡོད་འགྲོ
ཕྲུ་ཀུ་སྐྱིད་པ་མང་པོ་མཐོང་ཡོད་འགྲོ
ཨ་མའི་རྗེས་ལ་ཨོ་ལོ་འགྲོ་རོག་མེད།
ཨ་མའི་མཇུག་ལ་བུ་མོ་འགྲོ་རོག་མེད།

སོ་སོ་འི་ནམ་དུས་སོ་སོས་སྐྱལ་ནས་འགྲོ
ཁྱོད་རང་ཁྱོད་རའི་བསམ་བློ་ཁྱོད་རང་ཐོང་།

50. གཅིག་ཕྱུར་འགྲོ་བའི་ལམ་གྱི་ལམ་ཆས་འདི།
སྔོན་སྔོན་སྔོན་ལ་སྣང་པོ་འི་ལག་དུ་བསྐུར།
ནོར་གྱི་ཧ་ལ་འགྲོ་བའི་བང་འགྲུས་སྐྱོབས།
ཕྱི་མ་འགྲོ་བའི་ལམ་ལ་ཐོར་ཆོག་གྱིས།

54. པ་རོལ་ཕྱུག་པོ་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་དགོས་འདོད་ན།
འདི་ཙ་སྣང་པོ་འི་སྙིང་སྡུག་བསྔས་པ་བཟང་།
ས་ཡི་འོག་དུ་ཁམ་བུ་ཟ་འདོད་ན།
ས་སྟེང་འདི་ཙ་ཁམ་སྟོང་བཙུག་པ་བཟང་།
ཀུན་ལ་བདེ་བའི་ཙ་བ་བཙུག་པ་བཟང་།

59. ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཙ་བ་མི་སེམས་འཛིན་རྒྱུ་མེད།
ཆོས་ཀྱི་སྙིང་པོ་གཞན་དོན་སྒྲིག་ལེ་རེད།
ཁྱོད་རང་ཁྱོད་རའི་འདོད་པ་ཟིན་འདོད་ན།
ཚང་དང་ཨ་རག་དེ་ལས་ལྷག་པ་མེད།

63. ང་ཇང་ང་རྒྱས་ཟེར་བའི་བང་རྒྱས་ཅན།
གསེར་དངུལ་ཟངས་དང་གཏམ་དོན་ང་ཟེར་ཞིང་།
ཞིམ་པོ་ང་དང་འཇམ་པོ་ང་ཟེར་གྱི
ལེགས་པོ་ང་དང་མཛེས་པོ་ང་ཟེར་གྱི
གནས་བཟང་སྣོར་ཀྱང་ཁང་ཧྲང་ན་རོག་ཡིན།
རི་ཁྲོད་འགྲིམས་ཀྱང་ཟ་མཆོག་ཚ་རོག་རེད།

རྒྱང་ལ་བཙུད་སྐོར་གཏོང་ཀྱང་སྟོང་པ་རེད།
རྫིའུ་བཙུད་ལེན་རང་སྤྱུག་རང་གིས་རྗེས།

71. བྱ་ཞུགས་བྱེད་ལུགས་ལྡན་པའི་པ་ཀན་ཚོ།
འདོད་པ་ཅན་གྱི་ཆོས་པ་བརྒྱ་ལས་ལྷག
རང་འདོད་ཅན་གྱི་མི་ལ་ངོ་ཚ་མེར།
ངོ་ཚ་མེད་པའི་མི་དེ་དུད་འགྲོ་འི་རྒྱུད།

75. བུ་མོ་རྒྱན་དང་གོས་ཀྱིས་སྤྲུད་གྱུར་ཀྱང་།
ནོར་བཟང་རྒྱ་ཡུའི་བཙུན་མོ་ཉན་དོག་མེད།
སེམས་གོ་མ་ཆོད་ལྷ་ཆོས་བྱས་གྱུར་ཀྱང་།
མི་ཡོང་རྒྱུན་པའི་གླིང་དུ་གསལ་དོག་མེད།
རྒྱ་འཐག་གླང་གི་མིག་དེ་ཡོལ་བས་བསྒྲིབས།
ཉིན་གང་སོང་ཡང་དགོང་མོ་ས་དེར་ལུས།
འདོད་པའི་ཞགས་འཐག་ཀང་ནས་མ་བཀྲོལ་ན།
ལྷ་ཆོས་བྱས་སོང་ཟེར་ཀྱང་སྟོང་པ་རེད།
ཤོག་སྒྲོ་དར་གྱི་སྐུད་པས་བསྡམས་པ་ན།
རྒོད་པོ་ཡིན་ཀྱང་ནམ་འཕངས་གཅོད་དོག་མེད།

85. དམ་ཚིག་སེམས་དང་བརྩོན་འགྲུས་སྙིང་ནས་དགོས།
ཐུག་རྒྱུ་གང་ཡོད་ཅི་ཡོད་སེམས་ལ་ཐུག
ལམ་བུ་འདི་ནི་སེམས་པ་དུང་གི་ལམ།

88. སེམས་ལ་གཡལ་དར་ཡང་ནས་ཡང་དུ་ཀྱོབ།
ཚང་མས་སྨོན་རྒྱུ་ཨེ་ཡོང་ལྟོས་ཤིག་ཨང་།

གདམས་བཟང་འཕྲེར་རྒྱུ་ཨེ་ཡོང་སྙོས་ཞིག་ཨང༌།
སྒྲོལ་བཟང་ཞོག་རྒྱུ་ཨེ་ཡོང་སྙོས་ཞིག་ཨང༌།
དེ་གསུམ་འཛོམས་ན་དང་པོའི་དང་པོ་རེད།

93. ཁ་ཆེ་པ་ལུའི་སྙིང་གདམས་བཤད་ཡོད་དོ།
ཉན་དང་མི་ཉན་སོ་སོའི་བསམ་བློ་རེད།
ཡིན་ཀྱང་རྒྱ་ཤོག་རི་མོས་འཁྱིངས་སོང་ངོ་།
རྒྱ་སྨུག་སེར་པོའི་སྒྲོ་ཁ་རྫོགས་སོང་ངོ་།
བསྐུལ་བུ་ལེའུ་གསུམ་པའོ༎

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1. རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡུལ་གྱི་རྒྱན་ཆ་རེད།
ཁྲིམས་དང་མཐུན་ན་རྒྱལ་གཞིས་མངའ་ཐང་ལྡན།
ཁྲིམས་འགོ་ནོན་ན་བསམ་དོན་ལྷུན་གྱིས་གྲུབ།
ཁྲིམས་གཞུང་ལྡན་ན་བདེ་སྐྱིད་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས།
མཚོ་མོ་འཁྲིམ་ན་ཉ་མོ་ཡས་ཀྱིས་འཁྲིས།
ལུང་པ་དབུལ་ན་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡས་ཀྱིས་དབུལ།
ཇོ་དཔོན་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ས་སྐྱེ་འཕྲུལ།
ཡུལ་སྐྱེ་མེད་པའི་ཇོ་དཔོན་གོད་རེ་བྲོ།

9. དཔོན་འབངས་ནད་པ་ཨམ་ཆིའི་དཔེ་བཞིན་དུ།
རྩའུ་བརྩུག་པའི་ཤུལ་ལ་རྨ་སྨན་ཐོབ།
བཀའ་སྐྱོན་དགོངས་འཚོམས་གཞུག་ལ་བྲམས་སྐྱོང་མཛོད།
དང་པོ་ཉེས་པ་ཆ་ཡང་བབས་དང་སྦྱུན།
གཉིས་པ་ཉེས་པའི་ཐོག་དུ་ཉེས་ཐག་ཐོང་།

གསུམ་པ་མི་ངན་རྩ་མེད་བཟོས་ཀྱང་རྡུང་། །
དེ་འདྲའི་མི་ལ་སྐྱིང་རྗེ་ལྟ་དགོས་མེད། །

16. ལུག་གུ་མ་འཁྱེར་གོང་ལ་སྤྱང་ཀི་བྱུངས། །
ཡུལ་སྡེ་མ་འཁྲུམས་གོང་ལ་མི་ངན་སྤྱུར། །
རྒྱལ་པོ་ཞི་ལྟར་ཆགས་པ་ཉལ་སྡོད་ན། །
ཡུལ་སྡེ་ཁྲག་ལྟར་འཁྱུག་པ་མི་ཤེས་སོ། །
ལུག་རྗེ་ཇ་ཆང་གཉིས་ལ་མགོ་འཁོར་ན། །
ལུག་གུ་སྤྱང་གིས་འཁྱེར་བ་དངོས་བདེན་རེད། །

22. གང་ལ་མཁས་པའི་མི་དེ་ལས་ལ་མངག །
ཤིང་བཟོ་མཁས་ཀྱང་ལྷ་བྲིས་ཡོང་དོག་མེད། །
སྤྱང་གི་དགའ་ཀྱང་ལུག་རྗེ་ཉན་དོག་མེད། །
ལས་འབྲས་ཅན་ལ་མི་ཡི་རྗེ་དཔོན་སྐོས། །
ལུག་གུ་སྤྱང་ཀིའི་ཁ་ལ་བཙུག་ཡོང་ངོ་། །

27. ཡོན་དན་ཅན་ལ་དོན་གྱི་ཇོ་ཁ་དྲིས། །
ནོར་བུ་དགོས་ན་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་གཏིང་ལ་ཡོང་། །
དམ་ཚིག་གཙང་མའི་མི་ལ་བློ་གཏད་འཚོལ། །
ཇོ་རྗེ་བྲག་ལ་འགྱུར་བ་ཅི་ལ་སྲིད། །
ཉིན་མཚན་མེད་པ་མཁས་པའི་མི་དང་སྤུན། །
རྣ་ཁའི་ཁྲི་རོ་ཐམ་རྣ་ལ་འགྲོ །

33. ཤ་ཚ་ཅན་ལ་སྐྱོང་མཐར་རིམ་པར་སྤྲོད། །
བྱས་རྗེས་དྲུད་ཤུལ་བྱུང་ན་བློ་ཁ་རྫོགས། །

བུས་པ་ཅན་གྱི་སེམས་པ་འཕམ་མ་རྩུག།
བྱེད་རྒྱུ་མདུན་དུ་ཡོད་དུས་བྱེད་མཁན་མང་།
བློ་གདད་འཚོལ་མི་རྣམས་ཚོ་མཐའ་ནས་སྐྱོངས།
འཛམ་བུའི་གླིང་འདིར་གནམ་བཟང་སྐད་ཀྱིས་ཁེངས།

39. དཔའ་རྩལ་ཅན་ལ་དལ་དུས་བདག་པོ་སྐྱོད།
འགག་རྩ་ཐུག་དུས་དགོས་པའི་དུས་གཅིག་ཡོང་།
རྒྱུན་དུ་བང་མཛོད་ནོར་གྱིས་ཀྱོང་རྒྱུ་གྱིས།
ཀྱེན་རྩ་ལྡག་ཡོང་དགྲ་བོ་མཆོང་ཡོང་ངོ་།

43. དགྲ་འོག་འདུལ་བར་དགོས་རྒྱུའི་དགོས་ཆ་གཉིས།
ནོར་དང་དཔུང་གི་དགྲ་བོ་ཆམ་ལ་ཕབས།
ནོར་རྫས་མེད་པར་དཔུང་རོགས་མེད་ཐབས་མེད།
དཔུང་རོགས་འཚོལ་བར་ནོར་རྫས་མེད་ཐབས་མེད།
དེ་གཉིས་འཛོམས་ན་དགྲ་བོ་ལས་ཀྱི་འཛོམས།
ནོར་ལ་ཕ་མ་བུ་ཚ་གསོལ་གསོལ་མཛོད།

49. ལོ་མང་སོང་བའི་རྒན་པོ་འདི་ཁ་ལ་ཉེར།
སྐྱིད་སྡུག་མང་པོ་མྱོང་བའི་མི་རྒན་རེད།
ལུགས་ཀྱི་ལུགས་རིའི་མཚམས་ལ་བསྐྱིབ་པའི་དུས།
གཞོན་པའི་ཤེད་ལས་རྒན་བུའི་རྟུས་བུ་བཟང་།

53. དགྲ་བོ་འཕྲུལ་གང་འཕྲུལ་ལ་འདུལ་འདོད་ན།
སྐབས་ཐོག་གྲོགས་ལ་བཀུག་ནས་སྡོད་པ་བཟང་།
ཐབས་ཀྱི་སྒོ་ནས་དོན་རྩ་ཡོད་ཟེར་ན།

མདའ་གྱི་མདུང་གསུམ་འཕུར་གྱུ་སྦྱིན་པའི་ལས།
མི་ཐུབ་དགྲ་དང་འཛིང་འཛིང་བཞག་པ་དགའ།
རྫོགས་མགོ་ཙའུའི་སྙིང་ལ་རྒྱུག་རོག་མེད།
མདའ་མ་མི་དགོས་གི་སར་དངོས་ཡིན་ཀྱང་།
འགྲིག་ཙམ་བྱུང་ན་འགྲིག་པ་གཙོ་དོན་ཆེ།
གདོང་དུ་དཔའ་བོ་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཉེས་སྲུ་ཁག
ཐབས་རྣམས་འཕྲུལ་གྱི་མི་མདའ་རྒྱང་ནས་ལྷེར།
དང་པོ་ཐབས་རྣམས་དགུ་བཅུ་གོ་དགུ་སྟོས།
བརྒྱ་ལ་འཕྲུག་དགོས་བྱུང་ཀྱང་བྱ་ཐབས་མེད།

65. གོ་བ་མེད་པའི་མི་དེ་ཁྲི་ལས་ཡོད།
ཁྲི་ངན་བྱུང་ན་བེར་ཀ་སྣ་ལ་དཀྲི
ཕྱིན་སྟོང་བྱེར་ན་ཕྱིན་རྒྱུའི་ལམ་བུ་ཐང་།
འཛིང་སྟོང་བྱེར་ན་གོམ་གསུམ་སྔོན་ལ་སྤྲོས།
རྫོགས་མགོ་ཁོང་ཁྲོ་ཡོང་དུས་མ་དྲན་ན།
རྗེས་སུ་དྲན་ན་རང་གི་ཁ་ལ་རྒྱོབ།

71. དོན་ཆ་འཛམ་པོ་འི་སྒྲ་རྣམ་ཡོན་བྱེར་ན།
ང་རྒྱལ་ཁོང་ཁྲོ་དོན་མེད་སྟོང་པ་རེད།
ཁོང་ཁྲོ་དབང་ལ་སྐྱུད་ན་མཁས་པའི་རྟགས།
ཁོང་ཁྲོ་རྗེས་ལ་འགྱོ་མི་གླེན་པ་རེད།

75. བསམ་བློ་སྔོན་ལ་མཐོང་ན་མཁས་པ་དང་།
ཀྱེན་ཆ་མདུན་དུ་ལྷག་པ་སུམ་ཀྱང་མཐོང་།

དུང་དཀར་གཡས་འཁྱིལ་གཅིག་པ་སུས་ཀྱང་མཐོང་།
ཆག་པ་སྒྲིག་དགོས་བྱུང་ན་ཉ་སྒྲིག་ཡོང་།

79. དགྲ་བོ་ར་མགོ་བོ་རྒྱར་ནས་སློབ་བྱུང་ན།
སྙིང་ནས་ཁོང་ཁྲོ་སེམས་ཀྱི་གཉིད་ནས་ཐོན།
མགོ་བོ་རྒྱར་བའི་དགྲ་བོ་འཕམ་མ་ཆུག
ཡིན་ཀྱང་ཁྲམ་དང་གཡོ་སྒྱུར་དོགས་ཟོན་དགོས།
གཙང་པོ་མཁར་དཀྱིལ་ཞབས་ལ་རྒྱུག་པ་དེ།
རགས་རྒྱུག་མ་བྱུང་ཐ་མར་མཁར་ལ་ཤེད།

85. ངན་པ་བསྐྱངས་ན་བཟང་པོ་བརྡུངས་པ་འདྲ།
ཀུན་བུ་གསོལ་ན་ཚོང་པ་བསད་པ་འདྲ།
དུག་སྦྲུལ་བཞག་ན་མགོ་ནག་མི་ལ་ངན།
སྤྱང་ཀི་བཞག་ན་གཡང་དཀར་ལུག་ལ་ངན།
ཁྱི་ཡིས་མི་ལ་རྒྱུག་པ་ཡིན་མི་ཤུ།
ཁྱི་ངན་བདག་འཛིན་བྱེད་མཁན་མི་ངན་རེད།

91. དགྲ་མགོ་འདུལ་མཁན་གཉེན་མགོ་སྐྱོང་མཁན་དགོས།
འཛམ་རང་དྲེགས་ན་དགྲ་བོ་གཉའ་རེངས་ཡོང་།
སྐྱིང་རང་དྲེགས་ན་འགག་ལ་ཐུག་པའི་ཉེན།
འཛམ་རྩབ་བསྐྱེས་ནས་ཀུན་ལ་གཏོང་ལུགས་མཛོད།
དགྲ་གཉེན་ཚང་མར་ཐབས་ཀྱིས་གྲོགས་ལ་ཁུག

96. འཕྲུལ་དང་ཕྱུག་གི་རྒྱལ་ས་འཛིན་འདོད་ན།
ཉེ་རིང་མེད་པར་གསེར་ཁྲིའི་ཐོག་ནས་དྲངས།

ཡུལ་བདེ་མི་བདེ་ཡོང་བའི་དགོངས་པ་དང་། |
དགོང་མོ་ས་ལ་བབས་ནས་ཆོས་ལ་འབྱུངས། |
ལུས་ངག་ཡིད་གསུམ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་སྨོན་ལམ་ཐོབ། |
གདན་གྱི་རི་ས་དགོན་པ་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལ་ཞུ། |
རིན་ཆེན་སྐར་མའི་བདག་པོ་འི་བཀའ་དང་སྤུན། |
འདི་ཕྱི་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དབུ་འཕང་མཐོ་དགོས་ན། |
མི་རྟག་འཆི་བ་མ་རྫེད་ཐུགས་ལ་ཞོག |

105. འདོད་འདོད་ཁ་ཆེ་ཕ་ལུའི་གྲོས་གྲོས་ཀྱི |
དོན་གྱི་སྙན་ཞུ་སུ་རིག་དར་ལ་བརྒྱུད། |
ཁམས་གསུམ་དབང་འདུས་དྲུང་དུ་ཕུལ་ཡོད་དོ། |
རིན་ཐང་སྟོང་དུས་བརྒྱ་བསྒྱུར་གྲངས་སུ་ཚུད། |

བསླབ་བྱ་ལེའུ་བཞི་པའོ།།

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1. འཛིག་རྟེན་འདི་རུ་སྣང་ག་ཤོང་མང་གཅིག་འདུག |
སྐྱིད་སྡུག་རིང་ཐུང་སྨྲོས་ཐྲ་གྲངས་མེད་རེད། |
འདྲ་འདྲ་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མེད་པ་མཐོང་གསལ་རེད། |
འདི་ལ་ཆོག་ཤེས་རང་གིས་བྱས་པ་དགའ། |

5. ཐོད་པའི་རི་མོ་སྒྲུབ་ཀྱང་ཟླུབ་རྒྱུ་མེད། |
དེ་ལས་རི་མོ་འི་འགྲོ་ལུགས་སྟུན་པ་དགའ། |
ལུགས་རིང་བྱུང་བུ་སྡུག་ཀྱང་རང་སྡུག་རེད། |
བཀལ་བའི་རྒྱབ་འཁུར་མ་འཁྱེར་དཀའ་མེད་རེད། |

སེམས་གོ་ཆོད་ན་ནོར་ལ་མང་ཉུང་མེད།
ཚིག་ཤེས་མེད་པས་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྐྱོང་པོ་དང་།
སེམས་གོ་ཆོད་ན་སྐྱོང་པོ་དེ་ལས་ལྷག
རྒྱལ་པོ་རྒྱལ་གཞིས་ཟེར་ནས་ལྡོགས་ལྷང་ལྷང་།
སྐྱོང་ཕྱུག་ཐང་ཀྲུལ་ཁེངས་ན་སྐྱོ་འགྱེ་འགྱེ

14. བསྒོམས་པའི་ལས་ལ་ཚིག་ཤེས་མ་བྱུས་ན།
རང་ཕྱུག་རང་གིས་ཉེ་བ་དོན་མེད་རེད།
ཚིག་ཤེས་ལྡན་ན་ཕྱུག་དང་མ་ཕྱུག་མེད།
ལས་ལ་བསྒོམས་ན་དགྲ་ནོར་རང་གི་ནོར།
མ་བསྒོམས་པ་ནོར་བུ་ལ་དགག་པ་དཀའ།

19. ལྷང་པ་རྡོ་ཡི་སྟེང་དུ་སྐྱེ་དོག་མེད།
སྤྲུགས་སྤྲུགས་ཤིག་ཤིག་བྱས་པའི་ཅི་ལ་ཕན།
སེམས་པ་ཤོར་ན་པ་བཟང་བུ་ལ་ཤོར།
ཚིག་ཤེས་བྱས་ནས་ལུས་སེམས་འདོད་ལ་འཛོག
ལག་ལེན་ངན་པའི་རིགས་ལ་སྤྱང་བྱ་གྱིས།
པ་བདེ་བུ་སྐྱིད་ཡོང་བའི་བསམས་བློ་མཐོང་།

25. འདི་ཕྱི་གཉིས་ཀྱི་གནས་དོན་ལག་པའི་རིལ།
ཁ་ཆེ་ཕ་ལུའི་སྙིང་གནས་ཁ་ནས་ཕུད།
སྙིང་གི་བུ་ཚོ་སྙིང་ནས་གོ་བ་སྨྱོན།
གོ་བ་ཡོད་ན་གོ་རྒྱུ་ཁྲིམས་ཡོད་དོ།
མང་པོ་མེད་ཀྱང་བློ་བ་བཅུད་དང་ལྡན།

བསླབ་བྱ་ལེའུ་ལྔ་པའོ།།

དབྱར་ཁ་ལྷུགས་དང་དགུན་ཁ་རྫ་ཡོ་སྟོས།
དབྱར་དགུན་མེད་པ་དམར་པོའི་ལྷུ་ལ་བལྟོས།
སྙིང་གདམས་སྙིང་གིས་གྲོགས་ལ་ཕོད་ཚོད་བགྲིས།
སྤྲ་གྲོགས་དགོངས་དགྲར་སོང་བ་མང་པོ་ཡོང་།
གསེར་དངུལ་མི་ལ་བཅོལ་དགོས་བྱུང་ཀྱང་བཅོལ།
བཅོལ་པོ་གཏོང་ཀྱང་རྩལ་ནས་རྟེན་པ་རེད།
སྙིང་གཏམ་མི་ལ་བཤོལ་བཅོལ་མང་གྲགས་ན།
ལག་མགོ་ཁ་ལ་བཙུག་ནས་སྡོད་དགོས་ཡོང་།
གདམས་ཀྱི་བདུད་པོ་སྙིང་གི་དོང་དུ་ཚུད།
ཁ་ལ་ལྷུགས་དང་ལྷུ་ལ་སྒོ་ལྷུགས་རྒྱབ།
བདུད་པོ་གཏོང་ནས་ཕོར་ན་མི་པོ་བསོད།
འ་ཧྲི་བྱས་པ་ཅན་གྱི་ཅི་ལ་ཕན།
མི་ཕོད་དགུ་ཕོད་ཕོད་རྒྱུ་མང་གྲགས་ན།
མི་ལམ་ཕོད་ཟེར་གིན་སྡོད་དགོས་ཡོང་།
ནར་ནར་ལྷུ་ལ་བདག་པོ་མ་རྒྱབས་ན།
རིལ་རིལ་དབུ་ལའོ་རྒྱལ་བཟོས་ཡོང་ངོ་།
མ་བཤད་གདམས་དེ་ག་དུས་བཤད་བཤད་རེད།
བཤད་ན་འགྱོད་དགོས་བྱུང་ན་ཐ་མའི་ལས།
མ་བཤད་བར་དུ་གདམས་ལ་རང་དབང་ཐོབ།
བཤད་ནས་གདམས་ཀྱི་དབང་དུ་ཕོས་མཁན་ཚོད།
བཟང་པོ་ཡོངས་ལ་ངན་པ་ལབ་ཉེན་ཆེ།
བཟང་པོའི་བསླབ་བྱ་ངན་པའི་དགྲ་ལ་འགྲོ

དེ་ལས་བཟང་ངན་ཚངས་མ་བཟང་པོས་སྐྱོངས།
བཟང་པོ་དཀྲ་མགོ་ངན་པས་བཀླིག་པས་བསྐྲུན།
གཏམ་ལ་དྭངས་པའི་མི་དེ་སེམས་ནས་དྭངས།
སེམས་པ་གྲངས་ན་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ལམ་སྣ་ཟིན།
ད་ལྟ་དེ་ལས་ཕྱུག་ཡུལ་སྐྱིད་ཀྱང་སྐྱིད།
འདི་ཕྱི་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བསམ་དོན་ལྷུན་གྱིས་འགྲུབ།
ཁ་ཆེ་ཕ་ལུའི་འདོད་དང་སྡུག་སྐྱུགས་ཐུགས།
དཀར་པོའི་ཐོག་ཏུ་ནག་པོའི་བྲིས་ཆ་གསལ།
བྲིས་མི་ས་འོག་བྲིས་ཆ་ས་ཡིས་ཐོག
འཛམ་གླིང་མི་བརྩིས་བསམ་བློའི་དྲན་གསོས་མཛོད།

བསླབ་བྱ་ལེའུ་དྲུག་པའོ།།

འཛམ་གླིང་མི་ཡོང་ཕར་བལྟའ་ཚུར་བལྟའ་རེས།
འཁོར་བ་དྲུག་རི་བཞིན་དུ་ཁ་ལན་བསྒྲིག
རང་གིས་གར་ལྟས་མི་ཡོང་ནང་དུ་གསལ།
རང་གི་གར་ལབ་བྲག་རི་ཁ་ལན་བསྒྲིག
བཟང་ན་བཟང་དང་ངན་ན་ངན་གྱི་ངན།
འདི་ནི་ཡོངས་རྒྱུ་འཇིག་རྟེན་འཁོར་བའི་ལས།
ཚངས་མས་སྐྱོན་པའི་འདོད་པ་མེད་ཟེར་ན།
གཞན་ལ་ས་ལབ་རང་ལ་དོག་ཟེར་གྱི
ཚངས་མ་རང་གི་མདོག་དང་མཐུན་ཡོང་ངོ་།
གང་བྱས་ལག་པའི་མཐིལ་དུ་གསལ་ཡོང་ངོ་།

གཞན་ལ་དཀའ་ཚོད་ཁྲོད་རང་དཀའ་མེད་ཡིན།
གང་ལྟར་བཟང་ལ་བཟང་རང་ངན་ལ་ངན།
དུག་ཤིང་སྡོང་པོ་དེ་ཁམ་བུ་གཏེར་དོག་མེད།
ཁམ་བུ་དགོས་ན་ཁམ་སྡོང་འགྲུམ་ལ་སོང་།
རིན་ཆེན་གསེར་གྱི་འདོད་པ་ཡོད་ཟེར་ན།
དོན་མེད་སྨན་པའི་གླིང་ལ་མ་སོང་ཞིག
གཞན་ནས་ལག་ལག་ལུག་ལུག་དགོས་ཟེར་ན།
རང་ལ་ལག་ལག་ལུག་ལུག་མང་ཉུང་དགོས།
ཚེ་འདོད་ཅན་ལ་ཚེ་བ་ཡོད་བ་དཀའ།
དེ་ཡི་ཐབ་ལ་ཚེ་འདོད་བཞག་པ་དཀའ།
བྲམས་པོ་བྲུས་ན་དགུ་ཡང་གཉིས་ལ་འགྲོ
ཛུབ་ཚོད་མ་ཟིན་བུ་ཡང་ཞེན་པ་ཡོག
ཐོད་པའི་རི་མོ་གཉེན་ལ་ཡོད་པའི་མི།
སོ་དཀར་འཛུམ་ལེགས་མི་སེམས་འཛིན་པར་མཁས།
ལས་བཟང་བྱས་ནས་ཐར་པའི་ལམ་བུ་ལ།
གདམས་བཟང་འཁྲིད་ནས་སོང་ཅིག་པ་ཡིས་བུ།
རི་མོ་ཐུར་ལ་ཡོད་པའི་མི་ངན་ལ།
དུག་སྦྲུལ་ཁྲི་སྦྲིན་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དུག་བཅད་ཚངས།
ཉིན་མཚན་མེད་པ་སྨུག་རྒྱུ་ཁོ་ལས་མེད།
ལག་ལེན་ངན་པའི་གྲོལ་བ་སྐྱོང་ནས་འགྲོ
བཟང་པོ་འོང་བའི་རྗེས་ལ་གདམས་བཟང་ཡོད།
བཟང་པོ་དེ་ལོ་ལ་བཟང་པོ་དེ་འབྲས་བུ་སྨིན།

ངན་པའི་འབྲས་བུ་ངན་པའི་སྐྱེ་ལ་འཁྲིལ། །
ངན་པའི་རྗེས་ལ་ལྷུས་ངན་གདམ་ངན་སྤྱོད། །

35. ཀྱེ་སྐྱུགས་གསེར་པོ་འི་ཁ་ནས་ཚིག་གསུམ་ལུས། །
ཀྱེ་ཤོག་དཀར་པོ་འི་སེམས་ལ་གསལ་ཡོང་ངོ་། །
ཀྱེ་སྐད་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ལ་འགྱུར་སོང་ངོ་། །
ཁ་ཆེ་པ་ལུའི་བློ་ཐག་ཆོད་སོང་ངོ་། །

བསླབ་བྱ་ཡིཙུ་བདུན་པའོ། །

THE TEACHING OF PHALU THE KASHMIRI

CONCERNING THE CALCULATION OF THE FRUITS OF ACTION IN THIS WORLD.

AUM. HAIL.

[CHAPTER ONE.]

When the Enlightened One had reached the age of ten, India was a land of perfect signs and omens and miracles. Innumerable men of learning and religion performed glorious deeds. This was not only true of India in general but especially so of the Happy Land in particular. If it were necessary to relate it all in detail it would take many a lifetime. So, instead, I will only give a few salient points from the wisdom, of these times. The Buddha's teachings, when he was ten years old, had already expanded into a mighty tree of wisdom, of which the luxuriant leaves may be called his instructions concerning the spiritual and worldly life and about actions and their retributions, and his examples of piety, love, and pity, as well as all his other manners of conduct. Its roots may be called that treasury of righteousness, that fountain of the law, that ocean of piety, that royal road of charity, and all those various manners of devoting himself to religion, which were characteristic of Him at the time. This vast mass of wisdom is like an ocean from which I, Khachhe Phalu, have drawn. I have taken all sorts of minute fragments, like particles of drops, from this ocean, and combined them anew by hundreds into new drops, which I have strung like pearls on the thread which is this present exhortation. In the form of words they have taken shape; I have arranged them metrically, and these written down now constitute this little book of instructions, which is called the fountain of perfect teaching, and of which this introductory explanation is the first teaching-chapter.[1]

[1] I. I have found no satisfactory reference to any incident connected with the Buddha's manifestation of wisdom especially at the age of ten. In Buddhist books the sixteenth year is mentioned in this connection. We may keep in mind the question whether these ten years are represented by the following ten chapters.

By hundreds, i.e. in chapters of about a hundred lines; see II. 52.

[CHAPTER TWO.]

6. When that land which is subject to seasons, and varying lengths of days, and differences of temperature,
1. Has its source of religion above the Diamond Throne
2. And the high-topped rock of religion behind,
3. With the shining lake of love in front,
4. And when its days have been made equal in length, whatever its seasons,
5. And when it is without summer-heat or winter-cold,
7. Then, when the sun has reached the centre of the heavens,
8. And the house casts no longer any dark shadows,
9. Then it is the time to seek the world's heart
10. And the road from that heart heartwards.[2]

11 Obeisance to that heart's heart!
In Tibetan its name is the Precious Best Rarity.
In my own language Khodā. Obeisance.

14. If you want to go to the Holy Land,[3]
Then if, after first having removed the last traces of ignorance in the soul's country,
And after having flung black lust to the ocean's bottom,
And, lastly, after having set aflame jealousy and hatred in red fire,
If it can be said that you have only one single thought with one single meditation and one single memory,
And that that one thought gives no hold to any other,
Then, my son, you may prepare your travelling requisites for setting out towards religion.

21. And whilst you are going you will behold a wonderful sight.
If whatever you have done is religion, then whatever you have done will turn out right.
If whatever you have thought is high, then whatever is needed comes to you.

[2] II. 1–10. This may be understood mystically, and the "house" in line 8 may be both the human body and mind. Except in this one place and in the last two lines of this chapter, the translation follows the sequence of the lines of the original.

[3] II. 14. In the whole "travelling" allegory in this chapter I am inclined to find Sufi influence. The "Holy Land" is no geographical locality.

If whatever you have spoken is true, then whatever is needed strikes home.

25. If you really wish to travel to such a country
There are three essential necessities.
First:
You need a soul as clear as a mirror.
Second:
You need a faithfulness as pure as the Tsang river.
Third:
You need a greatness as of a bold lion.
If these three qualities are combined you will have arrived there.

31. But even these true sons of men who have arrived at such a place,
If they have not wrapped themselves up in discrimination,
Will be sucked up in the world's maelstrom.

34. If they keep on saying: "to-morrow, to-morrow," and "day-after-to-morrow, day-after-to-morrow," they will lose their time.
And precisely whilst doing so the Caller will come[4]
And they will drop into the region of remorse.

37. Like a date tree grown on a bleak field,
But with branches and leaves suddenly sprouting,
With on each leaf its proper name growing,[5]
Like unto the unspoiled wisdom of all the sages,
So I now offer my heart's petition to (all) hearts.

42. And like the seal behind, which validates the document,[6]
So the (following) word of most excellent, most essential import
Goes (now) to myself, great sinner, and to all the world's beings,
This petition showing the road to religion.

[4] ll. 35. The caller: death.

[5] ll. 39. There are Mohamedan traditions of miraculous trees whose leaves bear the names of Allah.

[6] ll. 42. In the Tibet of to-day, as in Europe before modern postal developments, letters are sent by private agency, and all depends on the intactness of the seal.

46. O Thou place of refuge for both the present and the next life,
O Thou sanctuary for both soul and mind,
Having looked upon us from the distance of perpetual mercy,
Having looked upon us with the eye of wisdom—bear us in mind,
And, out of love and kindness having protected us, show the road.
51. Having now looked at the world by the light of the Great Star
Up to a hundred and fifty two small stars
Even the pen has understood its own explanation.[7]
55. Khachhe Phalu reminds (the world)
54. By means of black strokes (of the pen) filled with white words.

This is the second teaching-chapter.

[CHAPTER THREE.]

1. Religion and worldly life are each (quite) different.
Soul and body are each different.
Though the soul, when having suffered hardships, wants to go on,
The body, having eaten nice food, greatly desires to sit still.
The length of bodily happiness is only three days.[8]
The soul's sorrow is pain to the very end.
If you desire the soul's happiness, suffer the body's hardships.
If you think of the body, join the soul to suffering.
If you listen to me, you distinguish between body and soul.
10. The man who barters gold for brass is a fool.
If he mistakes genuine for false turquoises, he is a simpleton
If he does not know profit and loss of this and the next life
It may (indeed still) be said that he will (nevertheless) reach the end of his human lifetime in this worldly round,
Not only one or two years but (if you like) up to (a full) hundred.

[7] II. 52. The "Great Star" is evidently the Buddha himself as the subject of the first chapter. The 152 small stars are the first chapter of, symbolically, "a hundred words," and the 52 lines of the second chapter. In the first chapter Phalu says he has combined his words by "hundreds" into new drops. See also IV. 108.

[8] III. 5. Three days, i.e. a short time, a moment. Three, here and elsewhere, is: a few.

Yet in the end the heap of earth and bones will dissolve to earth.[9]

16. The king reposing on his golden throne
As well as the beggar boy sheltering under his tatters, both,
Are equal when the time of impermanent death arrives.[10]
The sweet taste of food stretches only from tongue to throat.
The ups and downs of worldly life last only three days.
The beggar, however much he may suffer, will live out his life
The king, however happy he may be, will, in the end, come to die.

23. There is no knowing of the number of those who have gone before.
And who knows precisely about further goings
In all this perpetual going and coming ?
Men must go by virtue of their having come
This worldly life has not even a single permanent element.
To whom, impermanent, shall come the truth ?
This human life without permanent stability
Is like the throne-roofing sun over the top of the pass,[11]
Which, when arrived, cannot do anything like staying.

32. Furthermore, not absent-minded like a child's mind,
If you are wise, you will seize the fundamental meaning,
And, having seized the core of the meaning, you are the topmost hero.[12]

35. The work of this worldly round is without substance.
This round is not a place of everlasting staying.
The traveller is three days host and guest in the inn.
If one reflects on oneself, happiness (will result).
If the traveller has not beforehand prepared the travelling necessities
There is no going with the inn carried on the back,

9 III. 15. Heap of earth and bones: the body.

10 III. 18. Impermanent death (cf. the European pale death): death which is the inexorable consequence attendant on impermanence.

11 III. 30. Throne roofing sun. Early at the end of the day the sun disappears, as seen from the valley, over a pass. For a moment it hovers over it like a golden baldaquin.

12 III. 34. Hero, in Tibetan of special meaning, with Tantrik connotations. The heroic soul subdues not only the world but the Gods. Sk. Vīra. We may think of a "Warrior of the Lord," a "Knight," but also of a magician.

And there will be no conducting of the landlady as a companion.
As long as you can dispose of your own property, reflect.
When the key passes into the hands of another there will be repentance.[13]

44. Perhaps many parents' deaths may occur.[14]
Perhaps one may see many children left behind.
It is not possible that the little son follows the mother,
It is not possible that the daughter follows the mother.
When each has spent his season, he goes.
Think yourself about yourself.

50. These are the travelling requisites for the road on which one travels alone:
First, first, first of all: give to the poor.
Teach your wealth-horse to go at a pace.[15]
Prepare (yourself) to start on the road to the next life.

54. If you really want to enjoy rich man's wealth in your next life,
It is good to contemplate here the fate of the poor.
If you want to eat a peach under the ground,
Then you had better plant a peach tree here above the ground.
(So) you had better plant the root of happiness for all.

59. If the root of religion is there, man's mind has no greed.
If the quintessence of religion is there, one studies the welfare of others.
If you choose to follow (only) your own desires,
Then there is nothing better than beer and brandy.[16]

63. When greedy, so as to say: "I, I, I must flourish,"
And saying: "I must have gold, silver, copper and fame,"
And: "I must have sweets and finery,"
"I must have able-bodiedness and beauty,"
Then even holy-place pilgrimage is only vain foot-soreness.

[13] III 43. After death, by having been miserly in life.

[14] III. 44. In the ordinary course of nature children outlive their parents, however strong their mutual love may be.

[15] III. 52. Let your wealth flow freely; do not hoard it.

[16] III. 61, 62. "Let us drink and be merry, for to-morrow we die."

And even solitude-dwelling is only vain ear-confusion.
And even the realisation of the sap-circulation of the vital current is emptiness.
(Yes even if you take) the stone-elixir you have (only) bought your own suffering.[17]

71. Those old venerables who know how to behave[18]
Are superior to hundred whose religion is full of desire.
A man who is full of love of self, is shameless
And such a shameless man belongs to the tribe of the beasts.

75. A girl, though she may be decked out in jewels and fine raiment
Will not, for all that, be fit to become King Good-Jewel's spouse.[19]
When the heart is not righteous, even if the religious commandments have been kept,
The mirror cannot shine in the dark region.[20]
When the eyes of the mill-ox are covered with blinkers,
Then, even after having walked all day, he will find himself (still) in the same place.
As long as you have not loosened the noose of desire from your feet,
So long, though you may say you have obeyed your religion, that is emptiness.
If his wings are pinioned with a silken thread,
Even a vulture cannot cleave the high skies.

85. (True) faithfulness must (proceed) from the soul, (true) zeal must (proceed) from the heart.
Whatever you meet, meet it in the soul.
This, indeed, is the road for the sincere.

88. Sweep your soul ever and ever again.

[17] III. 69, 70. References to conceptions of Yoga physiology. The stone-elixir is the Tibetan Lapis Philosophorum.

[18] III. 71. Old venerables, vieillards, Greise, ancients, old men (without any special connotation of learning).

[19] III. 76. King Good-jewel, Norsang, in a way the Prince Charming of Tibetan legend, or rather, in this connection, the King Cophetua of the Tibetan beggar maid.

[20] III. 78. The mirror in which after death the judge of the dead sees the man's past deeds reflected.

Whether you will be blessed by all, well that is your own look-out.
Whether you will be praised, well that if your own look-out.
Whether you will behave well, well that is your own look-out.
If these three things are combined, then you are the foremost of all.

93. Khachhe Phalu's exhortation is explained.
It is left to everyone to listen or not to listen.
Anyhow, the Chinese paper has become filled with lines[21]
And the yellow Chinese reed-pen has unbosomed itself to the very bottom of its heart.

This is the third teaching-chapter.

[CHAPTER FOUR.]

1. A great king is the country's ornament.
If he conforms to the law his estate will be powerful.[22]
If from the beginning the law is obeyed his plans will be executed at once.
If he keeps strictly to the law (the country's) welfare will be perfect.
When the lake is perturbed the fish cannot but be perturbed also.
When the country is poor, the king cannot but be poor also.
When the heads flourish, then the king's lands get spoiled.
(On the other hand) heads without a district are the laughing-stock of all.[23]

9. Chief and people are like patient and doctor.
Apply salve to the wound of the lancet-prick.
Be kind after reprimand and anger.
First (impose) a light fine according to circumstances.

[21] III. 95. Chinese paper and pen. The word *rgya* may stand for *rgya-nag*, China, or *rgya-kar*, India. If Phalu alludes to his Indian origins, Indian must be understood : but as Chinese paper and pen are of good quality in Tibet, 'articles de Paris' as it were, we translate Chinese. So also elsewhere in the chapter endings.

[22] IV. 2. Law, here and below *khrims* legal (i.e. municipal) law, not *chos*, dharma, religious law.

[23] IV. 7, 8. Obscure. Seems to say that local chiefs, feudal heads, must neither be allowed to become too important, nor starved out; the middle course.

Secondly add flogging to the fine.
Thirdly, it is also proper to have the wicked exterminated.
It is unnecessary to treat such people with pity.[24]

16. Before the lamb is carried off, seize the wolf.
Before the district is perturbed expel the wicked.
If the king sits sluggish like a lump of curds
He remains ignorant of the convulsions of the district.
If the shepherd yields to food and liquor
It is absolutely sure that the lamb will be carried off by the wolf.

22. Set each man to do whatever work he understands specially well.
Though one may be clever in carpentering, one may not understand the painting of religious pictures.
What may please the wolf may seem unheard of to the shepherd.
Appoint one chief of men who knows what is right and what is wrong,
(Otherwise) the lamb will be put into the wolf's mouth.

27. Enquire about the real meaning of things from the illustrious.
If you want jewels, you have to dive to the bottom of the ocean.[25]
Put your faith in the utterly true man.
How could the diamond-rock ever change? [26]
Night and day conform to the wise.
(Even) a dog's carcass turns at last to salt in the saltfields.[27]

33. Support the true friend quietly to the very end
And if their work shows only some result they will be fully satisfied.[28]
Don't let the helper's heart be distressed.

[24] IV. 9–15. A principle of Tibetan criminology, three degrees of punishment: fine, corporal punishment, execution.

[25] IV. 28. The Tibeto-Indian belief is that the Nāgas guard treasure at the bottom of the ocean. The Rheingold is sea-gold (or perhaps even lake-gold) in Tibet.

[26] IV. 30. The diamond-rock is a mythical emblem of unchangeability.

[27] IV. 32. In Tibet salt is gathered from salt fields.

[28] IV. 34. Friends are already satisfied with proper appreciation and should, therefore, be made to feel that their value is recognised.

Then, when face to face with work, many will be the workers.
Support those who have put their faith in you from the bottom of your heart.
(Then) this entire world will be full of your praise.

39. Look after the brave whilst you have leisure to do so.
When helpless you will need them.
Fill your store unceasingly with riches
For trouble will come and the enemy will jump.[29]

43. When the enemy is to be subdued two things are required.
Defeat the enemy with riches and with helpers.
If you are without riches you are helpless without helpers.
If you are without helpers you are helpless without riches.
If these two are combined the enemy is sure to be conquered.
So take care of your wealth as of parents and children.

49. Listen to the words of the old one of many years.
He is an old man who has tasted much joy and sorrow.
When you come face to face with an extremity
The old man's cunning will be better than the young man's strength.

53. If you want to subdue the enemy at once,
It would be better to continue treating him like a friend for the present.
If you can, by any means, attain your inmost aim
Then to brandish arms would be madman's work.
It is better to desist from fighting with an invincible enemy.
How can one strike with one's fist on the point of a lancet ?
For Dama, not to mention Gesar himself,[30]
To agree is the most important matter, if any agreement there be.
Face to face (with the enemy), even if you are (brave as) a hero and (rich as) a king, when there is trouble,
Shoot from a distance with the magic gun of cunning.
First consider ninety-nine ways (out of the trouble).
Then, if the hundredth demands fight, there is no help for it.

[29] IV 42. In Tibet the enemy "jumps," i.e. becomes active, shows his hand. The "enemy" is every form of adversity, either personified or not, adversity as well as adversary.

[30] IV. 59. Dama, King Gesar's chief bowman or general, a hero of Tibetan legend.

65. A man without understanding is worse than a dog.
If you meet a bad dog hit him with a stick on the nose.
If it is said "Let us go," then make way (for those saying so).
If it is said "Let us fight," then take three strides forward first.[31]
If you do not remember your fist when in anger,
Then, when you remember it (later on), hit your (own) face (with it).

71. If by means of gentleness you can attain your inmost aim
Then the wrath of haughtiness is absolutely senseless.
If wrath is suppressed that is the sign of the wise.
The man who obeys his wrath is a fool.

75. If you make up your mind beforehand, you are wise.
Everyone can see the trouble that stares him in the face.
Everyone can see the breaking of the right-winding white conch.[32]
But when the broken pieces must be joined (again) it is (like) joining fishes.[33]

79. If the enemy comes in submission
Then expel from the bottom of your soul the anger proceeding from your heart.
Don't let the enemy who has submitted be humiliated,
Although it is necessary to guard against falsehood and deceit:
The river running under the foundations of the house
Will finally break through the house if no dam is thrown.

85. If a wicked one is protected, it is as if a good one is beaten.
If a thief is tended, it is as if a merchant is killed.
If a poisonous snake is kept, it is bad for men.
If a wolf is kept it is bad for the poor sheep.
Don't say: "The dog has bitten the man."
The keeper of the bad dog is the bad man.

[31] IV. 68. If the adversary is willing to make peace, make peace, but if he wants to fight, fight first and hardest.

[32] IV. 77. The white conch is, as in India, of special value in Tibet if the whorl turns to the right, if dextrogyrous.

[33] IV. 78. Obscure. The conjecture is that fishes, jumping and writhing, cannot be nicely arranged in a row, at least as long as they are alive.

91 The subduer of his enemies must be the protector of his comrades.
If he overdoes his softness the enemy will become stiff-necked.
If he overdoes his harshness he may be sure to come to grief.
Adopt towards all the method of mixing soft and rough.
Manage, never mind how, to turn all enemies and comrades into friends.

96. If you wish to be firmly established in your royal position, now and henceforth,
Then rule impartially from the golden throne
With thoughts of the future welfare of country and inhabitants.
In the evening when you have stepped down (from the throne), apply yourself strenuously to religion.
With the threefold body, speech and mind make obeisance and offer prayers.
Pray to the everlasting refuge of our hopes, the Triple Supreme Rarity.
Conform to the word of the Lord of the precious Star.
If you wish that the sublimity of this and the next life should be great,
Then bear in mind not to forget impermanent death.

105. Most earnest Khacche Phalu's serious counsel's
Pregnant memorial (which is like) pearls strung on a silken (thread).
Has now been offered up before the Ruler of the three worlds.
When its value is calculated (it will be found to) enter the number of the hundred group.[84]

This is the fourth teaching-chapter.

[CHAPTER FIVE.]

1. In this world there is many a spur and many a dale.
Circumstances, relations, dimensions are innumerable.
It is evident that not even a single thing is alike.
So one had better reconcile oneself to this.

[84] IV. 108. See notes to Ch. I., and to II. 52. The number of lines in this chapter is 108, exactly that of the beads of the Tibetan rosary.

5. Even if you (try to) rub out the lines (of fate) on your forehead, they will not vanish.
Much better than that is to conform to the verdict of the lines.
Even the Charong donkey's troubles are his own.[35]
It is impossible for him to escape the load imposed on him.

9. When one has settled (the problem) in one's mind, there is no (longer any) much or little as to riches.
If both the king and the beggar are dissatisfied
(Then) if the beggar settles (the question) in his mind, he is superior to the other.
After having enjoyed all the fruits from his royal estate the king feels as if still hungry.
But the beggar boy, if his food wallet is full, can hardly bear it.[36]

14. If you have not made yourself contented with the fate which is decreed
To call up your own trouble is senseless.
If you are contented, then there is no rich or poor.
If destiny has decreed it (even) your enemy's fortune becomes your own.
If it is not so decreed, the son will find difficulty in obtaining (even) his (own) father's fortune.[37]

19. No young corn can sprout out of a stone.
What (then) is the use of railing against fate?
If you envy at all, envy the righteous man.
Having made yourself contented, don't torment body and soul.
Give up all dealings with the wicked.
A good man thinks of his future welfare.

25. Your reputation in this and the next life lies now within your (own) power.

[35] V. 7. Charong, *lchags rong*, a geographical name, Ironvale, a valley about 5 miles N.E. of Lhasa, where there is much agriculture and where the donkeys are very hard-worked.

[36] V. 13. A good feed is to him already the acme of bliss.

[37] V. 18. His inheritance will not come to him; see III. 43.

Khachhe Phalu's heart's word has flown over from his mouth.
O, children of my heart, consider (all this) from (the bottom of) your hearts.
If there be any understanding then the matter for understanding has now been written.
(And) though it be not much, its taste is full of flavour.

This is the fifth teaching-chapter.

THE TAZIKS OF THE *NIRANG-I SRAOṢA YAST*.

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Introduction.

In the Pāzend prayer (*Nirang*) recited after the greater *Sraoša Yašt* (*Sarosh Yasht Vaḍi*) or Yasna LVII, one invokes the help of Sarosh Yazad upon, among several others, the Tāzis[1] who put on the *kusti* or the sacred thread (*Tāziān-i basta-kustiān*).

Ervad Kavasji E. Kanga very properly translated the above words as कस्ती बांधनारा अरबो (इआने जे अरबोए जरथोस्ती धर्म कबुल कीधो होए तेओ)[2] or "the Arabs who put on the *kusti*, i.e. those Arabs who have accepted the Zoroastrian faith." Dr. Spiegal has mistaken the word *Tāzi* for *Tāji*, and so has translated the above words as "the wearers of crowns, those who have girded on the *kusti*."[3] If we take the word to be *Tāji* as he has taken it, the word would not mean "the wearers of crowns." No Persian Dictionary gives the word *Tāji* in that sense. The proper Persian word in that sense would be *tāj-dār*.[4] Spiegal seems to have been misled by some previous Parsee translations. For example, we have the translation of the late learned Dastur Edulji Darabji Sanjana, published in 1187 Yazdazardi (1818 A.D.). There, the translation runs as ताजदार (इआने पादशाहो) अने जरथोस्ती दीनना लोको जे कुस्तीना बांधनार छे,[5] i.e. the *tājdārs* (or the kings) and the people of the Zoroastrian religion who put on the *kusti*. As all the Zoroastrians at the time when the *Nirang* was written were expected to put on the *kusti*, the grouping of the names by the learned Dastur does not seem to be proper.

[1] The word, as written in Pahlavi characters, may be read as either *Tāzi or Tāzik.*

[2] Khordeh Avesta (8th edition, 1916), p. 297.

[3] Khordeh Avesta, Fragment LXIV, p. 190.

[4] *Vide* the *Persian Dictionary* of Steingass.

[5] *Vide* the second edition of the translation published by Behedin Dadabhoy Sorabji in 1875, p. 297. *Vide* also third edition by Behdin Hormasji Mancherji, 1232 Yazd. (1863, p. 315).

I possess a book of Avesta with translation written in Gujarati characters in Samvat 1800 (A.D. 1743).[6] In this manuscript the word is written as *Tājehān* and the translation of the word is omitted. The translation of the wording after the omitted word runs as जरथोस्ती दीन माहि कोस्तीना बांधनारा, i.e. those in the Zoroastrian faith who gird on the *kusti*. Perhaps the writer knew that the word referred to the Arabs, but, he may have thought to himself: "How could the Arabs, who destroyed the country and religion of Iran be remembered together with the true believers?" Not being able to give a satisfactory answer to himself he omitted to explain the word.

This *Nirang* is contained in the *Pāzend Texts* published by the late Ervad Edalji Kersaspji Antia (p. 163). There Ervad Antia also has followed the incorrect reading of the word as *Tājehān* instead of as *Tāziān*.

But the late Ervad Framji Minocherji Dastur Jamaspji, B.A., has given the correct reading in the Avesta characters in his Khordeh Avesta[7] as *Tāziān-i basta kustiān*. Thus we see that the *Tāziks* of the *Nirang* of Sarosh Yasht are Arabs.

Who were the Tāziks?

The question is: Who were these Tāziks, the Arabs, who are spoken of as *basta-kustiān*, i.e. those who had put on the *kusti* or the sacred thread, the symbol of Zoroastrianism? Do Parsi books

[6] It consists of 302 folios, each page containing 13 lines. The first page says that it is अवस्ताना मारनानी केताब It bears the following colophon at the end (in Gujarati characters):—

ए केताब तमाम समपुरण कीधीछे, सं. १८०० ना रोज श्री देपादर दादार अऊरमजद माह, श्री असपंनदारमद असमासंद भादरवा वदी ३ वारे मंग.

ए केताब आ. बरजोर ए. मांणक ए. पेशतन ए. शोहराब ए. रायजी नो ए केताब छे.

बेनदोस्तान कसबे नोसारीमां ए केताब लखनार बेहेदीन माणेक बेन फरांम बेन आदर बेन दाराबजी थोडक (थडक थडक) टलाटी आतश बेहेरांमनी अगीआरीनी पासे रहेछे. ए केताब जे कोद बांधे अथवा लखे ते नेकेने, (for नेकोने, i.e. to those good men) दोआ पुहुंचे. रहो जो रामतीनु थयो वरखक. The writer Maneck seems to be the son of Faramji Adarji Talati who was one of the signatories of a letter dated *roz* 21, *māh* 9, year Samvat 1797 (A.D. 1741) written by the laymen of Naosari to those of Bulsar asking them to take care of the sacred fire of the *Ātash Behram* removed from Naosari to Bulsar and to see that the ritual of feeding it (बोए देवो) was not performed without the *moti khub* (मोटी खुब) (*Parsi Prakash*, I, p. 856).

The colophon further seems to say that formerly there was an *Agiāry*, i.e. fire-temple of the second grade near the *Ātash Behrām*. We know that at present the *Agiāry* is at the distance of a quarter of a mile from the site of the *Ātash Behrām*.

[7] *Khordeh Avesta (khud Avestānā harafé)*, 1881, p. 316.

lead us to say that there were Arabs who were Zoroastrians? Does any book of history show that any of the Arabs had at any time taken to Mazdayasnism or Zoroastrianism? The object of this paper is to answer these questions in the affirmative and to show that in pre-Zoroastrian times there were Mazdayasnized Arabs, i.e. Arabs who had to some extent, followed the Mazdayasnan faith which prevailed at the time, and one of the principal elements of which was Fire-reverence. In Zoroastrian or post-Zoroastrian times there were Arabs who had taken to Zoroastrian faith.

According to the Iranian Genesis, the Pahlavi *Bundehesh* (Chap. XV), which describes the evolution of mankind, the Tāziks were so called, because they descended from a pair named *Tāz* and *Tāzik*, whose progeny went to the desert of the Tāziks (*dasht-i Tāzikān*), i.e. the Desert of the Arabs or the Arabian desert. The Iranians came down from the progeny of Hoshang and his wife Gujak. These two, Tāz and Hoshang, the progenitors of the Arabs and the Iranians were brothers both being the sons of Fravāk the son of Siāmak (*ibid.*, ch. XXXI, 1 and 6). Thus, without imparting too much importance to the details, we may say, that according to the old Iranian tradition, both the Arabs and Persians, the Semites and the Iranian Āryans had a common stem somewhere in Western Asia. The accompanying table, based on the *Bundehesh* (chap. XXXI) and the *Dinkard* (Bk. III, chap. I, 34) shows us the descent of the Semitic and Iranian stems generally and of Faridun and Pât-khosrub in particular.[1]

According to the Arab historian Maçoudi, some Arabs derived their genealogy from Kahtān and others, especially those of the tribe of Nizān, considering themselves above the Kahtānides of Yemen invoked their relationship with Persia (*Maçoudi* par B. de Meynard, II, p. 142). This Arab view then supports the Iranian tradition of the *Bundehesh*.

As to the religion of the ancient Arabs, according to Firdousi, they worshipped a stone arch (*mehrāb sang*, Mohl's text, p. 36). This shows, that just as the Christian Cross existed before Christ, and just as the Zoroastrian Fire-reverence and *kusti*, the symbols of its followers, existed before Zoroaster, so the Mahomedan custom of turning to the arch in worship existed long before Mahomed. But according to Maçoudi (I, 131), at one time, Zoroastrian Fire-worship had, side

[1] P. 228 of the Text of the Bundahshn edited by the late Ervad Tehmuras Dinshaji Anklesaria (1908).

by side with the above worship, entered Arabia, at least in a particular part or tribe of Yemen. All the people were on the point of following it, but one Khālid bin Sinān banished it from the country. A miracle was expected from that event but was averted. With a baton in his hand, he threw himself over the fire burning in a brazier. The fire was extinguished and he was burnt.

In this story, we see the first trace or glimpse of Mazdaism as prevalent at one time in the *dasht-i Tāzikān*, i.e. the Desert of the Arabs. This faith continued in one part or another of the country, more or less, at one time or another, and it is these Tāziks, these Arabs, who followed the Mazdayasnan faith, who are remembered as *Tāziān-i basta-kustiān* (i.e. the Arabs who put on the *kusti* or the sacred thread) in the *Nirang* recited after the Sarosh Yasht.

Azhdahāka or Zohāk, whose rule over Persia is spoken of as a foreign rule from Bawri or Babylon, is spoken of in Persian books as a Tāzik or an Arab. So, he was an Arab of the old Arab faith, who had not accepted the Mazdayasnan faith of Fire-reverence. But, there lived at the time another Arab of the other class, i.e. a follower of the Mazdayasnan faith. He was one Pāt-khusrū who is spoken of as the king of the Arabs (*Tazikān Malkā*). This Pāt-khusrū (or Pāt-khusrub or Pāt-sarub, which is his name in Pahlavi books) is the Sarv of Firdousi, according to whom he was the Arab king of Yemen.[9] The three sons of king Faridun of Iran—Selam, Tur and Erach—were married to the three daughters of this Arab king. There seems to have been a long line of the kings of this name and I think that this Srub or Surb or Sarv of the Iranian books is the same as the Saba'a of Arab authors from which name a line or tribe of the Arabs is known as the Sabaeans.

This Arab king Pāt-khusru, or Pāt-khusrub or Pāt-sarub, is referred to in several Pahlavi books. He is referred to in the Pahlavi Vendidad[10] as a very wealthy (*tobanikān*, Pers. *tavāngar*) person. Darmesteter, on the authority of Hamza Isfahāni, says, that the Arabs of Yemen were supposed to be very rich (sont légendaires par leur richesses).[11] According to Tabari,[12] India had a share in making Yemen rich. It seems that there was a brisk trade between India and Arabia.

[9] The dropping of *Pāt*, the first part of the name, and then of *khu* gives us the name Sarv.

[10] Chap. XX.

[11] *Zend-Avesta*, II, p. 277, note 4.

[12] *Tabari* par Zotenberg, I, p. 275.

- Gayomard
  - Mashya
    - Siyāmak
      - Fravak
        - Hoshang
          - Yanghat
            - Vivanghan
              - Tehmurasp
              - Jamshed
                - Vangraghesha the Āspiyān or Āthwiyān
                  - Ramaktorā Āspiyān
                    - Gefartorā Āspiyān
                      - Sopidtorā ,,
                        - Sihaktorā ,,
                          - Burtorā ,,
                            - Soktorā ,,
                              - Puztorā ,,
                                - Faridun ,,
        - Taz (the ancestor of the Tāzikān or Arabs)
          - Virafshang (or Airyefshva of *Dinkard*, Bk. VII, Ch. I, 34).
            - Pātkhosrub
              - (Tāzikan Malakā)
                - A long line of the kings of Yemen known by the name of Pātkhosrub or Sarb (or Saban)
            - Zainigāv
              - Khrutasp
                - Dahāk (Zohāk)

Tabari particularly refers to an Arab king Raisch who came to India and carried riches.

The matrimonial relationship of Faridun's sons with the Arab king Pāt-Srub is referred to in the *Dinkard*, where he is spoken of as the king of the Arabs (*Tāzikān Malkā*) and as a relative of Tāz (*Tāz patvand*).[13]

There is another reference to him in the *Dinkard* which is more important for our purpose. It is in the commencement of the seventh book, in the chapter which Dr. West[14] numbers as Chap. 1, but Dastur Darab[15] as Introductory. The chapter treats of the Glory (*vakhsh*, elsewhere spoken of as *gadman*, Avesta *X^varenŋh*, *kavaēm X^varənō*, Pers. *khur*) of the ancient Iranian world. It is as it were a modified and amplified form of the Avesta *Zamyād Yašt* (Yt. XIX), which, as said by Darmesteter, would serve as a short history of the Iranian monarchy, an abridged Shāh Nāmeh. The Kayanian Glory (*kavaēm X^varənō* of the Avesta or the *vakhsh* of the *Dinkard*) is represented as running in succession from one great monarch or worthy to another. The list of the *Zamyād Yašt* varies a little from that of the *Dinkard*. For example, the *Zamyād Yašt* begins with Hoshang but the *Dinkard* names Gayomard, Mashya-Mashyai, Siāmak and Vāçgard before Hoshang. Among such differences, one is that of the addition of the name of Pāt-khusrub by the *Dinkard*. But what strikes us as a little strange is, that the name occurs after that of Kaikobād, whereas, he being a contemporary of Faridun, his name ought to have been mentioned higher up. But that question should not concern us here, because the patronymic name may have caused some confusion.

Now, the importance of this reference is in the matter of what is stated here about Pāt-khusrub's religion. I will give the passage here as translated by Dr. West.

"34. And it (i.e. the Glory) came to Pāta-khasrōbō, son of Aīrēfshvā, son of Tāz, who (was) king of the Arabs, through the mindfulness[16]

[13] Bk. VIII, Ch. XII, 9. Dastur Darab's Dinkard, Vol. XV, p. 26, l. 7.

[14] S.B.E., Vol. XLVII, p. 12; Chap. I, 34.

[15] *Dinkard*, Vol. XIII, p. 13, of the text of the Introduction of Bk. VII, p. 14 of the Eng. Translation; p. 18 of Guj. Translation. *Vide* the *Dinkard* published under the supervision of Mr. D. M. Madon, Vol. II, p. 597.

[16] *ayātagīh*, Dastur Darab reads the word as *āshtīh* in one place (Eng. translation p. 14) and *aktagīh* in another (Patd. transliteration of the text, p. 13) and translates it as

of the archangel Ashavahishtō and his enquiry [17] about it from its own tribe—for the demon of greediness (*azō*), with one similarly destined [18] had rushed for the destruction of him who (was) very gentle

"friendly communion or friendship." I am inclined to take it as a form of *yashtgih*, i.e. worship, invocation.

[17] *pazdinitan ;* Dr. West, while translating the word as "enquiry," does not give his reading or derivation. Dastur Darab reads it as *pazdinitan* and translates it as "inspiration." He does not say, how he derives that meaning. Had it been *pish-dinidan* his translation would do. I translate the word as "pursuing." In the Vendidap (XV. 5) we have a word *pazdayeiti*. There the sentence runs thus: *tritīm aštačām šyaotnanām yōi vərəzinti mašyāka yō gadwām yąm aputrəm janaiti vā vayeiti vā χraoš-yeiti va pazdayeiti vā.*

This sentence is in reply to the question in the commencement of the chapter as to which are the evil deeds which make man *pesho-tanva*, i.e. which make him guilty of a *tanafur gunāh*, or a sin that cannot be atoned. The reply is, that there are five deeds which are of this worst kind, viz. (1) maligning a righteous man ; (2) giving bad food to the watch dogs which protect the streets and the cattle ; (3) striking, driving away, frightening and pursuing a bitch that is with child ; (4) cohabiting with a woman in her menses; (5) cohabiting with a woman who is in an advanced state of pregnancy.

Now the above sentence refers to the third evil deed in the list. Therein the word *pazdayeiti* is variously translated. Ervad Kavasji Kanga translates it as "kicks" लात मारे). In his Avesta Dictionary (p. 313), he gives the word under the word *pazdā* as "to stamp on the ground" deriving it from *pad=pādha*, foot and *dhā* to put (पग भोंयपर चपकाडवा). The word occurs as third person plural *pazdayanta* in the *Asihshavangh Yasht* (Yt. XVII. 55). There, Kanga translates it in the sense of "running after," "pursuing." He does not say, how he derives that meaning, but it seems, that here he does not follow his former derivation but takes it has *paš* and *dā*. Just as we have *avi-dā* (अभि धा), to attack ; so *paz-dā* means to pursue.

Now this Avesta word *pazdayeiti* is given in the Pahlavi Vendidad as *pazdinēt*, which Dastur Hoshangji translates as "stamps on the ground" (*vide* his *Vendidad Glossary* p. 188). He does not derive the word but he seems to follow Ervad Kavasji Kanga.

Prof. Darmesteter, following the Pahlavi rendering *āighash yadman min ākhar shikaret ;* (*vide* Dastur Jamaspji's *Pahlavi Vendidad*, translation, p. 108) has translated the words as "clapping of hands," but in his footnote (*S.B.E.*, IV, 1st ed., p. 173, n. 2) has said "or with stamping in the ground" and has referred to the 31st chapter of *Sad dar nasr* (*vide* Ervad Bamanji N. Dhabhar's text, p. 25, l. 10) where, speaking of regard and care for the dogs, it is enjoined, that one should not walk carelessly when a dog is asleep, so as to disturb it (*na shāyad kē pāe sakht bar zamīn nehad ke u bīdār shavad*).

Now whatever the meaning of the Avesta word, of which the Pahlavi rendering is *pazdinēt*, I take the word in the Pahlavi *Dinkard* to be this word, and not as Dr. West and Dastur Darab have taken it. I take it in the sense of "pursuing" or "attacking."

[18] *hamānbakhto* seems to be the reading of Dr. West, Dastur Darab reads it as *amāul-bātag* and says that "it may be a Pahlavinised form of some such Arabic proper name as *Amuel-ul-bātil*. I am inclined to agree with Dastur Darab that it is a proper name, though not that nor that of the kind which he suggests. As said above, I have

to that tribe[19]—(as he had) a full inclination for the ascendancy of the portion whose guidance to the lofty priestly master (was) owing to the archangel Ashovahishtō just as the fish image of the (other) portion (was) for falling into the river; and it is declared that he came to the ceremonial of Zaratušt."

The passage of the *Dinkard* is rather difficult and both the translators, Dastur Darab and Dr. West, differ a good deal in their translations. But the pith of the passage is in the last sentence, viz. *val yazashna-i Zartuhast matan paētāk*, i.e. his coming to the worship of Zoroaster is well known, or as Dr. West puts it "he (Pāt-Kusrob) came to the ceremonial of Zaratusht"[20] or as the Dastur puts it "its (the tribe's, i.e. Pat-khusrub's tribe's) coming to the ceremonials of Zorathustra"[21] I give below my transliteration and translation of the passage!

Mat val Pātkhosrūb i Aīryafshva i tāz i Tāzikān Malkā. Pavan Ashavahishta Amhōspand yashtgih avash pazdīnīdan patash min nafshman ram āz shaēdā levatman Amānbātak pavan marōchinīdan i zak i narm narm val zak ram dōbarest ikvīmūnāt Pavan lālāih farūmānih i bāhar val rad i būland min Asha-vahishta Amhōspand nimāyāshna chējun zak bāhar i māhik kalp pavan rūd nafrūnastan va val yazhashna i Zartuhasht matan paētāk.

Translation—(That Glory) came to Pātkhosrub the son of Aīryafshvā, son of Tāz, who was the king of the Tāziks. He (Pātkhusrub), by (virtue of) the worship of Ashavahisht (Ardibehesht) Ameshaspand, by slow degrees ran after (i.e. brought about) the destruction of (his) tribe by pursuing (or fighting with) Amānbātak[22] the ambitious demon of his own tribe. He was nobly (lalāih) inclined towards the belief of that high leader, Ashavahisht, Ameshāspand in the same way as he

taken the word *pazdinidan* in the sense of attacking or fighting, so here the mention of the name of an enemy is probable.

[19] Dr. West gives a footnote and says that the sentence indicates "that the Arab subjects of the king had revolted, because he favoured those of the primitive faith, who no doubt, gained further favour by putting down the rebellion." Here it is not merely the question of favouring the primitive faith, i.e. the old Paoiryotkaēshi Mazdayasnan faith, but the question of Pāt-khusrub himself being a Mazdayasnan and a worshipper of fire as is indicated by the passage.

[20] S.B.E., Vol. XLVII, p. 13.

[21] *Dinkard*, Vol. XIII, Bk. VII, p. 14.

[22] I follow Dastur Darab in reading this word.

was for throwing into the river the belief (of the worship) of fish-figures. His coming to the worship of Zoroaster is made known.

Now, as said above, though translators may differ as to the literal translation of the passage, what it tends to show is this: Pāt-khusrub had parted with his ancestral Arab faith and turned to Mazdaism the faith of Iran.

We saw above, on the authority of Maçoudi that in very early times, some of the Arabs of Yemen followed the Iranian Fire-worship and that it was one Khālid who abolished it. So here, Pāt-khusrub's "mindfulness" or "friendliness with" or "worship of Ashavahishta (Ardibehesht) Ameshāspand, who presides over fire, ("*Ardibehesht ātash ātash sardagān jas*" in *Patet Ādarbād*, 8) is a clear reference to his and to his Arab followers' religion that they followed the old primitive Mazdayasnan religion wherein reverence to fire played an important part and that they were oppposed to the worship of fish and such other fetishes.

The last part of the above passage, viz. that it is declared that he came to the ceremonial of Zarathusht (*val yazashna i Zartuhasht matan paētāk*) is very significant. It clearly points to Pāt-khusrub and his followers being Mazdayasnans.

As the time of Pāt-khusrub was far anterior to that of Zoroaster, the reference to Zoroaster is an anachronism. But what the later writer of the *Dinkard* may be taken to mean, is that Pāt-khusrub took to the Iranian way of paying reverence to fire which was prevalent among the ancient Mazdayasnans, the way which led to the final reform of Zoroaster wherein also the reverence to fire continued.

The Pahlavi *Shatroihā i Airān* [23] says that Faridun conquered that part of Arabia which is known as the *Dasht-i Tāzikān*, i.e. the Desert of Arabia and presented it as a marriage gift to Pat-khusru the Arab king of Yemen. According to the *Mādigān i Binā Farvardin yūm Khurdād* the above referred to marriage of the three sons of Faridun with the three daughters of the king of Yemen took place on the Khordādsāl day.

The Tāziks, who nowadays form a special group, one of the two principal ethnical groups of Persia, are the descendants of these Persianized or Zoroastrianized Arabs. Dr. Luschau [24] speaks of them as

[23] *Vide* my translation of the *Yādgār-i Zariran, Shatroihā-i Airān va Afdib va Sahigih-i Seistān*, pp. 87–88.

[24] Dr. Felix V. Luschau in his article entitled "The Early Inhabitants of Western

the "descendants of the old Persians and Medes." Dr. Bellew says, that in Afghanistan even now, the Tāziks are known as the *Parseiwan*. This very name points to their relationship with the ancient Persians, He says: "The term Tāzik, it is said, is derived from the ancient Persian name for the Arab. The ancient Persian writers distinguishing their hereditary enemies on the north and south respectively by the terms *Turk* and *Tāz* or *Tāj*. And hence it is that the term *Tāz* applied to the Arab only in Persia; and everything connected with him, or proceeding from him, was called by the Persians *Tāzi* or *Tāzik*, which are the same as *Tāzi* or *Tāzik*. In course of time, it seems these terms became restricted to designate things of Arab origin in Persia in contradistinction to the pure and native article. Thus an Arab settling in the country, and not intermarrying with its people, retained his proper national title through successive generations. But the Arab intermingling with the people of the country lost his proper nationality, and in the succeeding generations, was called *Tājik* by the Persians. An imported Arab horse or dog, etc., was not called *Tāzi* but *Arabi*. Their offspring, however, from a Persian mare or bitch, received the name of *Tāzi* and were no longer called *Arabi*.'" [25]

History points to a long list of Mazdayasnan kings of Iran who had relations at one time or another with one part or another of Arabia and with one or another tribe of the Arabs.[26] In the case of the reign of Noshirwan (Khusro Kobadan, Chosroes I.) we find clear references to Zoroastrian rule over Yemen. So it is quite possible that the Mazdayasnan faith, and later on, the Zoroastrian faith prevailed there and that the Tāzis referred to in the *Nirang-i Sarosh Yasht* were Zoroastrianized Arabs.

Asia" in the July to December number (Vol. XLI, 1911) of the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*.

[25] *The Race of Afghanistan, being a brief account of the principal nations inhabiting that country* by Surgeon Major H. W. Bellew (1880), p. 110.

[26] *Vide* my Paper entitled "The Physical character of the Arabs, their relations with ancient Persia," read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay on 24th June, 1919 Vol. XI, No. 7).

GONARDA, LE BERCEAU DU GONARDĪYA.

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Le Pārāyaṇa, incorporé dans le Sutta-nipāta pali, est un des monuments les plus anciens du bouddhisme. Les rédactions parallèles, attestées par des mentions fréquentes, ont disparu. Mais le texte pali, garanti qu'il est par deux commentaires très anciens eux aussi, le Mahāniddesa et le Culla-niddesa, a une valeur incontestable. Dans le récit qui sert d'introduction au recueil, le brahmane Bāvari, émigré de la "charmante ville des Kosala" (Śrāvastī), est venu s'installer "au pays d'Assaka, dans le voisinage de Muḷaka, sur le bord de la Godhāvarī"; il envoie ses disciples en mission auprès du Bouddha, dans son pays d'origine, à Sāvatthi des Kosala. Le poète résume en trois vers (1011-1013) les étapes de leur route: "Patiṭṭhāna de Muḷaka, ensuite la ville de Māhissatī, Ujjenī aussi, et Gonaddha, Vedisā, Vanasavhayā, Kosambī, et encore Sāketa, et Sāvatthī la grande ville, Setavya, Kapilavatthu, et Kusinārā, la cité, et Pāvā, Bhoganagara, Vesālī, la ville Magadhienne, et la Pāsāṇaka cetiya."

L'itinéraire vaudrait l'honneur d'une étude intégrale. Ici, toutefois, je ne m'occuperai que de l'étape intermédiaire entre Ujjenī et Vedisā, deux localités bien définies: l'une est aujourd'hui encore Ujjain (Ogein), au nord d'Indore, Lat. 23°11′10″ N., et Long. 75°51′45″ E.; l'autre, Besnagar, tout près de Bhilsa, Lat. 23°31′35″ N., et Long. 77°50′ 39″ E. Le Pārāyaṇa place entre ces deux points la ville de Gonaddha.

Le Catalogue des Yakṣa dans la Mahāmāyūrī [1] suit un ordre exactement identique: "à Avanti, le Yakṣa est Priyadarśana; à Gomardana, Śikhaṇḍin; à Vaidiśa, Añjalipriya." Avantī est un autre nom d'Ujjayinī; Vaidiśa est la forme sanscrite du pali Vedisa. Le nom de la localité intermédiaire est flottant dans la tradition des manuscrits; j'ai reproduit dans le texte la lecture des MSS O et H; mais D lit Gonardane, des trois versions chinoises, S transcrit *kiu-kia t'o-na* qui suppose un original Gogardana. Y traduit *you-hi* "boeuf-joie"

[1] Journ. Asiat., 1915, I, p. 43, v 19.

qui ramène à Gonandana; A traduit *you-ts'oei* "boeuf-comprimer," soit Gomardana. Le traducteur tibétain a suivi le même texte (*ba-laṅ 'joms* "boeuf-comprimer") Le témoignage du Sutta nipāta vient confirmer la lecture Gonardana, car il est évident que de part et d'autre il s'agit de la même localité. Le pali Gonaddha se ramène sans difficulté au sanscrit Gonarda. L'aspiration introduite subsidiairement dans la forme palie est un phénomène qui n'a rien d'exceptionnel; dans cette même introduction du Pārāyaṇa, nous avons déjà rencontré le nom sanscrit de la Godāvarī modifié, lui aussi, par l'aspiration de la dentale à l'intérieur du mot, Godhāvarī; on trouvera une liste de cas analogues p. ex. dans le *Pali* de Geiger § 40 et § 62, et pour les pracrits en général dans la *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen* de Pischel § 207–209. Dans les noms propres, le phénomène semble dû généralement à une interprétation erronée: p. ex. Khandha, "le dieu Skanda," doit son aspirée à une confusion avec *skandha* "l'épaule"; Erāpatha=Airāvata, l'éléphant divin, a subi la contamination de *patha* "chemin," (comme il a subi ultérieurement en sanscrit même la contamination de *pattra* "feuille" en devenant Elāpattra). On aura cru reconnaître dans les premières syllabes du nom de la Godāvarī le mot *godhā* "grand lézard." Le sanscrit *gonarda* (ou *gonardana*, par suffixation développée) signifie clairement "le mugissement de la vache." Passé en pracrit, sous la forme *gonadda* (ou *gonaddana*) le mot devenait inintelligible. La racine *nard* semble avoir cédé en pracrit devant la racine *nad* dont elle ne se différenciait plus qu'à peine. D'autre part, le mot *go* suggérait tout naturellement le mot *naddha* "attaché, lié".

Quoiqu'il en soit de l'explication, l'équivalence Gonarda=Gonaddha est certaine. Le nom de Gonarda est lié indissolublement au souvenir de Patañjali "le Gonardien," Gonardīya. Une tradition constante attestée par Kaiyaṭa, par l'auteur du Trikāṇḍaśeṣa, par Hemacandra, identifie le personnage désigné sous le nom de Gonardīya dans le Mahābhāṣya avec l'auteur du Mahābhāṣya. Kielhorn a, il est vrai, vigoureusement contesté la valeur de cette tradition[2] et soutenu que le Gonardīya était l'auteur du Kārikā en vers utilisées et citées par Patañjali. L'autorité de Kielhorn dans les questions qui touchent au Mahābhāṣya mérite à coup sûr la plus haute considération, mais son interprétation n'est pas en contradiction nécessaire avec la tradi-

[2] *Ind. Antiq.*, XV, 81–83.

tion indienne. Patañjali peut se référer dans le Mahābhāṣya à une œuvre antérieure qu'il aurait composée, en se désignant lui-même sous une appellation de caractère impersonnel, dérivée de son lieu d'origine. Toujours est-il que la situation géographique de Gonarda cadre à merveille avec les rares indications qu'on a pu dégager du Mahābhāṣya pour fixer la date de Patañjali. Les deux faits essentiels sont : 1° la mention de Puṣyamitra, de sa cour (*sabhā*), de son sacrifice (*iha Puṣyamitraṃ yājayāmaḥ*)—2° la mention des conquêtes Grecs dans l'Inde (*aruṇad Yavanaḥ Sāketam, aruṇad Yavano Mādhyamikām*). Or Gonarda est l'étape la plus voisine de Vidiśā. Vidiśā, au témoignage des récits suivis par Kālidāsa dans Mālavikāgnimitra, était la capitale où résidait, en qualité de vice-roi, le fils de Puṣyamitra. Et Vidiśā était aussi en rapports étroits avec la politique grecque ; la colonne de Besnagar, sur le site de l'ancienne Vidiśā, préserve le souvenir d'un ambassadeur grec (*Yonadūta*) Héliodore, envoyé par le roi grec Antialkidas auprès du roi indien Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra. De plus, l'horizon géographique du Mahābhāṣya s'ordonne harmonieusement autour de la région Gonarda-Vidiśā comme centre. En dehors, des désignations générales de territoires, comme Vidarbha, Videha, Cola, Kerala, etc., qui n'impliquent pas une connaissance directe et personnelle, les noms de localités, villes ou bourgades, s'encadrent dans une sorte de triangle dont la base va de Pāṭaliputra au Penjab, et dont le sommet atteint la basse Narmadā avec Māhiṣmatī. Māhiṣmatī figure, dans l'itinéraire du Pārāyaṇa, comme l'étape intermédiaire d'où les disciples de Bāvari, partis de Pratiṣṭhāna, se mettent en route pour Ujjayinī ; de même le Mahābhāṣya,[3] *Ujjayinyāḥ prasthito Māhiṣmatyāṃ sūryam udgamayati.*

Une difficulté toutefois semble s'opposer à la localisation de Gonarda que je propose. Le nom de Gonarda est cité comme un nom de lieu " chez les Orientaux " dans la Candravṛtti[4] dans la Kāśikvṛtti, sur Pāṇini I, 1, 75, et justement pour expliquer la formation du dérivé Gonardīya, sans la vṛddhi. Pāṇini enseigne que, par exception, les diphthongues *e* et *o* doivent être considérées comme le degré de la vṛddhi (qui est normalement *ai* et *au*) dans les noms de lieu des Orientaux (*eṅ prācām deśe* ; Candragomin reproduit ce sūtra en l'adaptant à son système III, 2, 25 *eṅādyacaḥ prāgdeśāt*). Evidemment nous sommes

[3] Sur Pāṇini III, 1, 26.
[4] Sur Candragomin III, 2, 25 etc.

surpris, et même choqués de voir Gonarda, en plein Malva, englobé dans "l'Orient" de l'Inde. Nous n'avons pas cependant le droit de révoquer en doute l'assertion de Candragomin et de la Kāśikā. Il ne s'agit pas d'accorder une confiance aveugle aux connaissances géographiques de ces commentaires ; mais leur raisonnement, d'ordre grammatical, est indiscutable : Gonardīya est un dérivé formé au moyen du suffixe *cha* (=°īya) ; le suffixe *cha* s'ajoute à un thème ayant la vṛddhi[5] ; Gonardīya est traité comme un thème à vṛddhi, quoiqu'il ait *o*, et non *au*, dans la première syllabe ; c'est donc qu'il entre dans l'exception prévue par Pāṇini[6] : donc Gonarda, d'où il dérive, est un nom de localité des Orientaux.

Mais que faut-il entendre par "les Orientaux", *prāñcaḥ* ? La grammaire, depuis Pāṇini, ne connait que deux groupements en fonction des points cardinaux : les Septentrionaux (*udañcaḥ*) et les Orientaux (*prāñcaḥ*). Un vers traditionnel, rapporté par la Kāśikā[7] et par Kṣīrasvāmin[8] établit cette répartition :

prāgudañcau vibhajate haṃsaḥ kṣīrodake yathā
viduṣāṃ śabdasiddhyarthaṃ sā naḥ pātu śarāvatī

"Elle sépare l'Est et le Nord, comme le cygne sépare le lait et l'eau, pour bien fixer l'usage de la langue classique. Qu'elle nous protège, la Śarāvatī !"

Et le Dictionnaire d'Amara, en décrivant la terre, s'en tient encore à cette double division, qu'il complète par l'adjonction secondaire des deux autres directions :

Śarāvatyās tu yo 'vadhaḥ | deśaḥ prāgdakṣiṇaḥ prācya udīcyaḥ paścimottaraḥ,[9]

"à partir de la Śarāvatī, le pays qui est au Sud-Est, c'est l'Orient ; celui qui est au Nord-Ouest, c'est le Nord."

Ainsi, pour Amara, le Sud fait corps expressement avec l'Est, le Nord avec l'Ouest. Le glossateur Vandyaghaṭīya écrit sur ce passage que "la Śarāvatī est une rivière de l'Inde qui coule du Nord-Est vers l'Océan Occidental" (*etasmiṃś ca bhārate varṣe śarāvatī nāma nadī aiśānyā diśaḥ sakāśāt paścimasamudragāminī vahati*). L'indication paraît nette et claire ; malheureusement la géographie réelle ne la confirme pas. Vandyaghaṭīya, en véritable glossateur, a déduit de son texte même l'indication qu'il paraît y ajouter, il ne l'a empruntée ni à

[5] vṛddhāc chaḥ P. IV, 2, 114. [6] I, 1, 75.
[7] Sur P. I, 1, 75. [8] Sur Amara II, 1, 6–7. [9] II, 1, 6–7.

la géographie moderne, ni à la géographie ancienne, ni aux nomenclatures consacrées des rivières dans les épopées et les Purāṇa. On y chercherait en vain la prétendue Śarāvatī de Vandyaghaṭīya. En fait la tradition a, cette fois encore, perpétué une appellation qui n'avait plus, et depuis longtemps, aucun rapport avec la réalité. Un temps avait été où le nom de Śarāvatī "(la rivière) aux roseaux" était appliqué à un cours d'eau qui séparait en deux parties l'ensemble de l'Inde aryenne. Pāṇini enseigne expressément la formation de ce nom.[10] Le souvenir d'une frontière tracée par la rivière Śarāvatī s'est curieusement conservé dans un épisode célèbre de la doctrine bouddhique. Lorsque Koṭikarṇa va consulter le Bouddha sur la limite des pays de stricte observance, le maître fixe à la Śarāvatī la limite méridionale. "Au Sud il y a une ville nommée Śarāvatī, et par delà une rivière nommée Śarāvatī, c'est là le bout" (*dakṣiṇena Śarāvati nāma nagarī tasyāḥ pareṇa Śarāvatī nāma nadī so'ntaḥ*). Telle est du moins la tradition de l'école Mūla-Sarvāstivādin dans son texte original recueilli par les compilateurs du Divyāvadāna (p. 21). Les éditeurs du texte, Cowell et Neil, citent deux variantes du nom fournies par des manuscrits de valeur inférieure: *Sarvāvatī* (ms. A.) et *Savārāvatī* (ms. B.). C'est cette dernière lecture qui a été suivie par Yi-tsing, auteur responsable, sinon effectif, de la traduction chinoise du Vinaya Mūla-Sarvāstivādin; il a rendu le nom de la ville et de la rivière par *che-pa* (ou: fo) *-lo-fa-ti* qui suppose un original Śavaravatī.[11] Yi-tsing reproduit la même forme dans un autre traité du même Vinaya, le Mūla Sarvāstivāda Ekaśatakarma[12] où le même épisode est répété en abrégé. La leçon Śavaravatī est due sans doute à un essai de correction pour substituer à l'inconnue Śarāvatī un nom qui évoquait l'idée des Śavara dont les tribus sauvages peuplaient le plateau central, à la lisière sud du bassin du Gange. Le passage correspondant du Vinaya des Sarvāstivādin ne nous est connu que par la version chinoise due à Puṇyatara, il s'y présente, par la faute du traducteur ou de l'original, dans un état d'inextricable confusion. Après avoir régulièrement donné le mont Uśīra (*Yeou-chi-lo*) comme la limite septentrionale, il ajoute: "Par-delà cette montagne, et non loin, il y a l'arbre so-lo de la source aux joncs 蒲泉薩羅樹."[13] La "source aux joncs" semble être l'équivalent de Śarāvatī "(l'eau) qui a des roseaux" et l'arbre *so-lo*=*sārā* ou *sāl*

[10] *Sarādīnaṃ ca* VI, 3, 120.
[11] Tok. XVII, 4, 108*a*, 9
[12] Tok. XVII, 5, 57*b*, 2.
[13] Tok. XVI, 4, 59*a*, 17.

semble remonter au même original. En outre ce Vinaya donne comme limite au Nord-Est "le fleuve des Bambous," qui lui aussi évoque la Śarāvatī. Tel qu'il est, ce passage est donc inutilisable. Le Vinaya pali, de l'école Sthavira, substitue à la Śarāvatī la Salalavatī (avec les variantes Sallavatī et Salilavatī ; mais le témoignage de Jātaka I, 49 et Sumaṅgala vilāsinī I, 173 confirme la lecture Salala°) ; il fait de cette rivière la limite au Sud-Est : *puratthimadakkhiṇāya disāya salalavatī nāma nadī.*[14] L'orientation Sud-Est donnée par le pali concorde en partie avec l'orientation Sud donnée par le Vinaya des Mūla Sarvāstivādin ; elle est en contradiction absolue avec la détermination brahmanique de la Śarāvatī qui, séparant le Nord et l'Est, doit couler au Nord-Ouest du Pays du Milieu, le Madhyadeśa, lequel est le pays de stricte observance.

La ville de Śarāvatī (Śarāvatī nagarī) que le Vinaya des Mūla Sarvāstivādin place immédiatement en deçà de la rivière Śarāvatī n'est pas mieux connue que cette rivière même. Une ville du même nom reparait, il est vrai, dans le Raghuvaṃśa XV, 97, comme la capitale où régnait Lava, fils de Rāma ; tandis que son autre fils régnait à Kuśāvatī :

sa niveśya Kuśāvatyāṃ ripunāgāṅkuśaṃ kuśam
śarāvatyāṃ satāṃ sūktair janitāśrulavaṃ lavam."

Tel est du moins le texte adopté par Mallinātha et généralement accepté sur la foi de ce commentateur. Mais les commentateurs Vallabha, Vijayānandasūri, Cāritravardhana lisent : *Śrāvastyāṃ ca* ; Hemādri et Sumativijaya lisent *Śrāvatyāṃ ca*. Et l'Uttarakāṇḍa du Rāmāyaṇa, que suit Kālidāsa, nomme en effet la capitale de Lava Śrāvastī, dans le texte de Bombay CVIII, 5, comme dans le texte de Calcutta CXXI, 4 : *Śrāvastīti purī ramyā śrāvitā ca lavasya ca.*[15] Et c'est, en effet, d'après tous les textes du Rāmāyaṇa, sur l'Uttara Kosala que régnait Lava tandis que Kuśa régnait sur le Kosala proprement dit (*Kosaleṣu kuśaṃ vīram uttareṣu tathā lavam*). Śrāvastī est la capitale de l'Uttara-Kosala. La ville et la rivière de Śarāvatī, sur les confins du Nord et de l'Est, n'ont rien à faire ici.

Il faut donc renoncer à préciser le site de Gonarda en fonction de l'introuvable Śarāvatī. Mais un fait subsiste : dans la division traditionnelle de l'Āryāvarta en deux régions, Nord et Est, Gonarda, traité

[14] Vinayapiṭaka, Mahāvagga V, 13, 12.

[15] L'édition de Gorresio CXIII, 24 a *Śrāvatī* : *lavasya tu purīṃ ramyāṃ śrāvatīṃ lokaviśrutam.*

grammaticalement comme une localité des "Orientaux" n'est pas du Nord, quelle que puisse être son orientation secondaire. On ne sera donc pas surpris si Varāha Mihira, le seul auteur connu qui mentionne Gonarda après les textes déjà cités, place Gonarda parmi les pays du Sud dans sa carte astrologique de l'Inde, Bṛhatsaṃhitā XIV, 12 : *atha dakṣiṇena laṅkā . . . . . bharukacchāḥ . . . vanavāsi koṅkaṇābhīrāḥ ākaraveṇāvartaka* (corr. *ānart°*) *daśapuragonardakeralakāḥ karṇāṭa . . . . nāsikya . . . tumbavanakārmaṇeyakāḥ.*" Le nom de Gonarda paraît encore deux fois dans la Bṛhatsaṃhitā à l'intérieur de deux groupements purement astrologiques : IX, 13, *anyenātrākrānte mlecchāṭavikaśvajīvigomantān gonardanīcaśūdrān vaidehāṃś cānayah spṛsati.* Et XXXII, 22 : *gonardacedikukurān kirātavaidehakān hanti.* Dans sa nomenclature géographique, Varāha Mihira semble jeter les noms au hasard du mètre, sans qu'on puisse rien inférer de leur disposition relative en se fondant sur l'ordre de classement. Parmi ces noms de la région méridionale, il en est un toutefois qui mérite de retenir l'attention : c'est le nom de Tumbavana. La localité est par ailleurs, autant que je sache, complètement inconnue dans la littérature ; cependant, dans son commentaire sur le Sutta-nipāta, la Paramatthajotikā, Buddhaghoṣa note à propos des vers du Pārāyaṇa où est mentionné Gonaddha :

Ujjeniñ cāpi Gonaddhaṃ Vedisaṃ Vanasavhayaṃ,

que "Vanasavhaya (littér. 'qui porte le nom d'un bois') désigne Tumbavananagara ; d'autres prétendent que c'est Vanasāvatthi." (*Vanasavhayan ti tumbavanagaram* (sic) *vuccati vanasāvatthin ti pi eke* ; la glose est rapportée par Andersen-Smith dans leur édition du Sutta-nipāta.[16] Ainsi, au dire de Buddhaghoṣa, Tumbavana serait l'étape entre Vidiśā et Kauśāmbī, sur la route de Gonaddha-Gonarda vers la Yamunā. De fait, au stūpa de Sanchi, voisin du site de Vidiśā (23°28′ N. de lat., et 77°48′ E. de long.) cinq inscriptions[17] commémorent des donations faites par des habitants de Tumbavana. On voit aussi figurer parmi les bienfaiteurs du stūpa des habitants de Māhiṣmatī, d'Ujjayinī, de Vidiśā ; on s'étonne de n'y pas rencontrer des gens de Gonarda.

L'authenticité de la nomenclature géographique dans l'introduction au Pārāyaṇa est confirmée par un trait décisif. Bāvari y est représenté comme installé sur le bord de la Godhāvarī, dans la région d'Aḷaka :

[16] Ad. loc., p. 194.

[17] Lüders, List, Nos. 201, 202, 449, 450, 520.

so assakassa visaye aḷakassa samāsane
vasī Godhāvarikūle uñchena ca phalena ca (vers 2).

Quand ses disciples le quittent, leur première étape vers le Nord est la ville de "Patiṭṭhāna d'Aḷaka" (*aḷakassa Patiṭṭhānaṃ*, v. 36). Tel est du moins le texte adopté par les éditeurs, Fausböll et Andersen-Smith. Mais l'appareil critique fourni par ceux-ci montre que dans les deux passages les manuscrits birmans portent, au lieu d'Aḷaka, "Muḷaka". L'inscription de Siri Puḷumāyi à Nasik, énumérant les provinces réunies par Gotamīputa dans son empire, nomme le pays de Muḷaka, qu'elle accole au pays d'Asaka (Assaka) exactement comme fait le Pārāyaṇa : (Asika-Asaka-Muḷaka-Suraṭha-Kukurāparaṃta-Anupa-Vidabha-Ākarāvati). Le dernier éditeur de l'inscription, M. Senart, écrivait à propos du nom Muḷaka : "The Muḷakas remain shrouded in obscurity. Bhagwanlal adduced the dynasty of the Muṇḍakas, known from the Vishṇupurāṇa ; and the way in which they are there mentioned together with the Śakas and Tukhāras is such as to commend the hint. But I am doubtful about the change of *ḷ* into *ṇḍ*." [18] Le mystère est dissipé, grâce au texte du Pārāyaṇa. Le site du Muḷaka peut être même déterminé avec assez de précision, puisqu'il se trouve entre l'Asaka (Assaka, Aśmaka) où est la ville de Pratiṣṭhāna (Patiṭṭhāna) aujourd'hui Paithan sur la haute Godavari, près de sa source, et le Suraṭha (Surāṣṭra) qui est aujourd'hui la presqu'île de Katthiawar. Muḷaka doit donc désigner la portion de la côte avec l'arrière-pays au nord de Bombay, le Guzerate.

On m'accusera peut-être d'attacher une importance excessive à l'ordre de succession où les noms de provinces défilent dans l'inscription de Pulumāyi. Mais l'inscription de Rudradāman à Girnar, qui remonte à la même époque, contient, elle aussi, une liste des provinces soumises par Rudradāman, l'adversaire de la dynastie Sātakarṇi à laquelle appartiennent Gotamīputa et Pulumāyi. Son domaine est en partie formé de territoires conquis sur les Sātakarṇi ; on y retrouve l'Ākarāvanti (Ākara + Avanti), l'Anūpa, le Surāṣṭra, le Kukurāparānta (Kukura + Aparānta) : *pūrvvāparākarāvantyanūpanīvṛdānarttasurāṣṭraśvabhramarukacchasindhusauvīrakukurāparāṃtaniṣādhādīnām*. Mais ici l'ordre de succession est inverse, puisque Rudradāman a étendu ses conquêtes du Nord au Sud en partant de la région d'Ujjayinī, sa capi-

[18] *Epigr. Indica* VIII, 62.

tale, tandis que Gotamīputa avait marché en conquérant du Sud au Nord, à partir des bords de la Godavari.

Le souvenir du pays de Mulaka n'est peut-être pas entièrement effacé dans la tradition pouranique. Le Viṣṇu purāṇa (IV, 4) dans la généalogie de la race d'Ikṣvāku donne à Kalmāṣapāda un fils nommé Aśmaka ; Aśmaka a pour fils et successeur Mūlaka, surnommé Nārīkavaca, parce que des femmes l'auraient caché et sauvé lors du massacre général des kṣatriya. Aśmaka est clairement un héros éponyme, l'éponyme du pays d'Aśmaka, ce territoire " pierreux " (*aśman* " pierre"), situé au Sud d'Avanti et qui fait étroitement corps avec lui (*Avantyaśmakāḥ*, Gaṇapāṭha, gaṇa Kārtakaujapādayaḥ, *Aśmakāvanti* dans le Sarvāstivādi vinaya, épisode de Koṭikarṇa ; le Mūla Sarvāstivādi vinaya[19] a *Aśmāparāntaka* que Cowell et Neil lisent à tort : *aśmāt parāntaka*). La relation entre l'Aśmaka et le Mulaka, si nettement exprimée dans le Pārāyaṇa (*so Assakassa visaye Muḷakassa samāsane*, v. 2) donne à penser que la filiation indiquée dans le Purāṇa entre le roi Aśmaka et le roi Mūlaka traduit en généalogie un rapport géographique.

On s'étonnera moins de rencontrer dans une section du Sutta-nipāta des détails si précis sur la géographie des régions qui encadrent le golfe de Cambaye si on se rappelle qu'une des perles de la collection, l'admirable Dhaniyasutta[20] a pour scène la rive de la Mahī. Le berger Dhaniya y est installé : *Anutīre Mahiyā samānavāso* ; le Bouddha passe la nuit au bord de la rivière : *anutīre Mahiy ekarattivāso*. Pour amener le Bouddha dans ces parages exotiques, si éloignés de son activité réelle, au contact prochain de la mer fréquentée par les barbares, il fallait l'audace d'un poète du terroir et d'une inspiration locale.

[19] Divyāvadāna, 1. [20] Uraga Vagga, 2.

(NOTE.—The correct form of the Chinese character for shu⁴ not being available at the press, the form 樹 has been used. The horizontal top-line of the central element — should be 士, and the whole centre is as in 鼓 without the 支 Ed.)

THE THEORY OF *RASA* IN SANSKRIT POETICS

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The theory of *rasa*, like the theory of *dhvani* with which it is intimately connected, forms one of the most important aesthetic foundations of Sanskrit Poetics. From its first appearance in the dramatic theory of Bharata down to its establishment as the 'soul' of Poesy in the work of Viśvanātha, there has been a steady working out of the idea into a fundamental aesthetic conception; and it is worth while to study the gradual unfolding of the idea through its fairly long course of history.

The dogma of *rasa*, apart from any theory thereon, was naturally known to the old writers on Poetics; but in the beginning it was taken into account only in connexion with the drama, and its importance as one of the essential factors of poetic theory was not properly understood. This importance was probably for the first time ably set forth by the Kashmirian Ānandavardhana in the ninth century, and subsequently elaborated with such mastery by his commentator Abhinavagupta that it became thenceforth an accepted fact in Sanskrit Poetics, never to be set aside by rival systems and improved only in detail by later speculations.

But it can be easily shown that some theory of *rasa*, however undeveloped, or even a Rasa School particularly in connexion with the drama, was in existence long before the time of Ānandavardhana, although the bearings of this theory on poetry, in contradistinction to drama, were seldom discussed. The importance of this dramaturgic Rasa School must have been somewhat overshadowed by the dominance of the Alaṁkāra and the Rīti Schools in the sphere of poetic theory; but its comparative antiquity, going back to a period even anterior to Bharata, is undoubted. Dramaturgy, however, appears at first to have formed a study by itself; and even among later writers, only Vidyānātha and Viśvanātha think it worth while to devote special chapters to it. Both Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, no doubt, speak

of *nāṭaka* as a species of *kāvya*, but refer to specialised treatises for its detailed treatment.[1] Similarly Vāmana shows an unusual partiality towards the drama (I. 3. 30), but its treatment is omitted because it did not apparently come within the province of poetic theory. The earliest known writer who includes a treatment of Dramaturgy is Hemacandra, but his work is more or less a compilation, and his enormous admiration for Abhinavagupta's writings[2] will sufficiently explain this tendency. It seems, therefore, that the school of Dramaturgy had an existence separate from the orthodox schools of Poetics, and the *rasa*-theories which sprang up in connexion with this school, confined their activity, in the first stage of their development, to the sphere of dramatic composition and exerted only a limited influence on poetic theories.

The oldest known exponent of this dramaturgic Rasa School is Bharata, from whom apparently sprang all later schools and theories, and whom even Ānandavardhana himself, as we shall see, takes as his original authority. But *rasa* does not appear to be Bharata's principal theme, and it is treated only in connexion with his exposition of dramatic representation, with which he is chiefly concerned. We can understand, therefore, why Rājaśekhara[3] should, in accordance with some current tradition, regard Bharata as an authority on *rūpaka*, rather than on *rasa*, and speak of one Nandikeśvara[4] as the original exponent of the

[1] *Kāvyādarśa* I. 31; *Bhāmahālaṁkāra* I. 24.

[2] Hemcandra, for instance, copies (pp. 57–66) almost *verbatim* the whole of Abhinavagupta's commentary on Bharata's dictum on *rasa* (*tatra vibhāvānubhāva-vyabhicāri saṁyogād rasa-niṣpattiḥ*, ed. Kāvyamālā, p. 62, ed. Grosset, p. 87, l. 7) with only a concluding acknowledgment *etan-matam evāsmābhir upajīvitaṁ veditavyam*.

[3] *Kāvya-mīmāṁsā*, p. 1.

[4] Although no work of Nandikeśvara on *rasa* has yet been discovered, the name occurs in connexion with several works (Aufrecht, *Cat. Cat.* i. 278, ii. 59, iii. 208) on music, histrionic art, erotic, grammar and *tantra*. The writer on erotic is cited as Nandiśvara in *Pañca-sāyaka* (*Bik. Cat.* 533, Peterson ii. 110) who is supposed by Aufrecht to be the same as Nandin quoted by Vātsyāyana (I. 1. 8); but the name Nandikeśvara is given in *Rati-rahasya* (*Oxf. Cat.* 218a; Schmidt, *Ind. Erotik*, 1911, pp. 46, 59). See Schmidt's remarks, *ibid.*, p. 47. The work on histrionic art attributed to Nandikeśvara is called *Abhinaya darpaṇa* (ed. Poona, 1874; MSS. *Ind. Off. Cat.* 3028, 3090; Winternitz, 109; *Madras Cat.* xxii 12980; Śeṣagiri Śāstrī, *Rep.* ii. 304; Burnell, 436; also in Oppert). Work on music called *Nandikeśvara-mate tālādhyāya* in Weber 1729. See also *Madras Cat.* xxii. 13006–8, where mention is made of *Bharatārṇava* supposed to be a condensed version, apparently, after Bharata, of the work of Nandikeśvara by Sumati, treating of dramatic gestures and *tālas*.

rasa-theory, which Bharata, if Rājaśekhara is right, must have borrowed and worked up into his own system. That the *rasa*-theory was older than Bharata is apparent from the fact that Bharata himself cites in chs. vi and vii several *ślokas* in the *āryā* as well as in the *anuṣṭubh* metres in support of his own statements; and in one place, he distinctly quotes two *āryā-ślokas* from a chapter of an unknown work relating to the discussion of *rasa*.[5] It may be mentioned, however, that Keśava Miśra, a comparatively recent writer of the 16th century, speaks of one *sūtrakāra bhagavān* Śauddhodani,[6] who, according to him, was one of the first to formulate the view that *rasa* is the essence of poetry. Nothing is known of this mysterious Śauddhodani, apparently a Buddhistic writer, except that Keśava Miśra, on his own acknowledgment, is following this old master, whose views, as recorded in the *Alaṁkāra-śekhara*, do not seem, however, to deviate in any material way from those of Mammaṭa.

With Bharata, on the other hand, we arrive at a distinctly definite landmark. Long before the Dhvani School, led by Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta, was dominant, Bharata's views on *rasa* seem to have been discussed in some detail, with the result that divergent theories came to prevail under the names of Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and others, all of whom appear to have been commentators on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*[7] and to have, therefore taken Bharata

[5] *atrārye rasa-vicāra-mukhe*, ed. Kāvyamālā, p. 67.

[6] *Alaṁkāra-śekhara*, pp. 2, 20, etc.

[7] The views of all these writers, whose works are now lost, are known from the exposition of Abhinavagupta (followed by other writers, e.g. Mammaṭa, Hemacandra, Vidyādhara, etc.) who also cites some less known commentators such as Rāhula or Rāhala, and Bhaṭṭa Yantra. This practically coincides with the enumeration of the different commentators on Bharata by Śārṅgadeva as the source of his work (13th century, see intro. to Ānandāśrama edition of the text), with the exception of the name of Udbhaṭa mentioned by the latter (I. 1.19). It is curious that Udbhaṭa actually quotes (iv. 4) the first half of Bharata vi. 15 enumerating the eight *rasas*, only making enough verbal change in the latter portion of the verse to admit *śānta* as the ninth *rasa* in the category. Rāhula is cited by Śārṅgadeva as one of his authorities (I. 1. 17); while Lollaṭa and Śaṅkuka belong in all probability to the 8th and the 9th centuries. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka does not appear to be very distant chronologically from Abhinava, who is the oldest writer to quote him, and probably belongs to the end of the 9th or the beginning of the 10th century, a date which makes it likely that he is identical, as Peterson suggested (intro. *Subhāṣ*. p. 50), with the Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka who is mentioned by Kalhaṇa (V. 159) as having flourished in the reign of Śaṅkaravarman, son of Avantivarman of Kashmir (see *JRAS.*, 1897, p. 296). Sundaramiśra in his *Nāṭyapradīpa* (*Ind. Off. Cat.* iii. p. 347) as well as Rāghavabhaṭṭa speaks of a commentary on Bharata by Mātṛguptācārya, who is also mentioned by

as their starting point. As their discussion, however, chiefly related, as we have stated above, to the dramatic art and as there existed side by side the rival theories of the more influential Alaṁkāra and Rīti Schools, who never realized its aesthetic importance, the *rasa*-theory and its exponents never seem to have come into prominence, until the idea was taken up by the Dhvani School and worked into their system. In the meantime the dramaturgic Rasa School succeeded, to a certain extent, in reacting upon and influencing the rival schools, who were apparently forced to acknowledge *rasa* and accord it even a subsidiary place in their general theory of *alaṁkāra* or *rīti*.

This will be evident from a reference to the standpoints of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, the two earliest known writers on Poetics whose works have survived. Without going into details we may state that to Bhāmaha the most important element in poetry is *vakrôkti*, which is apparently identified with *atiśayôkti* and which probably means a kind of heightened expression which is the underlying principle of all poetic figures (*alaṁkāras*). Bhāmaha does not seem to possess a very clear notion of the function of *rasa* in poetry, the only direct reference to it occurring in the definition of the figure *rasavat*, which, in his opinion, should manifest the *rasas* clearly.[8] *Rasa* is thus apparently included in the sphere of a particular *alaṁkāra* and given a very subordinate place in his system. Commenting, however, on Bhāmaha's central verse on *vakrôkti* II. 85,

saiṣā sarvaiva vakrôktir anayârtho vibhāvyate,

Abhinavagupta attempts to read into it his own idea of *rasa* and interprets *vibhāvyate* in the technical sense as *pramadôdyānâdir vibhāvatām nīyate, viśeṣeṇa ca bhāvyate, rasamayīkriyata iti*.[9] In other words, he takes Bhāmaha to mean that by *vakrôkti*, the sense of poetry is rendered into a suitable factor of the *rasa*, so that by using the word *vibhāvyate* with the meaning given to it by Abhinava, Bhāmaha apparently implies that

Śārṅgadeva as one of his authorities (I. 1. 17). If this Mātṛgupta is the same person mentioned by Kalhaṇa (III. 125, 252) as living under Harṣa Vikramâditya and referred to by Vāsudeva on *Karpūra-mañjarī* (Aufrecht, *Cat. Cat.* i. 448) as a writer on Alaṁkāra, then he must have been one of the earliest commentators on the present-day text of Bharata. But this view about the date of Mātṛgupta is very doubtful. These points have been discussed in detail in my *Sanskrit Poetics* (vol. i, p. 24*f*), which see also on questions of chronology, omitted as a rule in this article.

[8] *rasavad darśita-spaṣṭa-śṛṅgārâdi-rasam*, III. 6.

[9] *Locana*, p. 208.

rasa as well as *alaṁkāra* originates in *vakrôkti*. The scholastic speculation with regard to the origin and function of *rasa* does not appear, however, to have started in Bhāmaha's time; and Bhāmaha, in common with Daṇḍin, never uses the technical terms *vibhāva*, *anubhāva* etc., so familiar to later theorists. On the other hand, Bhāmaha's opinion seems to be that *rasa* need not be invariably present in poetry; what must be present is *vakrôkti*.[10] In V. 3, no doubt, Bhāmaha speaks[11] of *kāvya-rasa* as mitigating the rigour of the *śāstra*, a sentiment which is endorsed by Rudraṭa[12] and which probably inspired the dictum of later writers that the *śāstra* is *prabhu-sammita*, while the *kāvya* is *kāntā-sammita*.[13] It is probable that the phrase *kāvya-rasa* is used here in the general untechnical sense of 'the flavour of poetry,' but if we read, with Abhinavagupta,[14] a technical meaning into it, it only shows that the earlier authors were satisfied with assigning only this pleasing and extraneous function to *rasa*.

The same remarks with regard to the recognition of *rasa* apply more or less to Daṇḍin; but Daṇḍin seems to be more alive to its importance than Bhāmaha. Like Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin allows *rasa* to be included in the poetic figures and therefore assigns to it only a minor place in his system. It may be contended that Daṇḍin gives greater prominence to *rasa* by including it in one of the essential qualities (*guṇa*) of diction (*rīti*), viz. in *mādhurya*, which is defined as the establishment of *rasa* in the word and in the object[15]; but from II. 292 it appears that Daṇḍin means by *mādhurya guṇa* mere absence of vulgarity (*agrāmyatā*) and does not contemplate the inclusion of *rasa* as such. This is made clear by I. 64 where *agrāmya artha* is said to be *rasâvaha*, as well as by the *Hṛdayaṅgama* commentary on this point: *mādhurya-guṇe pradarśitaḥ śabdârthayor agrāmyatayā jātaḥ raso vākyasya bhavati, alaṁkāratayā nirdiṣṭaṁ rasavattvam aṣṭa-rasâyattam* (p. 167), the last part of this passage calling attention to the fact that the only cases, where the eight

[10] I. 30, 36; II. 85–6; VI. 23.

[11] *svādu-kāvya-rasonmiśram śāstram apyupayuñjate*
prathamālīḍha-madhavaḥ pibanti kaṭubheṣajam.

[12] XII. 1, 2.

[13] Abhinava uses the terms *prabhu-sammita* and *mitra-sammita* (*Locana*, p. 12) which is followed by Mammaṭa (*Kāvya-pr.* ed. Bombay Sansk. Ser. 1917, p. 9). Later writers distinguish (*Ekāvalī*, pp. 13–5) between the Vedas which are *prabhu-sammita*, the Itihāsa, etc., which are *mitra-sammita* and the Kāvya which is *kāntā-sammita*.

[14] *Locana*, p. 182.

[15] *vāci vastunyapi rasa-sthitiḥ* I. 51.

rasas are admitted by Daṇḍin and which we shall discuss presently, occur in connexion with his inclusion of this element in poetic figures like *rasavat*. The *mādhurya guṇa*, according to Daṇḍin, may appear in two aspects, in so far as it creates *vāg-rasa* and *vastu-rasa* (I. 51), the former consisting of alliteration of similar sounds (*śrutyanuprāsa*) and the latter denoting absence of vulgarity (*agrāmyatā*).[16] Thus Hemacandra rightly explains *rasa* in Daṇḍin's *mādhurya*, according as it resides in *vāc* or *vastu*, in this way: *śruti-varṇānuprāsābhyāṁ vāg-rasaḥ* .... *agrāmyābhidheyatā tu vastu-rasaḥ* (p. 198). The *rasa* in *mādhurya*, therefore, has a distinct technical connotation different from that imparted to it by the exponents of the Rasa School. A similar loose use of the term, which, however, Daṇḍin does not explain, as he does in this particular case, is to be found in III. 149 (or IV 26 in the Madras edition) where the phrase *girāṁ rasaḥ* should be interpreted, as it is done by Taruṇavācaspati, as *sādhutvam*.[17]

At the same time it cannot be affirmed that Daṇḍin was entirely ignorant of the idea of *rasa*; for he declares that poetic figures, to which he attaches great importance as an element of poetry, endow the sense with *rasa* (I. 62), although here as elsewhere the *artha-rasa* has a distinct reference to *agrāmyatā* from the context. Again, a *mahā-kāvya*, in his opinion, should invariably possess *rasa* and *bhāva* (I. 18). A clearer indication is given by his treatment of the figures *rasavat*, *preyas* and *ūrjasvin* (II. 275–92), where he betrays an undoubted acquaintance with the existence of the eight recognised *rasas*, all of which he enumerates by their respective names and four of which (viz. *śṛṅgāra*, *raudra*, *vīra*, *karuṇa*) he illustrates as elements of the poetic figures under discussion. If we are to accept Abhinavagupta's interpretation,[18] Daṇḍin's conception of *rasa*, like that of Lollaṭa, is what may be described as objective; or, in other words, Daṇḍin believes in the causal development of *rasa* through the 'Excitants' (*vibhāvas*) and 'Ensuants' (*anubhāvas*). Without mak-

[16] See I. 51–67.

[17] The modern commentators are sometimes misled by their own ideas of *rasa* and interpret Daṇḍin in that light. For instance, Premacandra, commenting on Daṇḍin's exposition of the *kāvya-śarīra* in I. 10, notes *kāvyānāṁ śarīraṁ ca, ātmabhūtasya rasādi-vyaṅgyasya deha-bhūta āśrayaś ca*, although Daṇḍin himself nowhere speaks of the 'suggestion' of *rasa* as the 'soul' of poesy. The same remark applies to the modern commentary in recent ed. of Daṇḍin in the Benares Sanskrit Series.

[18] On Bharata ch. vi (text of which follows below), reproduced partially by Hemacandra, p. 57 comm.

ing a definite statement on this point—for Daṇḍin's somewhat meagre indication hardly justifies us in doing so—we may, however, affirm that Daṇḍin apparently speaks of *rasa* as being developed as an effect from a temporary (e.g. *rati* or *krodha*) to a permanent mood (e.g. *śṛṅgāra* or *raudra*); and the way in which he deals with the question lends colour to Abhinavagupta's interpretation, or at least indicates that Daṇḍin was probably aware of some such theory. For, speaking of the figure *rasavat*, which, according to him, possesses the characteristic of manifesting the *rasas*, he gives an example of the manifestation of *śṛṅgāra* in such a figure, with the remark *ratiḥ śṛṅgāratāṁ gatā rūpa-bāhulya-yogena* (II. 281). Similarly with reference to the development of *raudra* from *krodha*, he says *ityāruhya parāṁ koṭiṁ krodho raudrātmatāṁ gataḥ* (II. 283). But the *rasa* in these figures is of course subordinate to the expressed figure itself (*alaṁkāratayā smṛtam*, II. 287), of which it serves as a means of embellishment. It seems, therefore, that Dandin was to some extent cognisant of *rasa*, *bhāva* etc., but he could not give them a place in his system except as an embellishment of the language or of the sense; and this objective view of *rasa* was, apparently, chiefly responsible for the subordinate position assigned to it in the Alaṁkāra and the Rīti Schools.

Although Vāmana makes a great advance on Daṇḍin's system in other respects, he does not seem to have gone further than his predecessor in the treatment of *rasa*. He emphasises, no doubt, the necessity of distinguishing between those characteristics (*guṇa*) which are essential (*nitya*) and those (*alaṁkāra*) which are secondary (*anitya*) in poetry, and marks an improvement on Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, who include *rasa* only in the poetic figures, by including it in the essential characteristics; for he defines the *artha-guṇa kānti* as that essential excellence of sense "in which *rasa* is conspicuously present" (*dīptarasatvam* III. 2.15). In this respect, Vāmana in a way anticipates the importance which *rasa* assumed in later schools; but it must be admitted that although Vāmana includes *rasa* in the essentials of poetry, he had no clear idea of its aesthetic significance except as an accessory element, just in the same way as he had no clear notion of the 'suggested sense' except as a similar accessory element in a particular figure (IV. 3. 8).

Udbhaṭa, a follower of Bhāmaha and a contemporary of Vāmana, adheres in the main to the views of his predecessors and treats *rasa* as a subsidiary element in poetry, including it like Bhāmaha in the figures

like *rasavat*; but in one passage,[19] curiously enough, he apparently designates *rasa* as the 'soul' of poetry, without, however, setting up an aesthetic system on its basis. This verse occurs as VI. 17 in the text of Udbhaṭa's work published by Col. Jacob in the *JRAS*, 1897, p. 847; but the verse appears to be a little out of place in the context in which it occurs, and in the text published by the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press it is wanting, although given as a quotation with a *tad āhuḥ* in the accompanying commentary of Pratihārendurāja (p. 77). Prof. Jacobi's supposition,[20] therefore, based on Jacob's text, that Udbhaṭa was the first writer to consider the question as to what constitutes the 'soul' of poesy, and to regard *rasa* as such, does not appear to be at all plausible. Even if the verse in question be Udbhaṭa's, it should be taken as one of his *obiter dicta*, which does not fit in well with his system as a whole, although Pratihārendurāja would probably find a place for it by reading into Udbhaṭa, as he does, his own views about *rasa*. It is true that Udbhaṭa betrays a closer acquaintance with the *rasa*-theory in some form or other and its technicalities, using terms like *vibhāva*, *sthāyin*, *sañcārin* (IV. 4) and *anubhāva* (IV. 2) and enumerating after Bharata VI. 15 the eight orthodox *rasas* with the addition of a ninth *śānta* in the category; but all this is taken into account as an embellishment of the expressed figure, or in other words, *rasa* is not considered for its own sake, but because it helps to emphasise and constitute the charm of the particular figure. Hence Pratihārendurāja remarks that the question as to the nature of *rasa* and *bhāva*, and how far they may stand as a mere *kāvyālaṁkāra* or as the very 'soul' of poetry, is not discussed, partly for fear of prolixity and partly because it is not relevant.[21]

[19] *rasādyadhiṣṭhitaṁ kāvyam jīvad-rūpatayā yataḥ*
kathyate tad rasādīnām kāvyātmatvaṁ vyavasthitam.

[20] *ZDMG*, 1902, p. 396. In a conversation recently with the author of this article, Prof. Jacobi admitted that his contention was no longer tenable.

[21] Ed. Kāvyamālā, p. 50. Not much capital can be made out of the fact, referred to in footnote 7 above, that Śārṅgadeva mentions Udbhaṭa as one of the commentators on Bharata. If it were true, it only shews that Udbhaṭa was conversant with Bharata's theory, as his citation of a half-line from Bharata and use of technical terms like *vibhāva* etc., would indicate. It does not prove that he belonged to the school of Bharata. On the other hand, evidence is not wanting that Udbhaṭa belonged to the Alaṁkāra School (Ruyyaka, p. 7) and was a follower of Bhāmaha, whose definitions of many poetic figures (e.g. *rasavat*, *atiśayokti*, *sasandeha*, *sahokti*, *apahnuti*, *utprekṣā*, *yathāsaṁkhya*, *aprastuta-praśaṁsā*, *paryāyokta*, *ākṣepa*, *vibhāvanā*, *virodha* and *bhāvika*) he faithfully copies and on whose text he also appears to have written a *vivaraṇa* (Prati-

Rudraṭa, on the other hand, seems to be the earliest writer who explicitly includes a treatment of *rasa* as a separate topic, devoting four chapters to the discussion of *rasa* and its adjunct subject of the hero and heroine (*nāyaka, nāyikā*). It is not clear, however, what theoretical significance he attaches to *rasa*; for although at the beginning of his work he praises the poets who have won eternal fame by composing poetry enlivened by *rasa*, he devotes a comparatively small part of his work to its treatment and is entirely silent with regard to the theoretical aspect of the question. Out of the sixteen chapters into which his work is divided, only two chapters deal directly with *rasa*, not theoretically but descriptively, while the rest is taken up with the details of the poetic figures (*alaṁkāras*), on which apparently he puts greater emphasis. Speaking of the necessity of making a poem *sarasa*, he says (XII. 1) that to those who enjoy the *rasas* but fight shy of the dry *śāstras*, instruction in the *caturvargas* is easier to impart through the medium of delectable writing; and this seems, in his opinion, to be the chief motive for inspiring the sense of poetry with *rasa*. Rudraṭa, in his theoretical tendencies, has no affinity with the Rasa School, but rather with the Alaṁkāra School; and we have the testimony of Ruyyaka and Jayaratha to this effect. Ruyyaka says [11] that Rudraṭa laid special stress on *alaṁkāra*, in which he comprised the three kinds of 'suggestion' including the suggestion of *rasa* (*rasa-dhvani*); and that in the figure *rasavat* and the like, the *rasa* and *bhāva* implied are taken as elements which only heighten the charm of the expressed idea. Nami-sādhu, Rudraṭa's commentator, however, explaining Rudraṭa XII. 2, states in the usual metaphorical language that in the opinion of his author, *śabda* and *artha* constitute the body of poetry, the poetic figures take the place of artificial ornaments, while *rasa* resembles natural qualities like beauty, prowess etc. (*rasās tu saundaryâdaya iva sahajā guṇāḥ*). This interpretation only shows that like Vāmana, Rudraṭa was a step in advance of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, inasmuch as he would regard *rasa* as a natural quality which is not extraneous but stands in intimate relation to poetry; but there is nothing anywhere in Rudraṭa which will support this elaborate description, especially as Rudraṭa can scarcely be supposed to look upon poetic figures, which

hār nedu p. 13; *Locana*, pp. 10, 40, 159; Hemacandra, p. 17; Ruyyaka, p. 183; Samudrabandha, pp. 89–90).

[11] Ed. Kāvyamālā, p. 5. Samudrabandha agrees with this.

are of utmost importance in his view of poetry, as mere artificial ornaments of expression.

The older writers on poetics, therefore, before the advent of the Dhvani School, contented themselves with the working out of the outward form of expression and hardly troubled themselves with the question of an ulterior aesthetic principle, the 'soul' (*ātman*) of poesy; nor do they identify, as some later writers do, this 'soul' with the subtle psychological factor known as *rasa*. Vāmana, no doubt, offers to solve the question by declaring (I. 2. 6) that the *rīti*, which has been usually but inadequately translated as 'style' or 'diction,' is this 'soul'; but in Vāmana's view, the *rīti* is not the expression of poetic individuality but the objective beauty of its representation called forth by the unification of certain more or less fixed excellences, known as *guṇas*, or by adjustment of word and sense. The older writers, therefore, lay the greatest emphasis on the poetic figures or *alaṁkāras*, as Ruyyaka (p. 7) testifies, or on *rīti* or diction in the objective sense; and although cognisant of that aesthetic delectableness, which should be present in all poetry and which in Sanskrit goes by the name of *rasa*, they could not yet harmonise it well into their theory of externals, and treated it more or less as an embellishment of the language by including it in certain poetic figures, or by allowing it to form an element of the excellences of diction. The *rasa* could come into their system only through this backdoor, as it were. It is partly for this reason that the Dhvanikāra (III. 52) condemns earlier theories as crude and insufficient for the purpose of explaining the nature of poetry and expounds his own aesthetic doctrine in which *dhvani*, especially *rasa-dhvani*, plays such an important part.

The Dhvanikāra, however, in his exposition of *rasa-dhvani*, seems to have been greatly influenced by the dramaturgic Rasa School. Bharata declared that the business of the drama is to evolve one or more of the eight *rasas*; and therefore a more or less elaborate psychology of human sentiments had been analysed in the service of the dramatic art. Bharata's ideas on these psychological processes and on *rasa*, which is the final internal experience consisting in the consciousness of a certain objective condition of the ego, were elaborated by his commentators and followers till the Dhvanikāra, followed by Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta, came into the field. From the earlier drama and dramatic theory, therefore, the idea of *rasa* was taken over

to poetry and poetic theory; and as the transition from the naive to the sentimental poetry was accomplished, the theorists went a step further and erected *rasa* into one of its essential aesthetic foundations. Ānandavardhana is quite explicit on this point when he says *etac ca rasâdi-tātparyeṇa kāvya-nibandhanam bharatâdâvapi suprasiddham eva* (p. 181). In other words, what was already well established in the drama by Bharata and others thus found its way into poetry, profoundly modifying, as it did, the entire conception of *kāvya*. In the same way, Abhinavagupta, commenting on the concluding portion of the prose passage just before Bharata VI. 33, says: *nāṭyāt samudaya-rūpād rasaḥ, nāṭya eva rasaḥ, kāvye'pi nāṭyāyamāna eva rasaḥ kāvyârthaḥ.* Similarly Rudrabhaṭṭa states at the beginning of his work (I. 5) that Bharata and others have already discussed *rasa* in connexion with the drama, while his own object is to apply it to the case of poetry.

It must be noted, however, that although all later theorists take Bharata as their starting point, and build up their own theories round his authoritative, if somewhat meagre text, Bharata himself, like most old masters, is very simple in his statements; and the subject does not appear to have been yet brought into the realm of scholastic speculation. Bharata's work is encyclopaedic in scope, but his primary theme is the drama and his conception of poetry dramatic, a view which perhaps inspired Vāmana's partiality towards dramatic composition expressed in I. 3. 30–32 and which is concisely put by Abhinavagupta by saying *kāvyaṁ tāvan daśarūpâtmakam eva.* In such a composition, *rasa*, according to Bharata, should be predominant; for he says that the drift of sense which arises from *rasa* appeals to the heart and pervades the body, like fire lighting up dry pieces of wood.[23] Without *rasa* there can be no sense of poetry.[24] Although Bharata does not go much into technicalities, he seems to be of opinion that the *vibhāvas* and *anubhāvas*, which, according to later theory, constitute the essential factors, call forth *rasa*; but he is not clear as to what this process of evolution exactly is. He explains *bhāva*, the basis of *rasa*, generally as that which brings into existence the sense of poetry through the three kinds of representation, viz., through words, gestures and internal feeling.[25] This *bhāva*, when permanent and not transitory, reaches the state of *rasa* through the

[23] VII. 7

[24] *na hi rasād ṛte kaścid arthaḥ pravartate*, ed. Grosset, p. 87; ed. Kāvyamālā, p. 62.

[25] *vāg-aṅga-sattvópetān kāvyârthān bhāvayantīti bhāvāḥ*, *op. cit.*, p., 100; *op. cit.* p., 69.

factors known as *vibhāva* and *anubhāva*.[26] A *vibhāva* is explained thus: *vibhāva iti kasmād ucyate. vibhāvo nāma vijñānârthaḥ, vibhāvyante'nena vāg-aṅga-sattvâbhinaya ityato vibhāvaḥ*.[27] The word *vibhāva* is used therefore to imply knowledge or understanding and may be explained generally as that which makes the three kinds of representation capable of being sensed. In the same way, the *anubhāva* is explained as that which follows upon and makes the three kinds of representation actually sensed.[28] The third element of *rasa*, the *vyabhicāri-bhāva*, consists of accessory facts which help and strengthen it, and is etymologically described as *vi abhi ityetāvupasragau, cara gatau dhātuḥ, vividham ābhimukhyena rasān carantīti vyabhicāriṇaḥ*.[29] As to what relation these factors bear to *rasa* and how this state of relish is brought about, Bharata simply lays down *vibhāvânubhāva-vyabhicāri-saṁyogād rasa-niṣpattiḥ*, a formula which, in spite of his own explanation, is so ambiguous with respect to the exact significance of the central terms *saṁyoga* and *niṣpatti* that a great deal of controversy has gathered round its interpretation and as each commentator has tried to explain it in his own way, it has given rise, as we shall presently see, to a number of theories on *rasa*. Bharata's own explanation, if it can be called an explanation, is that just as a beverage is accomplished through various seasoned articles and herbs, so the permanent mood, the *sthāyibhāva*, reinforced (*upagata*) by various *bhāvas*, attain the state of *rasa*;[30] and it is so called because its essence consists in its taste or relish (*rasa iti kaḥ padārthaḥ, ucyate āsvādyatvāt*). He also explains that the *sthāyibhāva* is the basis of *rasa* because it attains, as it were, mastery or sovereignty among the forty-nine different *bhāvas* (viz. eight *sthāyi-bhāvas*, eight *sāttvika-bhāvas* and thirty-three *vyabhicāri-bhāvas* mentioned by him in VII *ad* 6 and VI. 16 ff.), which naturally rest upon it as being pre-

26 *sthāyina eva bhāvā rasatvam āpnuvanti*, *op. cit.* p. 102; *op. cit.* p. 70. *tatra vibhāvânubhāva-vyabhicāri-saṁyogād rasa-niṣpattiḥ*, *op. cit.*, p. 87; *op. cit.*, p. 62.

27 *op. cit.*, pp. 100–1; *op. cit.*, p. 69.

28 *anubhāva iti kasmād ucyate, yad ayam anubhāvayati nānârthâbhiniṣpanna vāg-aṅga-sattva-kṛtam abhinayam iti*, *op. cit.*, p. 101; *op. cit.*, p. 69.

29 Bharata deals with *lakṣaṇa*, *alaṁkāra*, *doṣa* and *guṇa* under *vācika abhinaya* treated in Ch. XIV to XX; and these are thus made subordinate to *rasa*. All these elements are considered in so far as they form dramatic embellishments; but *lakṣaṇas* disappear in later works, being included either under *alaṁkāra* (Daṇḍin II. 366 and *Daśarūpa* ed. Hall IV. 78) or under *guṇa* and *alaṁkāra* (Viśvanātha VI., p. 332, ed. Durgāprasāda).

30 Ed. Grosset, p. 87; ed. Kāvyamālā, p. 62.

sumably the principal theme of the composition in question.[33] Nothing definite can be concluded from all this except that in Bharata's opinion the *sthāyibhāva* is apparently the basis of *rasa*, while the *vibhāva*, *anubhāva* and *vyabhicārin* contribute to its final realisation. But this explanation by its very ambiguity or vagueness taxed the ingenuity of the commentators, its general trend anticipating theories like the *utpattivāda* of Lollaṭa and the *anumiti-vāda* of Śaṅkuka, while special technicalities (used probably in an untechnical sense by Bharata himself) like *vyañjita* and *sāmānya-guṇa-yoga* occurring in the text, suggesting or lending support to specialised doctrines like the *vyakti-vāda* of Abhinavagupta or the *bhukti-vāda* of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka.

The general foundations of the theory, however, remain as fixed by Bharata. It is practically admitted on all hands that the *rasa* is realised when a permanent mood or *sthāyi-bhāva* is brought to a relishable condition through the three elements, viz. the *vibhāva*, the *anubhāva* and the *vyabhicāri-bhāva*. Of these the first two are the more important, the *vyabhicārin* being only concomitant or accessory. Bharata's explanation of these terms are rendered with greater precision by his followers. By *sthāyi-bhāva* in poetry and drama are meant certain more or less permanent conditions of the mind, such as love, grief, anger or fear. This permanent mood, constituting the principal theme of composition and running through all other moods like the thread of a garland, cannot be overcome by those akin to it or those opposed to it, but can only be reinforced. Those elements which respectively excite, follow and strengthen (if we may use these expressions) the *sthāyi-bhāva* are in poetry and drama known as *vibhāva*, *anubhāva* and *vyabhicāri-bhāva*,[34] although in the ordinary world they may be known as mundane cause and effect (*laukika kāraṇa* and *kārya*). Devoid of technicalities, a *vibhāva* may be taken as that which makes the permanent mood capable of being sensed, an *anubhāva* as that which makes it sensed, while a *vyabhicāri-* (also called *sañcāri-*) *bhāva* as that which acts at an auxiliary or gives an impetus to

[33] *atrāha yadanyonyārtha-saṁskṛtair vibhārānubhāva-vyañjitair ekona-pañcāśatā bhāvaiḥ sāmānya-guṇa-yogenābhiniṣpadyante rasāḥ, tat katham idānīm sthāyina eva bhāvā rasatvam āpnuvantīti ucyate? .... bahvāśrayatvāt svāmibhūtāḥ sthāyino bhāvāḥ*, ed. Grosset, pp. 102; ed. Kāvyamālā, p. 70.

[34] Ballantyne renders these terms conveniently, if not very adequately, as the Excitant, the Ensuant and the Accessory respectively, a nomenclature which is accepted by Dr. Gaṅgānāth Jhā in his translation of the *Kāvya-prakāśa*. Prof. Jacobi, however (*ZDMG.*, 1902, p. 394 ff.), uses the terms Factor, Effect and Concurrent.

it. In the case of Love as a permanent mood, the stock-examples given of *vibhāva* are women and the seasons; of *anubhāva*, glance and embrace; of *vyabhicārin*, the transient subordinate feelings of joy and anxiety. Now Bharata says that the *rasa* is realised through a certain correlation of these elements with the *sthāyibhāva* or permanent mood. The question therefore arises, to which Bharata himself gives no definite solution, viz. what this process of realisation actually consists in, and what relation do these elements bear to *rasa* in this process, the solution depending upon the explanation of the two much-discussed terms *saṁyoga* and *niṣpatti* in Bharata's original dictum cited above.

Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa appears to be one of the earliest commentators of Bharata to offer an explanation. But excepting the brief review of his opinion in Abhinavagupta's commentary [33] on Bharata, which is copied more or less by all subsequent writers from Mammaṭa and reproduced almost literally but anonymously by Hemacandra, Lollaṭa is unknown to us and his work is apparently lost. Very little can be gathered from this summary exposition by an adverse critic; but it appears that Lollaṭa took the *vibhāva* as the direct cause (*kāraṇa*) of *rasa* which is therefore an effect (*anukārya* or *utpādya*), and the word *niṣpatti* of Bharata is explained as *utpatti* or *puṣṭi*.[34] The *rasa*, found in characters like Rāma, is attributed to the actor who imitates the character in form, dress and actions, and thus charms the spectator.[35] Mammaṭa and his followers agree with this interpretation of Lollaṭa by Abhinava, but they make it more clear by saying that the permanent mood or the *sthāyin* is directly connected with the hero (*mukhyayā vṛttyā=sākṣāt saṁbandhena*), but it is recognised as existing in the actor[36] through

[33] The extracts given below are taken from a transcript, published herewith, of the Trivandrum Palace MS prepared for me through the kind offices of Dr. Gaṅgānāth Jhā. Lollaṭa's views are reviewed, after Abhinava, in Mammaṭa IV, ed. Bom. Sansk. Ser., p. 87; Hemacandra p. 57; Mallinātha on Vidyādhara, p. 85; Govinda, ed. Kāvyamālā, p. 63. Hemacandra practically reproduces Abhinavagupta's very words.

[34] *atra bhaṭṭa-lollaṭa-prabhṛtayas tāvad evaṁ vyācakhyuḥ. Vibhāvādibhiḥ saṁyogo'rthat sthāyinas tato rasa-niṣpattiḥ. Tatra vibhāvaś cittavṛtteḥ sthāyyātmikāyā utpattau kāraṇam; anubhāvāś ca na rasa-janyā atra vivakṣitā, teṣām rasa-kāraṇatvena gaṇanārhatvāt, api tu bhāvānām eva* etc. Abh. on Bh.

[35] *sthāyyeva vibhāvānubhāvādibhir upacito rasaḥ, sthāyī bhavatv-anupacitaḥ. Sa cobhayo'pyanukārye'nukartaryapi [vi]cārānusandhāna balād iti cirantarānāṁ cāyam pakṣaḥ*, Abh. on Bh.

[36] *rāmādāvanukārye tad rūpatānusandhānān nartake'pi pratīyamāno rasaḥ*, Mammaṭa *loc. cit.*, where the term *pratīyamānaḥ* is interpreted by Govinda as *āropyamāṇaḥ* (*naṭe tu tuly rūpatānusandhāna-vaśād āropyamāṇaḥ sāmājikānām camatkāra-hetuḥ*, p. 63).

a clever imitation of the original character, this imitation being apparently the source of the charm (*camatkārahetu*) to the spectator. The locus of the *rasa*, therefore, is supposed to be in the hero; but it is not clear how it is apparently transferred to the actor and how the spectator is charmed by a feeling which does not exist in him. Govinda, therefore, rightly comments on this view of Lollaṭa: *tad apeśalam, sāmājikeṣu tad-abhāve tatra camatkārânubhava-virodhāt, na ca tajjñānam eva camatkāra-hetuḥ, laukika-śṛṅgārâdi-darśanenâpi camatkāra-prasaṅgāt* (p. 63).

The rival school of Śaṅkuka, we are told by Abhinavagupta, and following him, by Hemacandra, bring forward ingenious objections, into the technicalities of which we need not enter here.[37] The later writers,[38] however, demur to this cause-and-effect theory on more philosophical grounds. An effect, they argue, may exist when its efficient cause is destroyed; but as the life of *rasa* is circumscribed by the investigation of the *vibhāvas* (*vibhāvâdi-parāmarśa-jīvitâvadhi*), it disappears when the latter disappear, a fact which goes to prove that the *rasa* must not be taken as an ordinary mundane (*laukika*) effect.[39] Again, the cause and the effect cannot be contemporaneous; if *rasa* is supposed to be an effect, its relish cannot be, as it actually is, contemporaneous with the appearance of the *vibhābas*. Hence Viśvanātha remarks that if *rasa* is an effect, having for its cause the perception of the *vibhāvas*, then at

[37] Śaṅkuka, for instance, maintains that Bharata apparently uses the terms *rasa* and *sthāyin* synonymously, for the latter mentions the same *vibhāvas* with respect to a particular *sthāyin* and its corresponding *rasa*; and hence if they are identical, there is no question of one being produced from the other. Nothing can be gained by replying that in its undeveloped state it is *sthāyin*, but in the developed state it is *rasa*: for such a supposition will involve an infinite multiplication (*ānantyâpattiḥ*) of the stages of *sthāyin* and its corresponding *rasa*. If it is said that in its highest stage of development it is *rasa*, then how can we imagine sixteen different varieties of *hāsya-rasa* (Bharata VI. 52) or the ten different stages of *śṛṅgāra* (Bharata XXII. 154-175). Besides the priority of *bhāva* in relation to *rasa* is not always vouchsafed by experience, and a great sorrow felt in its intensity at the beginning is not seen to subside in time but grow stronger (see Hemacandra, pp. 57-8).

[38] Among the earlier authors, Daṇḍin, as already noted, appears to have been influenced by Lollaṭa's theory, which is entirely discredited in later times. This does not argue the priority of Lollaṭa to Daṇḍin, for the theory, in which the influence of Mīmāṁsakas is apparent, might have obtained in the schools before Lollaṭa first brought it into prominence.

[39] Mallinātha, p. 87 *kāryatve ghaṭâdivat vibhāvâdi-nimitta-nāśe' pi rasânuvṛtti-prasaṅgaḥ . . . na câsyâlaukikasya sva-prakāśânandâtmakasya laukika-pramāṇa-gamyatvam*, see also pp. 93-4; Govinda, p. 69 *vibhāvâdi-parāmarśasya kāraṇatvaṁ yadi syāt tadā nimitta-kāraṇatvam, etc.*

the time of the relish of *rasa*, the *vibhāvas* would not be perceived; for we do not find the simultaneous perception of a cause and its effect. The perception of the touch of the sandal-wood unguent and the perception of the pleasure produced thereby cannot take place simultaneously, however, rapid the one may succeed the other.[40]

Śaṅkuka, therefore, the next commentator on Bharata, rejecting this theory, lays down that the *rasa* is not *produced* as an effect but *inferred*. The permanent mood is inferred to exist in the actor—though not actually existing in him[41]—by the means of the *vibhāvas* etc., cleverly exhibited by him in his acting, so as to produce an illusion of identity with the feelings of the hero[42]; and the mood thus inferred, being sensed by the spectator through its exquisite beauty,[43] adds to itself a peculiar charm, and thus develops into a relishable condition called *rasa*. The realisation of *rasa*, therefore, is simply a process of logical inference, the *niṣpatti* of Bharata being explained as *anumiti*; and the *vibhāva* stands to *rasa* in the relation of *anumāpaka* or *gamaka* to *anumāpya* or *gamya*. But the mood itself, though inferred in this way from the relation of the major and middle terms (*liṅgabalataḥ*), is yet cognised as different from the objects of ordinary inference, being inferred, as it were, by force of its exquisite charm as something to be relished on account of its connexion with the *vibhāvas* etc. which, though artificial, are not recognised as such.[44] This cognition or knowledge is characterised[45] as based on what is called *citra-turaga-nyāya*, (viz. the analogy by which a horse in a picture is called a horse), and should be differentiated from the true ('he is Rāma'), the false ('he is Rāma' with a following negation 'he is not Rāma'), the doubtful ('he may or may not be Rāma') knowledge, as well as from the knowledge of similarity ('he is like Rāma').

This theory, however, has been discredited by later schools, be-

[40] Ch. III, p. 86, ed. Durgāprasāda.

[41] *naṭe 'tyanidvidyamāno' pi*, Hemacandra, p. 58.

[42] *rāmādyabheda-bhāvitena naṭe tatprakāśitair eva vibhāvādibhir anumitaḥ*, Mallinātha, p. 85.

[43] *vastu-saundarya-balād rasanīyatvena sthāyinām anyānumeya-vailakṣaṇyāt*, Govinda, p. 65; practically paraphrasing Mammaṭa, p. 90.

[44] *kāraṇa-kārya-sahakāribhiḥ kṛtrimair api tathā 'nabhimanyamānaḥ*, Mammaṭa IV; also Hemacandra, p. 58.

[45] Mammata *ibid.* Hemacandra, expanding Abhinava's exposition on this point, puts it in this way: *na cātra nartaka eva sukhīti pratipattiḥ, nāpyayam eva rāma iti, na cāpy-am sukhīti, nāpi rāmaḥ syād vā na vāyam iti, na cāpi tat-sadṛśam iti, kintu samyaḥ-*

cause, as Govinda concisely sums up the objections, it disregards the well-recognised fact that the inference of a thing can never produce the same charm as its direct cognition.[46] It has been pointed out that the *rasa* is not capable of being cognised by the ordinary means of arriving at knowledge, for the feeling of Rāma, the hero represented on the stage, being past, cannot be cognised by the organs of sense belonging to the present time and the present place.[47] The *anumāna*-theory is discussed elaborately in connexion with the theory of 'suggestion,' coming topically within the province of the suggestion of *rasa* (*rasa-dhvani*), by later adherents of the Dhvani School[48]; and the general argument with which it is sought to be discarded is that the *vibhāvas* cannot be taken as the middle term in proving the *sthāyin*, because the *vibhāvas* do not stand in the same relation to the *sthāyin* as the middle term (*sādhana*) does to the major term (*sādhya*), but are simply its suggestor (*vyañjaka*).

mithyā-saṁśaya-sādṛśya-pratītibhyo vilakṣaṇaś citra-turagādi-nyāyena yaḥ sukhī rāma asāv ayam iti pratītir asti (p. 59).

46 *etad apy ahṛdayagrāhi, yataḥ pratyakṣam eva jñānaṁ sa-camatkāraṁ nānumityādir iti loka-prasiddhim avadhūyānyathā-kalpane mānābhāvaḥ*, p. 65.

47 *yad api rasasyājñāpyatvābhidhānaṁ tad api rāmasya rater atītatvāt sannihita-deśa-vartamāna kālendriya-sannikarṣādya jñāpyatvābhiprāyeṇa*, Vidyādhara, p. 94.

48 The *anumāna*-theory never appears to have received liberal recognition in the hands of later theorists. Mahimabhaṭṭa, author of the *Vyakti-viveka*, was the only known writer who put forward a similar theory; for, trying to prove in opposition to the accepted *dhvani*-theory that the so-called *dhvani*, including *rasa-dhvani*, can be arrived at by the ordinary process of logical inference, he professed himself to be an *anumiti-vādin* in his idea of *rasa*. We do not possess enough data to decide what relation, if any, Mahima bore to his predecessor Śaṅkuka. We have the testimony indeed of a very late (A.D. 1700) and not usually careful writer, Rāmacaraṇa, who commented on the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, that Mahima was in reality a follower of Śaṅkuka (*śaṅkuka-matānuyāyinaṁ vyakti-viveka-kārādīnām mataṁ dūṣayati*, ed. Durgāprasāda, p. 248; ed. Roer, p. 121 note); but the omission by Mahima himself, who throughout takes pride in his originality, of all reference, direct or indirect, to his predecessor is strangely significant. It is probable, however, that the theory developed by Mahima was not originated by him. Ānandavardhana himself refutes at some length (pp. 201 ff.) a similar theory which tried to establish that the cognition of the unexpressed is nothing more than the cognition of the object of a logical conclusion so that the relation of the suggestor and the suggested is that of the syllogistic middle and major terms. Mahimabhaṭṭa's theory bears little resemblance to that of Śaṅkuka; for the former proceeds in a quite different line. Although accepting the new concept of *dhvani*, he differs from Ānanda in holding that it can be realised by *anumāna*, and that therefore there is no need to establish a separate function of *vyañjanā*; and by a process of elaborate destructive criticism, he attempts to make the definition of *dhvani* conform to what he calls *kāvyānumiti* as the process in which another sense is revealed by the expressed sense (*vācya*) or by a sense inferred, sometimes connectedly from it (p. 22). He argues that the existence of a *krama* or sequence however imperceptible (*asaṁ-*

The *vibhāvas*, therefore, are neither the efficient cause (*kāraka-hetu*) nor the logical cause (*jñāpaka-hetu*) of *rasa*, as held respectively by Lollaṭa and Śaṅkuka. In both these theories the difficulty remains, namely, that if *rasa* is an objective entity, produced or inferred, how can it bring about a subjective feeling of relish in the audience in whom these factors are presumably absent? If, on the other hand, it is supposed that it exists in the audience also, the question still remains as to how the particular feelings of a particular hero, like Rāma who is different or superior to the spectator himself, can be relished or realised as his own by the spectator. These objections are ably set forth by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, as interpreted by Abhinava in his *Locana* (pp. 67–8): *rasa yadi para-gatatayā pratīyate, tarhi tāṭasthyam eva syāt. Na ca sva-gatatvena rāmâdi-caritamayāt kāvyād asau pratīyate. Sva-gatatvena ca pratītau svâtmani rasayôtpattir evâbhyupagatā syāt, sā câyuktā, sāmājikānāṁ pratyavibhāvatvāt. Kāntātvaṁ sādhāraṇaṁ vāsanā-vikāsa-hetur vibhāvanāyām prayojakaṁ iti cet. devatā-varṇanâdau tad api katham? Na ca sva-kāntā-smaraṇam madhye saṁvedyate. Aloka-sāmānyānāṁ ca rāmâdīnāṁ ye samudra-setu-bandhâdayo vibhāvas te kathaṁ sādhāraṇyam bhajeyuḥ?*

Hence Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka attempts to refute these earlier theories (as well as those of the new Dhvani School who later on found a champion in Abhinavagupta), and sets up a peculiar theory of aesthetic enjoyment (*bhoga*). He argues that (1) *rasa* cannot be produced as an effect, because the causes, namely, the *vibhāvas*, being non-realities, cannot bring about real effects; (2) it cannot be inferred, because the real character, Rāma, not being before the audience, his feeling does not exist, and what does not exist cannot be inferred (*na ca tattvato rāmasya smṛtir, anupalabdha-*

lakṣya) cannot be denied between the suggested elements (*vyaṅgya vastu*, *alaṁkāra* or *rasa*) and the expressed (*vācya*) sense (*vibhāvas* in case of *rasa*); and this only shows that the two senses, expressed and unexpressed, *vācya* and *vyaṅgya*, are sequential, and being such, bear the relationship of premise and conclusion (pp. 11 ff.) Hence *artha* is merely a ground of inference, which is very wide in its scope (*mahā-viṣaya*), and not a *vyañjaka*. Again, as *śabda* exhausts itself after expressing its literal or primary sense, even the secondary sense (*lakṣya artha*) has admittedly to be inferred not from itself but from the latter; how can it be supposed to be a *vyañjaka* and convey a deeper sense? But such words, through their expressed sense, can well become a source of inference (*anumāpaka*), pp. 27 ff. There is no room here to consider this theory in detail nor take into account the different objections urged against its over-subtlety (see Mammata V; Ruyyaka ed. Kāvyamālā, pp. 12–3; Vidyādhara, pp. 32 ff.: Viśvanātha, V). Mahima had no followers in later literature.

tvāt). Besides, how is it possible for the ordinary reader or spectator to identify himself with the extraordinary virtues of a hero like Rāma? To solve these difficulties, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, as interpreted by Abhinava and others, maintains that the *rasa* is enjoyed in connexion with the *vibhāvas* through the relation of the enjoyer and the enjoyed (*bhojaka* and *bhojya*). This school postulates three different functions of a word, namely, *abhidhā* (already admitted by Mīmāṁsakas and grammarians), *bhāvakatva* and *bhojakatva*. *Abhidhā*, however, is not Denotation merely, but is given an extended meaning so to include *lakṣaṇā* or Indication[49] in its scope, thus embracing the two functions already analysed by previous speculation. *Bhāvakatva* which, as Abhinavagupta suggests, is derived apparently from Bharata's general definition of *bhāva*, is described as the power of generalisation which makes the *vibhāvas*, as well as the *sthāyi-bhāva*, sensed in their general character without any reference to their specific properties.[50] For instance, the *vibhāva*, Sītā, is understood through this power not as a particular individual but in the general character of a woman[51]; and the *sthāyi-bhāva*, e.g. Rāma's love towards her, is taken as love in general without any reference to the agent or the object.[52] By the third function of *bhojakatva*, the *sthāyin* is enjoyed in this general form, accompanied by the *vibhāvas*, sensed also in a general form: and this enjoyment is described as a process of delectation similar to the enlightened, self-sufficient and blissful knowledge, arising, in the language of the Sāṁkhya philosophers which is borrowed by these theorists, from the prominence of the attribute of goodness (*sattva*) in a man and different from what is known as worldly happiness.[53] It is differentiated from the two kinds of knowledge *anubhava* and *smaraṇa*;

49 *abhidhāpi lakṣaṇaiva*, *Locana*, p. 68; *tatrābhidhā nirantara-sāntarārtha-niṣṭhatvena dvidhā*, Govinda, p. 66.

50 *vibhāvādi-sādhāraṇīkaraṇātmanābhidhāto dvitīyenāṁśena bhāvakatva-vyāpāreṇa bhāvyamānaḥ*, Abh. on Bh.; *tac caitad bhāvakatvaṁ nāma, yat kāvyasya tad-vibhāvādīnāṁ sādhāraṇatvāpādanaṁ nāma*, *Locana*, *loc. cit.*; *bhāvakatvaṁ sādhāraṇīkaraṇam, tena ca vyāpāreṇa vibhāvādayaḥ sthāyī ca sādhāraṇīkriyante*, Govinda, p. 66.

51 *sādhāraṇīkaraṇam caitad eva yat sītādi viśeṣāṇām kāminītvādi-sāmānyopasthitiḥ*, Govinda, *loc. cit.*

52 *sādhāraṇīkṛtena vibhāvādikena bhāvaka-vyāpāreṇa naṭādi-gatatva-parihāreṇa sādhāraṇatayānusaṁdhiyamānaḥ sthāyī*, Mallinātha, p. 85.

53 *sattvodreka-prakāśānandamaya-saṁvid viśrānti-satattvena bhogena bhujyate*, Mammaṭa, explained by Govinda as *bhogaś ca sattva-guṇodrekāt prakāśate ya ānandas tat-svarūpānanyālambanā yā saṁvit tat-svarūpo laukika-sukhānubhava-vilakṣaṇaḥ .... iti sāṁkhya-siddhāntānusāreṇa vivṛṇute*, p. 66.

and consisting of the qualities of melting, pervading and expanding the mind, it is compared to the indescribable bliss of divine contemplation.[54] According to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, therefore, the *rasa* consists in the *sthāyi-bhāva* or the permanent mood, experienced in a generalised form in poetry and drama through the powers of *abhidhā* and *bhāvakatva*, and enjoyed by a blissful process, known as *bhoga*, till it is raised to a state of pleasurable relish, which is not worldly (*alaukika*) and which is akin to the philosophic meditation of Brahma.

It will be noticed that all these different theories about *rasa*, though applied to drama and poetry, are at the same time tinged with the doctrines of the various schools of Indian Philosophy. Lollaṭa appears to be a Mīmāṁsaka; Śaṅkuka a Naiyāyika; while Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka seems to follow the Sāṁkhya doctrine. But what is more noticeable is that in Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka we mark a transition from what may be called the objective to the subjective view of *rasa*, and an understanding that the whole phenomenon should be explained in terms of inward experience. If we may judge from the somewhat elaborate criticism levelled against this theory, it seems to have produced a greater impression and no doubt, paved the way for the later theory of Abhinava-gupta, to whom really belongs the credit of elaborating the new aesthetic system of the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana.[55] From his extensive literary and philosophical studies as well as from his interest in the works of Bharata and his followers, Abhinava seems to have realised that no system of Poetics, like no system of Dramaturgy, can ever completely ignore the feelings, moods and sentiments, and must find an important place for *rasa*, the manifestation of which is much the business of poetry as of the drama. The insufficiencies of the earlier theories on *rasa* are obvious, but it was a happy idea to elaborate the theory in such a way as not only to supply these deficiencies but also to fit it well into the *dhvani*-theory formulated by the new school.

It is not necessary for us to enter into the details of the *dhvani*-theory; it will suffice here to indicate generally how the idea of *rasa*

[54] *raso'nubhava-smṛtyādi-vilakṣaṇena . . . . druti-vistara vikāsātmanā . . . . para-brahmāsvāda-savidhena bhogena*, Abh. on Bh.: *bhāvite ca rase tasya bhogaḥ, yo'nubhava-smaraṇa-pratipattibhyo vilakṣaṇa eva druti-vistara-vikāsa-nāma . . . . para-brahmāsvāda-sacivaḥ*, *Locana*, p. 68.

[55] There is some difference in the general theoretical positions of Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta, which will be noticed in its proper place later.

was worked up into them. The Dhvani School, in its analysis of the essentials of poetry, found that the contents of a good poem may be generally distinguished into two parts. The one is that which is expressed and includes what is given in so many words ; the other content is not expressed, but must be added to it by the imagination of reader or the listener. The unexpressed or the suggested part, which is distinctly linked up with the expressed and which is developed by a peculiar process of suggestion (*vyañjanā*), is taken to be the 'soul' or essence of poetry. To the grammarians and learned writers, it seemed paradoxical to state that the very essence of a poem is that which is not even expressed. On the other hand, some form of symbolical speech, in which wisdom demands that one should express oneself more in hints and suggestions than in actual words, was always in vogue, and the poets had been more or less partial to the method of speaking in metaphor or wrapping up their ideas in transparent allegories. But the suggestive poetry is something different from the merely metaphorical, which Vāmana had already amply recognised and on which the Alaṁkāra and the Rīti Schools had put so much emphasis. The metaphorical or the allegoric, however veiled it may be, is still in a sense expressed and must be taken as such ; but the suggestive (*vyaṅgya*) is always unexpressed, and is therefore a source of greater charm through its capacity of concealment ; for this concealment, in which consists the essence of art, is in reality no concealment at all. The new aesthetic school claims a particular function of suggestion, appertaining to words and their senses, whereby the unexpressed or the inexpressible is called into being; or to speak with Kant, whereby poetry becomes an expression of 'the aesthetic idea.'

Now the unexpressed, through the suggestive power of word or idea, may be an unexpressed thought or matter (*vastu*) or an unexpressed figure of speech (*alaṁkāra*), but in most cases it is a mood or feeling (*rasa*) which is directly inexpressible. The Dhvani School, therefore, took up the moods and feelings as an element of the unexpressed and tried to harmonise the idea of *rasa* with the theory of *dhvani*. It was realised that poetry was not, as Daṇḍin thought, the mere clothing of agreeable ideas in agreeable language ; the feelings and moods play an important part in it. But the feelings and moods in themselves are inexpressible. We cau give a name to them, but naming a mood or feeling is not equivalent to expressing or developing it. At best, therefore,

we can suggest it./ What the poet can directly express or describe are the *vibhāvas* etc.; but with the help of these expressed elements, which must be generalised and conceived not as they appear in the mundane world but as they may be imagined in a poetic world, the poet can awaken in us, through the power of suggestion inherent in words or ideas, a particular *alaukika* condition of the soul in which the relish of the feeling is possible. It is true that the poet cannot rouse the same mood or feeling as the person (e.g. Rāma) whom he describes, felt in times past, but he can call up a reflection of it, which is similar in some respects; and this condition of enjoyment in the reader's soul is the relish of *rasa*, which can be brought into consciousness by the power of suggestion inherent in words and their sense.

Here comes in the new colour given to the *rasa*-theory by the exponents of the Dhvani School. They interpret Bharata's much-discussed dictum to mean that *rasa* is *suggested* by the union of the permanent mood with the *vibhāvas* through the relation of the suggested (*vyaṅgya*) and the suggestor (*vyañjaka*); and that the *niṣpatti* of Bharata should mean *abhivyakti*. Commenting on Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's theory, Abhinavagupta points out that there is no need, as there is no authority,[56] for assuming the two powers of *bhāvakatva* and *bhogīkaraṇa*; for they are implicitly included in the idea of *rasa-vyañjanā* and its ultimate *āsvāda*. Bharata's dictum *kāvyârthān bhāvayantîti bhāvāḥ* (VII. ed. Grosset, p. 100) implies *bhāvakatva* to be an inherent capacity of all *bhāvas* as the cause of existence (*bhū iti karaṇe dhātuḥ, ibid.*) or diffusion (*vyaptyartham, ibid.*) of the sense of poetry, the sense indicating the principal sense consisting of the relish of *rasa*.[57] Hence the *sthāyin*, together with the *vyabhicārin*, being *bhāvas* themselves, bring into existence through this inherent power the extraordinary relishable sense of poetry, cognised in a general form (*sarva-sādhāraṇatayā āsvādayati*). In this way the *sthāyin*, or even the *kāvya* itself, may be regarded generally as the *bhāvaka* or *niṣpādaka* of *rasa*; and this so-called *bhāvakatva*, according to Abhinava, consists in nothing more than a suitable use of *guṇa* and *alaṁkāra* for the ultimate purpose of awakening *rasa* through the suggestive power of word and sense.[58] Thus disposing of the power

[56] cf. *etādṛśa-vyāpāra-dvaya-kalpane prāmāṇâbhāvāt*, Govinda, p. 65.

[57] *tathā hyāha kāvyârthā bhāvayantîti tat kāvyârtho rasaḥ*; again, *kāvyasyârthā rasāḥ, arthyante prādhānyenêtyarthāḥ*, Abh. Bh., cf. Hemacandra, p. 62.

[58] *bhāvakatvam api samucita-guṇâlaṁkāra-parigrahâtmakam asmābhir vitatya vakṣya*

of *bhāvakatva*. Abhinava turns to the other power assumed as *bhoga* or *bhogīkaraṇa* by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka. He remarks that beyond the *pratīti* or perception of *rasa*, he is not aware of any other process called *bhoga*. If it is relish or enjoyment, it is already admitted, and nothing is gained by giving it a new name, just as nothing is gained by arriving at the same idea by the use of different terms like *darśana*, *anumiti*, *śruti*, *upamiti* or *pratibhāna*, according only to the distinction of the means employed.[59] Hence *bhoga* is nothing more than the perception of *rasa*, consisting of its essence of relish, based on permanent moods like *rati* etc. But it must not be supposed to rest there; for although it is admitted that wherever there is *rasa* there is no doubt its perception, consisting in its enjoyment, yet since the nature of *sattva* and other *guṇas*, involved in such enjoyment, is diversified, according as they are principal or subordinate, and is therefore in itself infinite and incomprehensible, the relish of *rasa* is not to be measured by the mere supposition of three functions.[60] The *bhoga*, supposed by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, therefore, consists essentially in the *āsvāda* of *rasa*, possible by the suggestive power of poetry, and, falling naturally within its domain need not be taken as a separate function.[61]

This *pratīti* of *rasa*, Abhinava maintains, is nothing more than its *abhivyakti* or manifestation by the power of suggestion, resulting in an extraordinary state of relish, known as *rasanā*, *āsvāda* or *carvaṇā*. What is manifested is not the *rasa* itself, but its relish; not the mood itself, but its reflection in the form of a subjective condition of aesthetic enjoyment in the reader. This taste or relish partakes, no doubt, of the nature of cognition; it is nevertheless different from the ordinary or *laukika* forms of the process, because its means, the *vibhāvas*, are not to

tc. *Na ca kāvya-śabdānāṁ kevalānāṁ bhāvakatvam . . . . na kevalānām arthānām . . . . dvayos tu bhāvakatvam asmābhir uktam . . . . tasmād vyañjakatvākhyena vyāpāreṇa guṇālaṁkāraucityādikatayeti-kartavyatayā kāvyaṁ bhāvakaṁ rasān bhāvayati*, *Locana*, p. 70.

59 *pratītyādi-vyatiriktaś ca saṁsāre ko bhoga iti na vidmaḥ, rasaneti cet sāpi pratipattir eva: kevalam upāya-vailakṣaṇyān nāmāntaram pratipādyatām darśanānumiti-śrutyupamiti-pratibhānādi-nāmāntaravat* (Hemacandra, p. 61).

60 *atho'cyate pratītir asya bhogīkaraṇam, tac ca ratyādi-svarūpaṁ, tad astu. Tathāpi na tāvan-mātram. Yāvanto hi rasās tāvatya eva rasātmānaḥ pratītayo bhogīkaraṇa-svabhāvāḥ, sattvādiguṇānām cāṅgāṅgi-vaicitryam anantam akalpyam iti kā tritveneyattā* (*ibid.*, *loc. cit.*).

61 *bhogīkaraṇa-vyāpāraś ca kāvyātmaka-rasa-viṣayo dhvananātmaiva . . . . alaukike druti-vistara-vikāsātmani bhoge kartavye lokottaro dhvanana-vyāpāra eva mūrdhābhiṣiktaḥ*, *Locana*, p. 70.

be taken as ordinary or *laukika* causes.[52] Although *rasa* requires these factors for its manifestation and cannot exist without them, it cannot yet be regarded as an ordinary effect, and the cause-and-effect theory is inapplicable; for in the transcendental sphere of poetry, it is said, the connexion between cause and effect gives place to a imaginative system of relations, which has the power of stirring the reader's soul into *rasa*. The resulting *rasa* cannot be identified with its constituent *vibhāvas*, for the latter is not experienced separately, but the whole appear as *rasa*, which is thus simple and indivisible; and at the time of relish nothing else but *rasa* is raised to our consciousness. The writers on poetics are fond of explaining this phenomenon under the analogy of a beverage, which, though made up of black pepper, candied sugar, camphor and other ingredients, gives us a different taste from that of its constituents. The result therefore is an indissoluble unity of taste from which every trace of the constituent elements is obliterated.

Abhinavagupta goes a step further also in maintaining that the *sthāyin* or the permanent mood, inferred from its *laukika* causes (e.g. woman, garden, etc.) remains in the hearts of the appreciative audience in the subtle form of latent impressions.[53] On reading a poem or witness-

[52] *rasanā ca bodha-rūpaiva, kiṁ tu bodhāntarebhyo laukikebhyo vilakṣaṇaiva, upāyānāṁ vibhāvādīnāṁ laukika-vailakṣaṇyāt* (*op. cit.*, p. 66). This will make it clear why *rasas* like *karuṇa*, *bībhatsa* or *bhayānaka*, which cause pity, disgust or horror, be termed *rasa* in which enjoyment is essential. The relish of *rasa* is supposed to be an extraordinary bliss, not to be likened to ordinary pain or pleasure, and the mind is so entirely lost in it that even when the sentiment of grief or horror is relished in such a state, pain is never felt, and even when it is felt it is a pleasurable pain. The fact is borne out by the common experience that when grief is represented, the spectator or the reader says, 'I have enjoyed it.' Hence Viśvanātha remarks (III. 6–7 and *vṛtti*, ed. Durgāprasāda, p. 78) that those very things which are called causes of pain in the world (like banishment of Sītā in the forest), when consigned to poetry and dramatic representation, possess the right to be called, in consequence of their assuming such a function, *alaukika vibhāvas* etc., and from them only pleasure ensues, as it does from bites and the like in amorous dalliance. It is also maintained (*ibid.* III. 8) that tears constitute no proof that anything but pleasure is felt in poetry: for the tears which are shed by the reader are not those of pain but those of sentiment. Jagannātha's remarks in the connexion are interesting. He says (p. 26) that the shedding of tears and the like are due to the nature of the experience of particular pleasures, and not to pain. Hence in a devotee the tears arise on listening to a description of the deity: in this case there is not the slightest feeling of pain. Such is the power of the extraordinary function of poetry that even unpleasant things like sorrow generate *alaukika* pleasure, and this pleasant aesthetic relish should be distinguished from the experience realised by other ordinary means.

[53] explained by Mammaṭa as *sāmājikānāṁ vāsanātmatayā sthitaḥ*, on which Govinda

ing a drama this permanent mood, remaining in the form of latent impressions (*vāsanā*), is suggested by the depicted *vibhāvas* etc., which cease to be called *laukika* causes but go by the name of *vibhāvas* etc., in poetry and drama,[54] and which are taken in their general form without specific connexions.[55] The *vibhāvas*, therefore, are generalised in the minds of the reader and do not refer to particularities, not through the power of *bhāvakatva*, as supposed by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, but generally through the suggestive power of word and sense and specifically through a skilful use of *guṇa* and *alaṁkāra* in poetry, and clever representation in the drama. In the same way, the *sthāyi-bhāva* or the permanent mood, which is the source of the *rasa*,[56] is also generalised, because the germ of it is already existent in the reader's soul in the form of impressions; and this, together with the beauty of the generalised representation of the *vibhāvas* etc., removes all temporal and spatial limitations.[57] The mood is generalised also in the sense that it refers not to any particular reader but to readers in general, so that although it is relished by a particular individual, yet at the time of relishing it, he does not think that it is relished by him alone,[58] but by all persons of poetic sensibility.[59] This relish is known as *rasa* in poetry and drama.

To state it briefly and without any technicality, there is in the mind a latent impression of feelings which we once went through, and

comments *sāmājikānāṁ sūkṣmatayāntaḥ-sthitaḥ* and Mallinātha adds *sāmājikānāṁ svānubhava-janita vāsanātmatayā sthitaḥ*, explaining *vāsanā* as *saṁskāra*.

[54] *laukika-kāraṇatvādi-bhuvam atikrāntair evālaukika-vibhāvādi-vyapadeśa bhāgbhiḥ*, Abh. on Bh.; *kāraṇatvādi-parihāreṇa vibhāvanādi-vyāpāravattvād alaukika vibhāvādi-śabda-vyavahāraiḥ*, Mammaṭa, explained by Vidyādhara as *loke tu kāraṇa-kārya-sahakāriṇyevābhidhīyante, na vibhāvānubhāva-vyabhicāriṇaḥ*, p. 92.

[55] *sādhāraṇyena pratītaiḥ*, Mammaṭa.

[56] The *sthāyin* is so called because, though the feeling itself, like all feelings, essentially transient, its impression in the form of *vāsanā* or *saṁskāra* is more or less permanent, being called up when the *rasa* is cognised. Cf. *Prabhā* p. 61: *antaḥ-karaṇa-pravṛtti rūpasya ratyāder āśu-vināśatve'pi saṁskārātmanā cira-kāla-sthāyitvād yāvad-rasa-pratīti-kālam anusaṁdhānāc ca sthāyitvam.* But the *sthāyin* itself is not *rasa*; it must be *vyakti-viśiṣṭa-* and *vibhāvādi-melaka* and thus made relishable (*carvaṇopayogī*), Govinda, p. 62. The ultimate relish of *rasa* is free from all contact either of the *vibhāvas* or of the *sthāyin*.

[57] *mukuṭa-pratiśirṣakādinā tāvan naṭa-buddhir ācchādyate, gāḍha-prāktana-saṁvit-saṁskārāc ca kārya-balād ānīyamānāpi na tatra rāma-dhīr viśrāmyati, tata evobhaya-deśa-kāla-parityāgaḥ* Abh. as cited by Hemacandra, p. 66.

[58] *mamaite vibhāvādayaḥ aham eva rasāsvādayitā evam rītyā a-svādyamānaḥ*.

[59] *nitya pramātṛ-gatatvena sthito'pi sādhāraṇopāya-balāt tatkāla-vigalita-parimita-pramātṛ-bhāva-vaśonmiṣita-vedyāntara-saṁparka-śūnyāparimita-bhāvena pramātrā.... sādhāraṇyena svākāra ivābhinno'pi gocarīkṛtaḥ*, Mammaṭa.

this is roused when we read a poem which describe similar things. By universal sympathy we become part and parcel of the same feeling and imagine ourselves in that condition. Thus the feeling is raised to a state of relish, called *rasa*, in which lies the essence of poetic enjoyment. It will be noticed that these theorists presuppose latent impression of experience (*vāsanā*) and universal sympathy (*sādhāraṇya* or *sādhāraṇīkaraṇa*). Those who have never experienced the feeling of love, for instance, and have therefore no impression of experience left in them, as well as those who have no sense of community of human feelings can never relish *rasa* in poetry. The *vāsanā*, we are told, is natural (*svābhāvikī* or *naisargikī*), but it may be acquired by study and experience. The writers on Poetics, therefore, are merciless in their satire on dull grammarians and old Mīmāṁsakas, to whom such relish of *rasa* is denied, and they declare unanimously that *rasikā eva rasâsvāde yogyāḥ*. As *rasa* is not an objective entity which can reside in the hero or the actor, it is realised, as Dhanañjaya puts it (IV. 36), by the reader's own capacity of enjoyment. Thus a degree of culture and aesthetic instinct is demanded in the critic, the *rasika* or *sahṛdaya*, who is the *adhikārin*, dignified with the appellation of *pramātṛ*, compatible with this subtle and extraordinary conception of poetry. As Abhinavagupta puts it *adhikārī câtra vimala-pratibhānaśāli-hṛdayaḥ*; and elsewhere (*Locana*, p. 11) he describes such a *sahṛdaya* as *yeṣāṁ kāvyânuśilanâbhyāsa-vaśād viśadībhūte manomukure varṇanīya-tanmayī-bhavana-yogyatā te hṛdaya-saṁvad-bhājaḥ sahṛdayāḥ*.

It may also be pointed out that this subtle conception of *rasa* makes it difficult to express the notion properly in Western critical terminology. The word has been translated etymologically by the terms 'flavour,' 'relish,' 'gustation,' 'taste,' 'Geschmack' or 'saveur;' but none of these renderings seems to be adequate. The simpler word 'mood', or the term 'Stimmung' used by Jacobi, may be the nearest approach to it, but the concept has hardly any analogy in European critical theories. Most of the terms employed have ideational associations of their own, and are therefore not strictly applicable. For instance, the word 'taste' or 'relish,' though literally correct, must not be understood to imply aesthetic judgment, 'good or bad taste,' but mut be taken to indicate an idea similar to what we mean when we speak of tasting food. At the same time, this realistic description must not lead us to drag it down to the level of a bodily pleasure; for this artistic pleasure is given as almost

equivalent to the philosophic bliss, known as *ānanda*, being lifted above worldly joy.

This peculiar condition of the ego, the *rasa*, is realised through the characteristic function of *vyañjanā* or suggestion in poetry. The idea is elaborated by later theorists, who take pains to show that it does not come under the province of *abhidhā* (denotation), nor of *tātparya* (import), nor of *lakṣaṇā* (indication), nor of *pratyakṣa* (perception), nor of *anumāna* (inference), nor of *smaraṇa* (reminiscence), admitted by philosophers and grammarians. Into these technicalities which properly come under the discussion of the *vyañjanā-vṛtti*, we need not enter; but it may be noted that Abhinava describes this *abhivyakti*, which is taken as synonymous with *carvaṇā*,[70] as *vīta-vighna-pratīti* or cognition rendered free from obstacles. Following him, Jagannātha notes in this connexion: *vyaktiś ca bhagnâvaraṇā cit, yathā hi śarāvâdinā pihito dīpas tan-nivṛttau sannihitān padārthān prakāśayati, svayaṁ ca prakāśate, evam ātma-caitanyaṁ vibhāvâdi-saṁvalitān ratyâdīn.* Similarly *carvaṇā* is described by the author of the *Prabhā* as *vibhāvâdi-samūhâlambanena ratyavacchinna-caitanyâbhivyaktiś carvaṇā, sā ca bhagnâvaraṇā cit.* The cognition of *rasa*, therefore, is a distinct realisation freed from all doubts and obstacles by means of the *vibhāvas* etc., which are accordingly designated as *vighnâpasāraka*[71], and is variously described as *camatkāra-nirveśa* (awakening of poetic charm), *rasanā* (relish), *āsvāda* (taste), *bhoga* (fruition), *samapatti* (accomplishment), *laya* (fusion) and *viśrānti* (repose).[72]

The essence of *rasa*, therefore, consists in its *āsvāda* or *carvaṇā* (*carvyamāṇaika-prāṇaḥ*), which is *alaukika*, being incompassable by the ordinary processes of knowledge. It is a relish in which the *rasa* alone, apart from its constituent elements, is raised to consciousness; and it is therefore described as a relish in which the contemplation of any other thing but *rasa* itself is lost (*vigalita-vedyântara*) or which is free from the contact of aught else perceived (*vedyântara-sparśa-śūnya*), like the state of mind lost in the philosophic contemplation of Brahma. It is not capable of proof or designation and cannot be made known, because its

[70] *vyaktiś carvaṇeti paryāyaḥ*, Govinda, p. 62.

[71] See Hemacandra p. 63 *sarvathā rasanâtmaka-vīta-vighna-pratīti-grāhyo bhāva eva rasaḥ, tatra vighnâpasārakā vibhāva-prabhṛtayaḥ*, where the *vighnas* are enumerated as seven in number and discussed in detail.

[72] *loke sakala-vighna vinirmuktā saṁvittir eva camatkāra-nirveśa rasanâsvādana-bhoga samāpatti-laya-viśrāntyâdi-śabdair abhidhīyate*, Hemacandra *loc. cit.*, following Abhinava

perception is inseparable from its existence; or in other words, it is identical with the knowledge of itself.[73] The only proof of the existence of *rasa* is its relish itself by the *sahṛdaya*.[74] It is therefore *sakala-sahṛdaya-hṛdaya-saṁvedana-sākṣika*, or in the words of Mammaṭa, *sakala-sahṛdaya-saṁvādabhājā pramātrā gocarīkṛtaḥ*. Although it is a very intimate relish, *camatkāra* is supposed to constitute its life-breath. This *camatkāra*, which has been compared to the 'wonder-spirit' of modern critics, is described by Viśvanātha as a kind of expanding of the mind, of which another name is 'surprise' (*camatkāraś citta-vistāra-rūpo vismayâparaparyāyaḥ*), implying that the marvellous always underlies the *rasa* (*tac camatkāra-sāratve sarvatrâpyadbhuto rasaḥ*, under III. 3). Jagannātha, however, completes the idea by correlating this *camatkāra* with the *vaicitrya* or *vicchitti* of the Alaṁkāra School, who mean by it a special charm, due to an act of imagination on the part of the poet (*kavi-karma* or *kavipratibhā*) underlying and constituting the essence of all poetic figures.[75] The *camatkāra*, therefore, which is the essence of all poetic figures, is also the essence of *rasa*, and has been defined[76] as a fact of our consciousness (*anubhava-sākṣika*), consisting of extraordinary pleasure (*alaukikâhlāda*) which depends on a concept formed by continued contemplation of itself.

The last step in this idea was taken by the attempt of bringing Poetry to the level of Religion by likening this aesthetic enjoyment to the estatic bliss of divine contemplation (*brahmâsvāda*). Viśvanātha sums up the idea briefly thus: The *rasa*, arising from the exaltation of *sattva* (purity), indivisible, self-manifested, made up of joy and thought in their identity, free from the contact of aught else perceived, akin to the realisation of Brahma, the life whereof is super-mundane wonder, is enjoyed by those competent in inseparableness (of the object from the realisation thereof) and as it were, in its own shape.[77] It follows from this that the *pramātṛ*, to whom alone this bliss is vouchsafed, is like a *yogin* or devotee who deserves this preference through his accumulated merits (*puṇyavantaḥ pramiṇvanti yogivad rasa-santatim*).

This, in its general outlines, is the *rasa*-theory as finally fixed by the

[73] Viśvanātha, III. 20 [74] *Ibid* III. 26.

[75] See Jacobi, *Ueber Begriff und Wesen der poetischen Figuren* in *GN*, 1908, where this conception of an *alaṁkāra* is elaborated. See also Introd. to my edition of the *Vakroktijīvita*.

[76] *Rasa-gaṅgādhara*, p. 4, ed. Bombay, 1916.

[77] *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* III. 2-3, ed. Durgāprasāda, p. 22 ff.

Dhvani School; and all later writers, from Dhanañjaya to Jagannātha, accept this new interpretation and attempt to work it out in detail. Thus an endeavour was made not only to explain the concept of *rasa* in terms of inward experience, but also to absorb this idea of aesthetic delectation into the new theory of *dhvani*, and make it applicable to poetry; and the Rasa School, properly so called, began to merge from this time onwards into the dominant Dhvani School. Even Mahimabhaṭṭa, who attempted to demolish the *dhvani*-theory, was forced to acknowledge *rasa* and declare that on this point there is no difference of opinion between himself and the Dhvanikāra[78], the only difference existing with regard to the function *par excellence* which should be operative in poetry. But the Dhvani School and its followers consider *rasa* as an element of the unexpressed only; and though their theory, which puts a great emphasis on *rasa-dhvani*, practically leads to such a conclusion, both the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana are yet careful not to erect it into the very 'soul' of poetry. From the theoretical standpoint at least, they could not give exclusive preference to *rasa-dhvani*, however important it may be; for in their complete scheme of Poetics, the unexpressed may also take the form of *vastu-dhvani* and *alaṁkāra-dhvani*, and the centre of gravity in a poem may lie in its matter or in its poetic figure as well as in its *rasa*. Abhinavagupta, however, appears to have attached little weight to these theoretical considerations; and brushing them aside, he boldly brings forward the essentiality of *rasa*, declaring that there can be no poetry without *rasa* (*na hi tac-chūnyaṁ kāvyaṁ kiṁcid asti*[79]) because all poetry lives through *rasa* (*rasenaiva sarvaṁ jīvati kāvyam*). He attempts, however, to reconcile the theoretical discrepancy by saying that although admittedly the unexpressed may also take the form of a *vastu* or an *alaṁkāra*, these two kinds of 'suggestion' resolve themselves ultimately into the suggestion of *rasa*, which is in fact the essence of poetry.[80] This opinion apparently led Viśvanātha to push the theory to its logical limit and formulate his somewhat extreme view that the *rasa* alone constitutes the essence of poetry (I. 3). But the considerations, which led the founders of the *dhvani*-theory to leave this view wisely unstated, could not be easily put out of the way; and Jagannātha objects

[78] *kāvyasyātmani.... rasādirūpe na kasyacid vimatiḥ* p. 22.

[79] *Locana*, p. 65.

[80] *rasa eva vastuta ātmā, vastvalaṁkāra-dhvanī tu sarvathā rasaṁ prati paryavasyete*' p. 27.

on this very ground. The definition of poetry given by Viśvanātha, he says, cannot be accepted, because thereby poetry, in which the central charm lies in the matter or in the poetic figure (e.g. in professedly descriptive and ornamental poetry) would be entirely excluded, and such an exclusion is not warranted either by theory or by the practice of great poets. Viśvanātha anticipates this objection by saying that in these cases there is a semblance of *rasa* (*rasâbhāsa*), and the verse given in *Dhvanyâloka* p. 20 as an instance of *vastu-dhvani* is, in his opinion, admissible because there is a touch of rasa (*rasa-sparśa*), and not because mere *vyaṅgya vastu* can constitute the essence of poetry. Jagannātha replies that nothing is gained by this clumsy subterfuge of an indirect reference to *rasa*, because such a reference may also be construed in phrases like 'the cow moves' or 'the deer leaps.' This cannot be taken as a criterion, because thereby any and every content of poetry would be reduced to the position of a *vibhāva*, *anubhāva* or *vyabhicāri-bhāva* of the *rasa*[31]. Jagannātha himself, one of the latest writers on the subject, therefore tries solve the difficulty by studiously avoiding all mention of *rasa* in his definition of poetry, although in theory he, like Viśvanātha, adheres in the main to the views of the Dhvani School. Jagannātha mentions as many as eight different theories about *rasa* (p. 28); but the existence of so many conflicting views, as well as the fact that *rasa* cannot be taken as the essence of *all* poetry, makes him define poetry as *ramaṇīyârtha-pratipādakaḥ śabdaḥ*, inasmuch as all theorists agree that *rasa*, which cannot be manifested without an accompanying state of joy, conveys a peculiar *ramaṇīyatā* essential to poetry.[32] It will be noticed, therefore, that recognition was refused to any attempt, like that of Viśvanātha, to develop the theory further out of itself; and the views of the Dhvani School, as represented later by Mammaṭa, became in spite of many attempts at improvement in detail, a kind of canonical code for all future time.

In spite of this unquestioned dominance of the Dhvani School, which amply recognised *rasa* but regarded it as one of the phases of the unexpressed in poetry, one class of writers still adhered to *rasa* as the only element worth considering in poetry, although they never theoretic-

[31] See on this point *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, pp. 16 ff. and *Rasa-gaṅgādhara*, pp. 7–8. Cf. also Govinda, *Pradīpa* ed. Kāvyamālā 1912, p. 11.

[32] *ittham nānā-jātiyābhiḥ śemuṣībhir nānā-rūpatayâvasito'pi maniṣibhiḥ paramâhlādâvinābhāvitayā pratīyamānaḥ prapañce'smin raso ramaṇīyatām āvahatīti nirvivādam*, p. 29.

ally discussed the position like Viśvanātha, and build up a system on its basis. Of all the *rasas*, however, as *śṛṅgāra* or love forms the absorbing theme of Sanskrit poetry and drama in general, and as this particular poetic mood possesses an almost universal appeal, these writers naturally work out the *śṛṅgāra* in all its detail; and we have in consequence a body of erotico-rhetorical treatises, of which the earliest and the most remarkable is Rudrabhaṭṭa's *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka*, one of whose avowed objects (I. 5) is to apply the *rasa*, already discussed in connexion with the drama by Bharata and others, to the case of poetry. Following upon this we have Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*, cited by Vidyādhara (p. 98) and Kumārasvāmin (p. 221),[33] which deals with the subject in the usual elaborate cyclopaedic manner of its author, with profuse illustrations of every phase of the sentiment, in no less than twenty chapters. After this come innumerable works of a similar nature, which take *rasa*, especially *śṛṅgāra*, as their principal theme, and which were composed with the apparent object of guiding the poet in the composition of erotic pieces so popular and profuse in Sanskrit poetry. Of these the *Bhāva-prakāśa* of Śāradātanaya, which reproduces the substance of most of the chapters of Bhoja's work, and the *Rasârṇava* of Śiṅgabhūpāla as well as the two well-known works of Bhānudatta, the *Rasamañjarī* and *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī*, deserve mention. None of these specialised treatises, however, add anything of speculative interest to a topic already thrashed out to its extreme; and as they belong properly to the province of Erotics rather than Poetics, a treatment of them must be sought elsewhere. The simple idea elaborated more or less in all these works[34] is that the fundamental *rasa* is *śṛṅgāra*, which is consequently treated in detail with regard to its *vibhāvas* etc. This brings in topically the extensive discussion of *nāyaka* and *nāyikā* and their various conditions and emotions acting as a factor of the *rasa*. Into these elaborate definitions, distinc-

[33] A MS of this work has been recently acquired by the Madras Govt. Oriental MSS Library (see *Rep. of Peripatetic Party, 1916-7, 1918-9*).

[34] This is clear from the attitude of Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*, as reported by Vidyādhara and Kumārasvāmin, both of whom point out that Bhoja only accepts one *rasa*, the Erotic (*rājā tu śṛṅgāram ekam eva śṛṅgāra-prakāśe rasam uraricakāra*, *Ekāvalī*, p. 98; *śṛṅgāra eka eva rasa iti śṛṅgāraprakāśa-kāraḥ*, *Ratnāpaṇa*, p. 221). Although Bhoja mentions as many as ten *rasas* in his *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, he appears to devote almost exclusive attention to *śṛṅgāra* in his treatment. In the same way Rudrabhaṭṭa declares *śṛṅgāro nāyako rasaḥ*, I. 20, and Bhānudatta appears to take it for granted that *śṛṅgāra* occupies an honoured place among all the *rasas* (*tatra raseṣu śṛṅgārasyābhyarhitatvena*, ed. Benares, p. 21).

tions and classifications of the amorous sentiment with its varying emotional moods and situations, which these works industriously discuss and which always possessed an attraction to mediaeval scholastic minds, we need not enter here in the discussion of general principles. These theorists delight in arranging into divisions and subdivisions, according to rank, character, circumstances and the like, all conceivable types of the hero, the heroine and their adjuncts, together with the different shades of gestures, graces, feelings, moods and emotions, in conformity to the tradition which had already obtained in the sphere of Dramaturgy. We cannot refuse to recognise the subtle power of analysis and insight which these essays indicate; and although much of it is marked by scholastic formalism, there is an unmistakable attempt to do justice to facts, not only as they appear to experience but to the observation of general poetic usage. In the elaborate working out of the general thesis that the *rasa* is evolved on the basis on one or other of what they call the permanent mental moods with the help of various emotional adjuncts, the writers on poetics have proceeded a long way in the careful analysis of poetic emotions, the psychology of which bears an intimate relation to their theory and in itself deserves separate study.

A new turn was given to the theory by Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi*, which brings erotico-religious ideas to bear upon the general theme of *rasa*. It attempts to deal with *rasa* in terms of the Vaiṣṇava idea of *ujjvala* or *madhura rasa*, by which was meant the *śṛṅgāra rasa*, the term *ujjvala* being apparently suggested by Bharata's description of that *rasa*.[55] The *madhura rasa*, however, is represented not in its secular aspect but primarily as a phase of *bhakti-rasa* (*madhurâkhyo bhakti-rasaḥ* I. 3); for the Vaiṣṇava theology admits five *rasas* as forming roughly the five degrees or aspects of the realisation of *bhakti* or faith, viz. *śānta* (tranquillity), *dāsya* (also called *prīti*, servitude or humility), *sakhya* (also called *preyas*, friendship or equality), *vātsalya* (parental affection) and *mādhurya* (sweetness). The last, also called the *ujjvala rasa*, being the principal, is termed *bhakti-rasa-rāṭ*[56] and constitutes, as such, the subject-matter of the present treatise. *Kṛṣṇa-rati* or the love

[55] *yat kiṁcil loke śuci medhyam ujjvalaṁ darśanīyam vā tac chṛṅgāreṇôpamīyate*, ed. Grosset, pp. 89–90.

[56] I. 2, explained by Jīva Gosvāmin as *śānta-prīti-preyo-vātsalyôjjvala-nāmasu mukhyeṣu . . . . sa evôjjvalâpara-paryāyo bhakti-rasānām rājā madhurâkhyo rasaḥ*, ed. Kāvya-mālā, p. 3.

of Kṛṣṇa forms the *sthāyi-bhāva* of this *rasa*, and the recipient here is not the literary *sahṛdaya* but the *bhakta*, the faithful.[57] This *sthāyi-bhāva*, known as *madhurā rati*, which is the source of this particular *rasa*, is defined in terms of love of Kṛṣṇa[58]; and the nature of the *nāyaka* and *nāyikā* is defined in the same manner, and their feelings and emotions illustrated by examples adduced from poems dealing with the love-stories of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. The work is, therefore, essentially a Vaiṣṇava religious treatise, presented in a literary garb, taking Kṛṣṇa as the ideal hero, with the caution, however, that what is true of Kṛṣṇa as the hero does not apply to the ordinary secular hero (I. 18-20).

[57] *svādyatām hṛdi bhaktānām ānītā śravaṇādibhiḥ*
eṣā kṛṣṇa-ratiḥ sthāyī bhāvo bhakti-raso bhavet: cited by Jīva Gosvāmin, p. 4.

[58] *madhurākhyāyā rater lakṣaṇam cōktam*
mitho harer mṛgākṣyāś ca sambhogasyādikāraṇam
madhurāpara-paryāyā priyatākhyōditā ratiḥ, ibid, loc. cit.

N.B.—The word "School" used in this article to denote the different systems of Poetics, which emphasise respectively the *alaṁkāra-*, *rasa-*, *rīti-* or *dhvani-*theories, has been criticised as misleading; but it must be understood in a general sense. One has to admit so many mutual contaminations of the different systems that no particular system can be taken as self-standing or self-sufficient; and the word "School," therefore, as a term of classification becomes of doubtful significance. There is no evidence (except in case of Udbhaṭa and Vāmana who, we are told, founded schools in the true sense of the term) that the particular ideas of the *rasa-*, *alaṁkāra-*, *rīti-*, or even *dhvani-*systems were worked out in proper "schools," consciously or unconsciously founded by a great writer and supported by his followers; but it can hardly be doubted that these [illegible] possessed sharply differentiated central theories of their own, which, in spite of [illegible] and inevitable appropriations, had a tradition and a history, which naturally [illegible] them, to a certain extent, from one another. As a rule, each great writer took over from his predecessors those ideas which had stood the test of criticism and which he could combine in a self-consistent system of his own. In this way really valuable ideas have been generally adopted, although other ideas of the same author (as we see in the case of the *vakrōkti*-theory of Kuntala) have been rejected by common consent. But at the same time, one cannot mistake the fact that each writer conforms, in his fundamental principles, to some theory which throws into prominence the theory of *alaṁkāra*, *rasa*, *rīti*, or *dhvani*. One should say, for instance, that Abhinavagupta pays his allegiance in general to the *dhvani*-system of Ānandavardhana, although he acknowledges the importance of the *rasa* in poetry. The word "school" has been used in this sense to indicate affiliation to a group or system or theory; and if this is understood, the rest is merely a question of words.

APPENDIX.

[We give in the following pages the text of Abhinavagupta's unpublished commentary on Bharata ch. vi, with reference to his famous *sūtra* on *rasa* referred to in our article. The passage gives a learned summary of the various theories on *rasa* obtaining in Abhinava's time, and as such will prove acceptable to interested scholars. Most of it has been, as we have noticed, appropriated by Hemacandra in his commentary on his own *Kāvyânuśāsana* (p. 57f). Manuscripts of Abhinava's commentary are by no means plentiful; and so far, only two copies are known to be in existence, one of which is now in the Trivandrum Palace Library and the other in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. Our text is based on a Devanāgarī transcript procured for us by Dr. Gaṅgānāth Jhā, presumably from the Trivandrum MS. The text offered here, being based on such imperfect material, is indeed deficient and unsatisfactory in many places; but we have ventured to publish it in this tentative form not only out of a consideration of its importance but also with the expectation that better readings may be determined in future with the help of other and more correct MSS].

श्रीमदभिनवगुप्तविरचिता अभिनवभारती ।

भरतनाट्यशास्त्रे षष्ठाध्याये

(काव्यमाला, पः ६२, पं ६)

रसविषयलक्षणसूत्रमाह— विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्तिः[1] ।

अत्र भट्टलोल्लटप्रभृतयस्तावदेवं व्याचख्युः— विभावादिभिः संयोगोऽर्थात्स्थायिनस्ततो रसनिष्पत्तिः। तत्र विभावश्चित्तवृत्तेः स्थाय्यात्मिकाया उत्पत्तौ कारणम्। अनुभावाश्च न रसजन्या अत्र विवक्षिताः। तेषां रसकारणत्वेन गणनानर्हत्वात्। अपि तु भावानामेव येऽनुभावा व्यभिचारिणश्च [ते] चित्तवृत्त्यात्मकत्वाद्यद्यपि न सहभाविनः स्थायिना, तथापि वासनात्मतेह विवक्षिता। दृष्टान्तेऽपि (पः ६२, पं ७—८) व्यञ्जनादिमध्ये कस्यचिद्वासनात्मकता स्थायिवत्, अन्यस्योद्भूतता व्यभिचारिवत्। तेन स्थाय्येव विभावानुभावादिभिरुपचितो रसः, स्थायी भवत्वनुपचितः। स चोभयोऽप्यनुकार्येऽनुकर्तर्यपि [वि]चारानुसंधानबलादिति[2] चिरन्तनानामयमेव पक्षः। तथा हि दण्डिना-

[1] भरतनाट्यशास्त्रे ६ । ३२

[2] 'स चोभयोरपि मुख्यया वृत्त्या रामादावनुकार्येऽनुकर्तरि च नटे रामादिरूपतानुसंधानबलादिति'

ह्यलंकारलक्षणेऽप्यधायि—'रतिः शृङ्गारतां गता रूपबाहुल्ययोगेन'[3] इति, 'अधिरुह्य परां कोटिं कोपो रौद्रात्मतां गतः'[4] इत्यादि च।

एतन्नेति श्रीशङ्कुकः। विभावाद्ययोगे स्थायिनो लिङ्गाभावेनावगत्यनुपपत्तेः; भावानां पूर्वमभिधेयताप्रसङ्गात्; स्थितदशायां लक्षणान्तरवैयर्थ्यात्; मन्दतरतममाध्यस्थ्याद्यानन्त्यापत्तेः; हास्यरसे[5] षोढात्वाभावप्राप्तेः; कामावस्थासु दशस्वसंख्यरसभावादिप्रसङ्गात्; शोकस्य प्रथमतीव्रत्वं कालात्तु न मान्द्यदर्शनं, क्रोधोत्साहरतीनाममर्षस्थैर्यसेवाविपर्यये ह्रासदर्शनमिति विपर्ययस्य दृश्यमानत्वाच्च। तस्माद्धेतुभिर्विभावाख्यैः कार्यैश्चानुभावात्मभिः सहचारिरूपैश्च व्यभिचारिभिः प्रयत्नार्जिततया कृत्रिमैरपि तथानभिमन्यमानैरनुकर्तृस्थत्वेन लिङ्गबलतः प्रतीयमानः स्थायी भावो मुख्यरामादिगतस्थाय्यनुकरणरूपत्वादेव च नामान्तरेण व्यपदिष्टो रसः। विभावा हि काव्यबलादनुसंधेयाः, अनुभावाः शिक्षातः, व्यभिचारिणः कृत्रिमनिजानुभावार्जनबलात्। स्थायी तु काव्यबलादपि नानुसंधेयः। रतिः शोक इत्यादयो हि शब्दा रत्यादिकमभिधेयीकुर्वन्त्यभिधानत्वेन, न तु वाचिकाभिनयरूपतयावगमयन्ति। न हि वागेव वाचिकम्, अपि तु तया निर्वृत्तम्; अङ्गैरिवाङ्गिकम्। तेन—'वाडवेनेव जलधिः शोकः क्रोधेन पीयते'[6] इति। तथा—'शोकेन कृतस्तम्भस्तथा स्थितो योऽवस्थिताक्रन्दैः'[7] इत्येवमादौ न शोकोऽभिनेयोऽपि त्वभिधेयः। 'भाति पतितो लिखन्त्याः'[8] इत्यनेन तु वाक्येन स्वार्थमभिदधता उदयनगतः सुखात्मा रतिस्थायिभावोऽभिनीयते, न रूप्यते। अवगमनशक्तिर्ह्यभिनयनं वाचकत्वादन्या। अतएव स्थायिपदं सूत्रे भिन्नविभक्तिकमपि नोपात्तम्। तेन रतिरनुक्रियमाणा शृङ्गार इति तदात्मकत्वं तत्प्रभवत्वं च युक्तम्। अर्थक्रियापि मिथ्याज्ञानादृष्टा। न चात्र नर्तक एव सुखीति प्रतिपत्तिः, नाप्ययमेव राम इति। न चाप्ययं न सुखीति, न चापि तत्सदृश इति। किंतु यः सुखी रामोऽसावयमिति प्रतीतिरस्तीति। तदाह—

प्रतिभाति न सन्देहो न तत्त्वं न विपर्ययः।
धीरसावयमित्यस्ति नासावेवायमित्यपि॥

इत्येवं हेमचन्द्रकाव्यानुशासनवृत्तौ (पृ॰ ५७) एतद्विस्तरतो लभ्यते। प्रकृते 'विचारानुसन्धानबलात्' इति स्यात्।

[3] काव्यादर्शे २।२८१ [4] तत्रैव २।२८३ [5] नाट्यशास्त्रे ६।५१

[6] "विदग्धाशाप्यगाधोऽपि दुरन्तोऽपि महानपि" इत्यस्य पूर्वार्धं हेमचन्द्रे।

[7] अस्य पूर्वार्धमेतद् हेमचन्द्रे त्रुटितमेव प्रतीयते, उत्तरार्धं तु तत्र "हृदयस्फुटनभयार्तैरारादितुमभ्यर्थ्यते सचिवैः" इत्युपलभ्यते।

[8] "भाति पतितो लिखन्त्यास्तस्या बाष्पाम्बुशीकरकणौघः।
स्वेदोद्गम इव करतलसंस्पर्शादेष मे वपुषि॥" इति हेमचन्द्रे पूरितशेषोऽयं श्लोकः।

विरुद्धबुद्धिसंभेदादविवेचितसंप्लवः ।

युक्त्या पर्यनुयुज्येत स्फुरन्ननुभवः कया ॥ इति

तदिदमप्यन्तस्तत्त्वशून्यं विमर्दक्षममित्युपाध्यायः[१]।

तथा हि— अनुकरणरूपो रस इति यदुच्यते तत्किं सामाजिकप्रतीत्यभिप्रायेणोत नटाभिप्रायेण ? किं वा वस्तुवृत्तविवेचकव्याख्यातृबुद्धिसमवलम्बनेन, यथाऽऽर्व्याख्यातारः खल्वेवं विवेचयन्तीति। अथ भरतमुनिवचनानुसारेण तत्राद्यः पक्षोऽसङ्गतः। किंचिद्धि प्रमाणेनोपलब्धं तदनुकरणमिति शक्यं वक्तुम्। यथा— एवमसौ सुरां पिबतीति सुरापानानुकरणत्वेन पयःपानं प्रत्यक्षावलोकितं प्रतिभाति। इह च नटगतं किं तदुपलब्धं यदनुकरणतया भातीति चिन्त्यम्। तच्छरीरं तन्निष्ठं प्रतिशीर्षकादि रोमाञ्चगद्गदिकादि भुजाक्षेपवलनप्रभृति भ्रूक्षेपकटाक्षादिकं च न रतेश्चित्तवृत्तिरूपतयानुकारत्वेन कस्यचित् प्रतिभाति। जडत्वेन भिन्नेन्द्रियग्राह्यत्वेन भिन्नाधिकरणत्वेन च ततोऽतिवैलक्षण्यात्। मुख्यामुख्यावलोकने च तदनुकरणप्रतिभासो न च रामगतां रतिमुपलब्धपूर्विणः केचित्। एतेन रामानुकारी नट इत्यपि निरस्तः प्रवादः।

अथ नटगता चित्तवृत्तिरेव प्रतिपन्ना सती रत्यनुकारः शृङ्गार इत्युच्यते, तत्रापि किमात्मकत्वेन सा प्रतीयत इति चिन्त्यम्। ननु प्रमदादिभिः कारणैः कटाक्षादिभिः कार्यैर्धृत्यादिभिश्च सहचारिभिर्लिङ्गभूतैर्या लौकिकी कार्यरूपा कारणरूपा सहचारिरूपा च चित्तवृत्तिः प्रतीतियोग्या, तदात्मकत्वेन सा नटचित्तवृत्तिः प्रतिभाति। हन्त तर्हि रत्यादिकारणैव सा प्रतिपन्नेति दूरे रत्यनुकरणतावाचोयुक्तिः। ननु ते विभावादयोऽनुकार्ये पारमार्थिका इह त्वनुकर्तरि न तथेति विशेषः, अस्त्वेवम्। किंतु तर्हि विभावादयोऽतत्कारणतत्कार्यतत्सहचररूपा अनुकार्यशिक्षादिबलोपकल्पिताः कृत्रिमाः सन्तः किं कृत्रिमत्वेन सामाजिकैर्गृह्यन्ते, न वा ? यदि गृह्यन्ते, तदा तैः कथं रतेरवगतिः ? नन्वत एव तत्प्रतीयमानं रत्यनुकरणं बुद्धेः कारणम्, कारणान्तरप्रभवेषु हि कार्येषु शिक्षितेन न तथाज्ञाने वस्त्वन्तरस्यानुमानं तावद्युक्तम्। अस्तु, शिक्षितेन तु तस्यैव प्रसिद्धस्य कारणस्य तथा वृश्चिकविशेषाद्गोमयस्यैवानुमानम्, वृश्चिकस्यैव तत्परमिथ्याज्ञानम्। यत्रापि लिङ्गज्ञानं मिथ्या तत्रापि न तदभ्यासानुमानं युक्तम्। न हि बाष्पधूमत्वेन ज्ञानादनुकारप्रतिभासमानादपि लिङ्गात्तदनुकारानुमानं युक्तम्। धूमाकारत्वेन हि ज्ञायमानान्नीहाराग्न्याद्येऽनुकारजवापुष्पप्रतीतिर्दृष्टा। नन्वक्रुद्धोऽपि नटः क्रुद्ध इव भाति, सत्यम्। क्रुद्धेन सदृशः सादृश्यं च भ्रुकुट्यादिभिर्गौरिव गवयेन मुखादिभिरिति नैतावतानुकारः

[१] 'भट्टतोतः' इति हेमचन्द्रः।

कश्चित् । न चापि सामाजिकानां सादृश्यमतिरस्ति । सामाजिकानां च न भावशून्या नर्तके प्रतिपत्तिरित्युच्यते । अथ च तदनुकारप्रतिभास इति रिक्ता वाचोयुक्तिः । यच्चोक्तं रामोऽयमित्यस्ति प्रतिपत्तिः, तदपि यदि तदात्वेऽतिनिश्चितं तदुत्तरकालभाविबाधकवैधुर्याभावे कथं न तत्त्वज्ञानं स्यात् । बाधकसद्भावे वा कथं न मिथ्याज्ञानम् । वास्तवेन च वृत्तेन बाधकानुदयेऽपि मिथ्याज्ञानमेव स्यात् । तेन विरुद्धबुद्धिसंभेदादित्यसत् । नर्तकान्तरेऽपि च रामोऽयमिति प्रतिपत्तिरस्ति । ततश्च रामत्वं सामान्यरूपमित्यायातम् ।

यच्चोच्यते विभावाः कार्यादनुसंधीयन्ते तदपि न विद्मः । न हि ममेयं सीता काचिदित्यात्मीयत्वेन प्रतिपत्तिर्नटस्य । अथ सामाजिकस्य तथा प्रतीतियोग्याः क्रियन्त इत्येतदेवानुसंधानमुच्यते, तर्हि स्थायिनि सुतरामनुसंधानं स्यात् । तस्यैव मुख्यत्वेनास्मिन्नयमिति सामाजिकानां प्रतिपत्तिः । यस्तु "वाग्वाचिक"मित्यादिना भेदाभिधानसारः......च्छीनयाभिनयरूपताविवेकः कृतः, स उत्तरत्र स्वावसरे चर्चयिष्यते । तस्मात्सामाजिकप्रतीत्यनुसारेण स्थाय्यनुकरणं रस इत्यसत् । न चापि नटस्येत्थं प्रतिपत्तिः, रामं तच्चित्तवृत्तिं वानुकरोमीति । सदृशकरणं हि तावदनुकरणमनुपलब्धप्रकृतीनां न शक्यं कर्तुम् ।

अथ पश्चात्करणमनुकरणं तल्लोकेऽप्यनुकरणात्मिकेति प्रसक्ता । अथ न नियतस्य कस्यचिदनुकारोऽपि तूत्तमप्रकृतेः शोकमनुकरोति, तर्हि केनेति चिन्त्यम् । न तावच्छोकेन, तस्य तदभावात् । न चाश्रुपातादिना शोकस्यानुकारः, तद्वैलक्षण्यादित्युक्तम् । इयत्तु स्यादुत्तमप्रकृतेर्ये शोकानुभावास्ताननुकरोमीति । तथापि कस्योत्तमप्रकृतेः ? यस्य कस्यचिदि चेत्, सोऽपि विशिष्टतां विना कथं बुद्धावारोपयितुं शक्यः । य एवं रोदितीति चेत्, स्वात्मापि मध्ये नटस्यानुप्रविष्ट इति गलितोऽनुकार्यानुकर्तृभेदः । किं च, नटः शिक्षावशात्स्वविभावस्मरणाच्चित्तवृत्तिसाधारणीभावेन हृदयसंवादात् केवलानुभावान् प्रदर्शयन् काव्यसमुचितकाकुप्रभृत्युपस्कारेण पठंश्चेष्टत इत्येतावन्मात्रेऽस्य प्रतीतिं नत्वनुकारं वेदयते । कान्तवेषानुकारवद्धि न रामचेष्टितस्यानुकारः । एतच्च प्रथमाध्यायेऽपि दर्शितमस्माभिः । नापि वस्तुवृत्तानुसारेण तदनुसारत्वम्, अनुसंवेद्यमानस्य वस्तुवृत्तत्वानुपपत्तेः । यच्च वस्तुवृत्तं तद्दर्शयिष्यामः । न च मुनिवचनमेवंविधमस्ति क्वचित् स्थाय्यनुकरणं रस इति । नापि लिङ्गमत्रार्थं मुनेरुपलभ्यते । प्रत्युत ध्रुवगानतालवैचित्र्यलास्याङ्गोपजीवनं निरूपणादि विपर्यये लिङ्गमिति संध्यङ्गाध्यायान्ते वितनिष्यामः । सप्तद्वीपानुकरणमित्याद्यन्यथापि शक्यगमनिकमिति तदनुकारे विपचत्वनामान्तरं (?) कान्तवेषगत्यनुकरणादौ । यच्चोच्यते— वर्णकैर्हरितालादिभिः संयुज्यमान एव गौरित्यादि, तत्र यद्यभिव्यज्यमान इत्यर्थोऽभिप्रेतस्तदसत् । न हि सिन्दूरादिभिः पारमार्थिको

गौरिति व्यज्यते, प्रदीपादिभिरिव[10]। किं तु तत्सदृशः समूहविशेषो निर्वर्त्यते। तत्र हि सिन्दूरादयो गवावयवसंनिवेशसदृशेन संनिवेशविशेषेणावस्थिता गोसदृश इति प्रतिभासस्य विषयो नैवं विभावादिसमूहो रतिसदृशताप्रतिपत्तिग्राह्यः। तस्माद्भावानुकरणं रस इत्यसत्।

येन त्वभ्यधायि सुखदुःखजननशक्तियुक्ता विषयसामग्री बाह्यैव सांख्यदृशा सुखदुःखस्वभावो रसः, तस्यां च सामग्र्यां दलस्थानीया विभावाः संस्कारकाः, अनुभावव्यभिचारिणः स्थायिनस्तु तत्सामग्रीजन्या आन्तराः सुखदुःखस्वभावा इति तेन स्थायिभावानुरसत्वमित्यादावुपचार[11]मङ्गीकुर्वता ग्रन्थविरोधं स्वयमेव बुध्यमानेन दूषणाविष्करणमौर्ख्यात् प्रामाणिको जनः परिरक्षित इति किमस्योच्यते। यत्त्वयुक्तं नः प्रतीतिवैषम्यप्रसङ्गादि तत्किं यदत्रोच्यताम्।

भट्टनायकस्त्वाह—रसो न प्रतीयते, नोत्पद्यते, नाभिव्यज्यते। स्वगतत्वेन हि प्रतीतौ करुणे दुःखित्वं स्यात्। न च सा प्रतीतिर्युक्ता सीतादेरविभावत्वात्, स्वकान्तास्मृत्यसंवेदनात्, देवतादौ न साधारणीकरणायोग्यत्वात्, समुद्रलङ्घनादेरसाधारण्यात्। न च तत्त्वतो रामस्य स्मृतिः, अनुपलब्धत्वात्। न च शब्दानुमानादिभ्यस्तत्प्रतीतौ लोकस्य सरसता युक्ता। प्रत्यक्षादिव नायकयुगलकावभासे हि प्रत्युत लज्जाजुगुप्सास्पृहादिस्वोचितचित्तवृत्त्यन्तरोदयव्यग्रतया काश(?)रसत्वमपि स्यात्। तन्न प्रतीतिरनुभवस्मृत्यादिरूपा रसस्य युक्ता। उत्पत्तावपि तुल्यमेतद्दूषणम्। शक्तिरूपत्वेन पूर्वस्थितस्य पश्चादभिव्यक्तौ विषयार्जनतारतम्यापत्तिः। स्वगतत्वपरगतत्वादि च पूर्ववद्विकल्प्यम्। तस्मात्काव्ये दोषाभावगुणालंकारमयत्वलक्षणेन नाट्ये चतुर्विधाभिनयरूपेण निबिडनिजमोहसंकटनिवारणकारिणा विभावादिसाधारणीकरणात्मनाभिधातो द्वितीयेनांशेन भावकत्वव्यापारेण भाव्यमानो रसोऽनुभवस्मृत्यादिविलक्षणेन रजस्तमोऽनुवेधवैचित्र्यबलादतिविकासविस्तारलक्षणेन सत्त्वोद्रेकप्रकाशानन्दमयनिजसंविद्विश्रान्तिलक्षणेन परब्रह्मास्वादसविधेन भोगेन परं भुज्यत इति।[12]

तत्र पूर्वपक्षोऽयं भट्टलोल्लटपक्षानभ्युपगमादेव नाभ्युपगत इति तद्दूषणमनुत्थानोपगतमेव। प्रतीत्यादिव्यतिरिक्तश्च संसारे को भोग इति न विद्मः। रसनेति चेत्, साप्यत्र प्रतिपत्तिरेव; केवलमुपायवैलक्षण्यान्नामान्तरं प्रतिपद्यतां दर्शनानुमितिश्रुत्युपमितिप्रतिभानादिनामान्तरवत्। निष्पादनाभिव्यक्तिद्वयानभ्युपगमे च नित्यो वासद्वा रस इति

[10] 'प्रतिवादिभिः' इति दुष्टः पाठः।

[11] 'स्थायिभावान् रसत्वमुपनेष्याम इत्यादावुपचारः' इति हेमचन्द्रधृतः पाठः।

[12] काव्यालोकलोचने (पृः ६७-६८) एतन्मतव्याख्यानं दृश्यते।

न तृतीया गतिः स्यात्, न चाप्रतीतं वस्त्वस्ति व्यवहारे योग्यम्। अथोच्यते प्रतीतिरिति रसस्य भोगीकरणम्, तच्च रत्यादिस्वरूपम्, तदस्तु। तथापि न तावन्मात्रम्। यावन्तो हि रसास्तावन्त एव रसात्मनः प्रतीतयो भोगीकरणस्वभावाः। गुणानां चाङ्गाङ्गिवैचित्र्यमनन्तमकल्प्यमिति का त्रित्वेनेयत्ता।

भावनाभाव्य एषोऽपि शृङ्गारादिगणो मतः[13]।

इति। यत्काव्येन भाव्यन्ते रसा इत्युच्यते तत्र विभावादिजनितचर्वणात्मकास्वादरूपप्रत्ययगोचरतापादनमेव यदि भावनं तदभ्युपगम्यत एव। यदुक्तम्—

संवेदनाख्यव्यङ्ग्य[स्त] परसंवित्तिगोचरः।
आस्वादनात्मानुभावो रसः काव्यार्थ उच्यते॥

इति। तत्र व्यज्यमानतया व्यंग्यो लक्ष्यते। अनुभावेन च तद्विषय इति मन्तव्यम्। नन्वेवं कथं रसतत्त्वम्? आस्तां किं कुर्मः।

आम्नायसिद्धे किमपूर्वमेतत्
संविद्विकासेऽधिगतागमित्वम्।
इत्थं स्वयंग्राह्यमहार्हहेतु-
द्वन्द्वेन किं दूषयिता न लोकः॥
ऊर्ध्वोर्ध्वमारुह्य यदर्थतत्त्वं
धीः पश्यति श्रान्तिमवेदयन्ति।
फलं तदाद्यैः परिकल्पितानां
विवेकसोपानपरंपराणाम्॥
चित्रं निरालम्बनमेव मन्ये
प्रमेयसिद्धौ प्रथमावतारम्।
तन्मार्गलाभे सति सेतुबन्ध-
पुरप्रतिष्ठादि न विस्मयाय॥
तस्मात् सतामत्र न दूषितानि
मतानि तान्येव तु शोधितानि।

[13] अभिधा भावना चान्या तद्भोगीकृतमेव च।
अभिधाधामतां याते शब्दार्थालंकृती ततः॥
भावनाभाव्य एषोऽपि शृङ्गारादिगणो मतः।
तद्भोगीकृतरूपेण व्याप्यते सिद्धिमान्नरः॥
इति हेमचन्द्रधृतं भट्टनायककृतश्लोकद्वयम्।

पूर्वप्रतिष्ठापितयोजनासु
मूलप्रतिष्ठाफलमामनन्ति ॥

तदुच्यताम्—परिशुद्धतत्त्वमुक्तमेव मुनिना, न त्वपूर्वं किंचित्। तथा ह्याह—काव्यार्था भावयन्तीति तत् काव्यार्थो रसः। यथा हि—"रतीरासते तामसौ प्रादाद्" इत्यादौ अर्थितादिलक्षितस्याधिकारिणः प्रतिपत्ति मांत्रादिचिह्नत् (?) परोचितात् प्रथमप्रवृत्तादनन्तरमाधिकैवोपात्तकालतिरस्कारेणैव आस्ते। प्रददानीत्यादिरूपा संक्रमणादिस्वभावा। यथा दर्शनं प्रतिभावनादि विदध्युद्योगादि (?) भाषाभिर्व्यवहृता प्रतिपत्तिस्तथैव काव्यात्मकादपि शब्दादधिकारिणोऽधिकास्ति प्रतिपत्तिः। अधिकारी चात्र विमलप्रतिभानशालिहृदयः। तस्य च 'ग्रीवाभङ्गाभिरामम्'[14] इति 'उमापि नीलालक'[15] इति 'हरस्तु किंचित्'[16] इत्यादिवाक्येभ्यो वाक्यार्थप्रतीतेरनन्तरं मानसीसाक्षात्कारात्मिका अपहस्तिततद्वाक्योपात्तकालादिविभागात्प्रतीतिरुपजायते। तस्यां च यो मृगपोतकादिर्भाति तस्य विशेषरूपत्वाद्भीत इति ग्राहकस्यापारमार्थिकत्वाद्भयमेव परं देशकालाद्यनालिङ्गितम्। ततएव भीतोऽहं भीतोऽयं शत्रुर्वयस्यो मध्यस्थो वेत्यादिप्रत्ययेभ्यो दुःखसुखादिकृतहानादिबुद्ध्यन्तरोदयनियमवत्तया विघ्नबहुलेभ्यो विलक्षणं निर्विघ्नप्रतीतिग्राह्यं साक्षादिव हृदये निवेश्यमानं चक्षुषोरिव विपरिवर्तमानं भयानको रसः। तथाविधे हि भये नात्मा तिरस्कृतो निर्विशेषत उल्लिखितः। एवं परोऽपि। ततएव न परिमितमेव साधारण्यमपि तु विततम्। व्याप्तिग्रह इव धूमाग्न्योर्भयकम्पयोरेव वा। तदत्र साक्षात्कारायमाणत्वपोषिका नटादिसामग्री। यस्यां वस्तुसतां काव्यार्पितानां च देशकालप्रमात्रादीनां नियमहेतूनामन्योन्यसंबन्धबलादत्यन्तमपसरणे स एव च साधारणीभावः सुतरां पुष्यति। अतएव सर्वसामाजिकानामेकघनतैव प्रतिपत्तेः सुतरां रसपरितोषाय सर्वेषामनादिवासनाचित्रीकृतचेतसां वासनासंवादात्।

सा चाविघ्ना संविच्चमत्कारः, तज्जोऽपि कम्पपुलकोल्लसनादिविकारश्चमत्कारः। यथा

अज्ज विहरी चमक्काइ काहकाह वि ण मंदरेण कलिआइं।
चंदकलाकंदलसच्छभाइं लच्छीइ अंगाइं ॥

तथाहि—स चाटप्तिव्यतिरेकेणाच्छिन्नो भोगावेश इत्युच्यते। भुञ्जानस्याद्भुतो भोगस्पन्दाविष्टस्य च मनःकरणं चमत्कार इति। स च साक्षात्कारस्वभावो मानसाध्यवसायो वा संकल्पो वा स्मृतिर्वा तथात्वेनास्फुरत्वस्तु। यदाह

रम्याणि वीक्ष्य मधुरांश्च निशम्य शब्दान्
पर्युत्सुको भवति यत्सुखितोऽपि जन्तुः।

[14] अभिज्ञानशकुन्तले १।७ [15] कुमारसम्भवे ३।६२ [16] तत्रैव ३।६७

तच्चेतसा स्मरति नूनमबोधपूर्वं
भावस्थितानि जननान्तरसौहृदानि ॥[17]

इत्यादि सर्वथा तावदेषा प्रतीतिरास्वादात्मा, यस्यां रतिरेव भाति। अतएव विशेषान्तरानुपहितत्वात् सा रसनीया सती न लौकिकीति, न मिथ्या, नानिर्वाच्या, न लौकिकतुल्या, न तदारोपादिरूपा। तथैव चोपचयावस्थासु देशाद्यनियन्त्रणात्। अनुकारोऽप्यनुभावानुगामितया करणात्। विषयसामग्र्यमपि भवतु विज्ञानवादावलम्बनात्।

सर्वथा रसनात्मकवीतविघ्नप्रतीतिग्राह्यो भाव एव रसः। तत्र विघ्नापसारका विभावप्रभृतयः। तथा हि लोके सकलविघ्नविनिर्मुक्ता संवित्तिरेव चमत्कारनिर्वेशरसनास्वादनभोगसमापत्तिलयविश्रान्त्यादिशब्दैरभिधीयते। विघ्नाश्चास्यां प्रतिपत्तावयोग्यता संभावनाविरहो नाम, स्वगतत्वपरगतत्वनियमेन देशकालविशेषावेशः, निजसुखादिविवशीभावः, प्रतीत्युपायवैकल्यम्, स्फुटत्वाभावः, अप्रधानता, संशययोगश्च। तथाहि—संवेद्यमसंभावयमानः संवेद्ये संविदं निवेशयितुं न शक्नोति। का तत्र विश्रान्तिरिति प्रथमो विघ्नः। तदपसारणे हृदयसंवादो लोकसामान्यवस्तुविषयः। अलोकसामान्येषु चेष्टितेषु अखण्डितप्रसिद्धिजनितगाढारूढप्रत्ययप्रसरकारिप्रख्यातरामादिनामधेयपरिग्रहः। अतएव निःसामान्योत्कर्षेऽपि देशव्युत्पत्तिप्रयोजने नाटकादौ प्रख्यातवस्तुविषयत्वादिनियमेन निरूपयिष्यते। न तु प्रहसनादेव(?) तत्र स्वावसर एव वक्ष्याम इत्यास्तां तावत्।

स्वैकगतानां च सुखदुःखसंविदामास्वादे यथासंभवं तदपगमभीरुतया वा तत्परिरक्षाव्यग्रतया वा तत्सदृशार्जिजीषया वा तज्जिहासया वा तत्प्रचिख्यापयिषया वा तद्गोपनेच्छया वा प्रकारान्तरेण वा संवेदनान्तरसमुद्गम एव परमो विघ्नः। परगतत्वनियमभाजामपि सुखदुःखानां संवेदने नियमेन स्वात्मनि सुखदुःखमोहमाध्यस्थ्यादिसंविदन्तरोद्गमनसंभावनादवश्यंभावी विघ्नः। तदपकरणे "कार्यो नातिप्रसंगोऽत्रे"त्यादिना पूर्वरङ्गानिगूहनेन प्रस्तावनालोकनेन च यो नटरूपताधिगमस्तत्पुरःसरः प्रतिशीर्षकादिना तत्प्रच्छादनप्रकारोऽभ्युपायः, अलौकिकभाषादिभेदलास्याङ्गरङ्गपीठमण्डपगतकक्ष्यादिपरिग्रहनाट्यधर्मसहितः। तस्मिन् हि तस्यैवात्रैव एतस्यैव च सुखदुःखं चेति न भवति, प्रतीतिस्वरूपस्य निह्नवाद्रूपान्तरस्य चारोपितस्य प्रतिभासंधिविश्रान्तिवैकल्येन स्वरूपे विश्रान्त्यभावात्। सत्यम्, तदीयरूपनिह्नवमात्र एव पर्यवसानात्। तथाह्यासीनपाठ्यपुष्पगण्डिकादि* लोके न दृष्टम्। न च तत्र किंचित्कथंचित्संभाव्यत्वादिति स एव सर्वो

[17] अभिज्ञानशकुन्तले ५ । १०४ । 'भावस्थिराणि' इति प्रसिद्धः पाठः ।

* भरतनाट्यशास्त्रे १८ । १३० ; दशरूपके ३ । ४७-४८ ; साहित्यदर्पणे ६ । २१२ ।

मुनिना साधारणीभावसिद्धरसचर्वणोपयोगित्वेन परिकरबन्धः समाश्रित इति तत्रैव स्फुटीभविष्यतीति तदिह तावन्नोन्नमनीयम् । ततः स एष स्वपरनियतता विघ्नापसरणप्रकारो व्याख्यातः ।

निजसुखादिविवशीभूतश्च कथं वस्त्वन्तरे संविदं विश्रमयेदिति तत्प्रत्यूहव्यपोहनाय प्रतिपदार्थनिष्ठैः साधारण्यमहिम्ना सकलभोग्यत्वसहिष्णुभिः शब्दादिविषयमयैरातोद्यगानविचित्रमण्डपपदविदग्धगणिकादिभिरुपरञ्जनं समाश्रितम् । येनाहृदयोऽपि हृदयवैमल्यप्राप्त्या सहृदयीक्रियते । उक्तं हि दृश्यं श्रव्यं चेति । किं च— प्रतीत्युपायानामभावे कथं प्रतीतिं स्फुटयतीति तत्कारिशब्दलिङ्गसंभवेऽपि न प्रतीतिर्विश्राम्यति, स्फुटप्रतीतिरूपप्रत्यक्षोचितप्रत्ययसाकाङ्क्षत्वात् । यथाहुः— ‘सर्वा चेयं प्रमितिः प्रत्यक्षपरा’ इति । स्वसाक्षात्कृते आगमानुमानशतैरपि अनन्यथाभावस्य स्वसंवेदनात्, अलातचक्रादौ साक्षात्कारान्तरेणैव बलवता तदवधारणादिति लौकिकस्तावदयं क्रमः । तस्मात्तदुभयविघ्नविघातेऽभिनयबोधकधर्मिवृत्तिप्रवृत्त्युपस्कृताः समभिषिच्यन्ते । अभिनयनं हि सशब्दलिङ्गव्यापारविसदृशमेव प्रत्यक्षव्यापारकल्पमिति निवेदयामः ।

अप्रधाने च वस्तुनि कस्य संविद्विश्राम्यति, तस्यैव प्रत्ययस्य प्रधानान्तरं प्रत्यनुधावतः स्वात्मनि विश्राम्यत्वात् । अतोऽप्रधानत्वं जडे विभावानुभाववर्गे व्यभिचारिनिचये च संविदात्मकेऽपि नियमेन नान्यसुखप्रेक्षिणि[13] संभवतीति तदतिरिक्तः स्थाय्येव । तथा च चर्वणापात्रं तत्र पुरुषार्थनिष्ठाः काश्चित् संविद इति प्रधानम् । तद्यथा— रतिः कामतदनुषङ्गिधर्मार्थनिष्ठा, क्रोधस्तत्प्रधानेष्वर्थनिष्ठः, कामधर्मपर्यवसितोऽप्युत्साहः, समस्तधर्मादिपर्यवसितस्तत्त्वज्ञानजनितनिर्वेदप्रायविभावो मोक्षोपाय इति तावदेषां प्राधान्यम् । यद्यपि चैषामप्यन्योन्यं गुणभावोऽस्ति तथापि तत्प्रधाने रूपके तत्तत्प्रधानं संभवतीति रूपकभेदपर्यायेण सर्वेषां प्राधान्यमेषां लक्ष्यते । आदूरभागादिनिविष्टदृशा त्वेकस्मिन्नपि रूपके पृथक् प्राधान्यम् । तत्र सर्वेऽमी सुखप्रधानाः, स्वसंविच्चर्वणारूपस्यैकघनस्य प्रकाशस्यानन्दसारत्वात् ।

तथा ह्येकघनशोकसंविच्चर्वणेऽपि लोके स्त्रीलोकस्य हृदयविश्रान्तिरन्तरायशून्यविश्रान्तिशरीरत्वादविश्रान्तिरूपतैव दुःखम् । तत एव कापिलैर्दुःखस्य चाञ्चल्यमेव प्राणत्वेनोक्तम्, रजोवृत्तितां वदद्भिरित्यानन्दरूपता सर्वरसानाम्, किं तूपरञ्जकविषयवशात्तेषामपि कटुः किं नास्ति स्पर्शो वीरस्य । स हि क्लेशसहिष्णुतादिप्राण एव । एवं रत्यादीनां प्राधान्यम् । हासादीनां तु सातिशयम् सकललोकसुलभविभावतयोपरञ्जकत्वमिति प्राधान्यम् । अतएवानुत्तमप्रकृतिषु हासादयो बाहुल्येन भवन्ति । पामरप्रायः

[13] नान्यमुखप्रेक्षिणि इति पाठो मूलपुस्तके ।

सर्वोऽपि हसति शोचति परनिन्दामाद्रियते, स्वल्पसुभाषितत्वेन च सर्वत्र विस्मयते। रत्याद्यङ्गतया तु पुमर्थोपयोगित्वमपि स्यादेषाम्। एतद्गुणप्रधानभावकृत एव च दशरूपकादिभेद इति वक्ष्यामः। स्थायित्वं चैतावतामेव। अतएव हि जन्तुरियतीभिः संविद्भिः परीतो भवति। तथा हि—"दुःखसंश्लेषविद्वेषी सुखास्वादनसादरः" इति न्यायेन सर्वो रिरंसया व्याप्तः। स्वात्मन्युत्कर्षमानितया परमुपहसन्नभीष्टवियोगसंतप्तस्तद्धेतुषु कोपपरवशोऽशक्त[तया]। च ततो भीरुः, किंचिज्जिगीषुरपि जितवस्तुविषयवैमुख्यात्मकतयाक्रान्तः, किंचिदनभीष्टतयाभिमन्यमानस्तत्तत्स्वकर्तव्यदर्शनसमुदितविस्मयः किंचिच्च जिहासुरेव जायते[19]। न ह्येतच्चित्तवृत्तिवासनाशून्यः प्राणी भवति। केवलं कस्यचित्काचिदधिका चित्तवृत्तिः काचिदूना, कस्यचिदुचितविषयनियन्त्रिता कस्यचिदन्यथा। तत्काचिदेव पुमर्थोपयोगिनीत्युपदेश्या। तद्विभावकृतश्चोत्तमप्रकृत्यादिव्यवहारः।

ये पुनरमी ग्लानिशङ्काप्रभृतयश्चित्तवृत्तिविशेषास्ते समुचितविभावाज्जन्मध्येऽपि न भवन्त्येव। तथा हि—रसायनमुपयुक्तवतो मुनेर्ग्लान्यालस्यश्रमप्रभृतयो नोत्तिष्ठन्ति। यस्यापि वा भवन्ति विभावबलात्तस्यापि हेतुप्रक्षये क्षीयमाणाः संस्कारशेषतां नावश्यमनुबध्नन्ति। उत्साहादयस्तु संपादितस्वकर्तव्यतया प्रलीनकल्पा अपि संस्कारशेषतां नातिवर्तन्ते, कर्तव्यान्तरविषयस्योत्साहादेरखण्डनात्। यथा पतञ्जलिः—"न हि चैत्र एकस्यां स्त्रियां रक्त इत्यन्यासु विरक्तः" इत्यादि। तस्मात्स्थायिरूपचित्तवृत्तिसूत्रस्यूता एवामी व्यभिचारिणः। स्वात्मानमुदयास्तमयवैचित्र्यशतसहस्रधर्माणं प्रतिलभमाना रक्तनीलादिसूत्रस्यूतविरलभावो......मनासंभावितभङ्गीसहस्रगर्भस्फाटिककाचाभ्रपद्मरागमरकतमहानीलादिमयगोलकादिवत्तस्मिन् सूत्रे संस्कारवैचित्र्यमभिनिवेशयन्तोऽपि तत्सूत्रकृतमुपकारसंदर्भं विभुतमः(?) स्वयं च विचित्रार्थस्थायिसूत्रं विचित्रयन्तोऽन्तरान्तरा शुद्धमपि स्थायिसूत्रं प्रतिभासावकाशमुपनयन्तोऽपि पूर्वापरव्यभिचारिरत्नच्छायाशबलिमानमवश्यमानयन्तः प्रतिभासन्त इति व्यभिचारिण उच्यन्ते। तथा हि—ग्लानोऽयमित्युक्ते कुत इति हेतुप्रश्ने स्थायितास्य सूच्यते, न तु राम उत्साहशक्तिमानित्यत्र हेतुप्रश्नमाहुः। अतएव विभावास्तत्रोद्बोधकाः सन्तः स्वरूपोपरञ्जकं विदधाना इत्युत्साहादेरुचितानुचितत्वमात्रमावहन्ति। न तु तदभावे सर्वथैव ते निरुपाख्याः, वासनात्मना सर्वजन्तूनां तन्मयत्वे-

[19] "स्वात्मन्युत्कर्षमानितया परमुपहसति। उत्कर्षापायशङ्कया शोचति। अपायं प्रति क्रुध्यति। अपायहेतुपरिहारे समुत्सहते। विनिपाताद्बिभेति। किंचिदयुक्ततयाभिमन्यमानो जुगुप्सते। ततश्च परकर्तव्यवैचित्र्यदर्शनाद्विस्मयते। किंचिज्जिहासुश्च वैराग्यात्प्रशमं भजते" इत्येवं हेमचन्द्रेणोपन्यस्तम् (पृ: ८३)।

नोक्तत्वात् । व्यभिचारिणां तु स्वविभावाभावे नामापि नास्तीति वितनिष्यते चैतद्यथायोगं व्याख्यावसरे । एवमप्रधानत्वनिरासः । स्थायिनिरूपणायाः स्थायिभावात्तसत्त्वमित्यनया सामान्यलक्षणशेषभूतया विशेषलक्षणनिष्ठया च कृतः ।

तत्रानुभावानां विभावानां व्यभिचारिणां च पृथक् स्थायिनियमो नास्ति, बाष्पादेरानन्दार्तिरोगादिजत्वदर्शनात्, व्याघ्रादेश्च क्रोधभयादिहेतुत्वात्, श्रमचिन्तादेरुत्साहभयाद्यनेकसहचरत्वावलोकनात् । सामग्री वा तु न व्यभिचारिणी । तथा हि—बन्धुविनाशो यत्र विभावः परिदेविताश्रुपातादिस्त्वनुभावश्चिन्तादैन्यादिश्च व्यभिचारी, सोऽवश्यं शोक एवेत्येवं संशयोदयशङ्कात्मकविघ्नप्रशमनाय संयोग उपात्तः । तत्र लोकव्यवहारे कार्यकारणसहचारात्मकलिङ्गदर्शने स्थाय्यात्मपरचित्तवृत्त्यनुमानाभ्यासपाटवादधुना तैरेवोद्यानकटाक्षधृत्यादिभिर्लौकिकीं कारणत्वादिभुवमतिक्रान्तैर्विभावनानुभवनसमुपरञ्जकत्वप्राणैरत एवालौकिकविभावादिव्यपदेशभागिभिः प्राच्यकारणादिरूपसंस्कारोपजीवनाख्यापनाय विभावादिनामधेयव्यपदेश्यैर्भावाध्यायेऽपि वक्ष्यमाणस्वरूपभेदैर्गुणप्रधानतापर्यायेण सामाजिकधियि सम्यग्योगसंबन्धमैकाग्र्यं वासादितवद्भिरलौकिकनिर्विघ्नसंवेदनात्मकचर्वणागोचरतां नीतोऽर्थश्चर्व्यमाणैकसारो न तु सिद्धस्वभावस्तात्कालिक एव, न तु चर्वणातिरिक्तकालावलम्बी स्थायिविलक्षण एव रसः ।

ननु शङ्कुकादिभिरभ्यधीयत—स्थाय्येव विभावादिप्रत्ययारभ्यमाणत्वाद्रस उच्यते । इत्येवं हि लौकिकेऽपि किं न रसः । असतोऽपि हि यत्र रसनीयता स्यात्तत्र वस्तुसतः कथं न भविष्यति । तेन स्थायिप्रतीतिरनुमितिरूपाप्राप्ता न रसः । अतएव सूत्रे स्थायिग्रहणं न कृतम् । तत्प्रत्युत शल्यभूतं स्यात् । केवलमौचित्यादेवमुच्यते—स्थायी रसीभूत इति । औचित्यं तु तत्स्थायिगतत्वेन कारणादितया प्रसिद्धानामधुना चर्वणोपयोगितया विभावादित्वादिलम्बनात् । तथा हि—लौकिकचित्तवृत्त्यनुमाने का रसता । तेनालौकिकचमत्कारात्मा रसास्वादः स्मृत्यनुमानलौकिकस्वसंवेदनविलक्षण एव । तथा हि लौकिकेनानुमानेन संस्कृतः प्रमदादिर्न ताटस्थ्येन प्रतिपद्यते, अपि तु हृदयसंवादात्मकसहृदयत्वबलात्पूर्णीभविष्यद्रसास्वादाङ्कुरीभावेनानुमानस्मृत्यादिसोपानमनारुह्यैव तन्मयीभावोचितचर्वणाप्राणतया । न च सा चर्वणा प्रार्थ्यमानान्तराद्येनाधुना स्मृतिः स्यात् । न चात्र लौकिकप्रत्यक्षादिप्रमाणव्यापारः । किं चालौकिकविभावादिसंयोगेन बलोपनतैवेयं चर्वणा । सा च प्रत्यक्षानुमानागमोपमानादिलौकिकप्रमाणजनितरत्याद्यवबोधतस्तथा-योगिप्रत्यक्षजनितपरसंवित्तिज्ञानात् सकलवैषयिकोपरागशून्यशुद्धपरयोगिगतस्वानन्दैकरसनानुभवाच्च विशिष्यते । एतासां यथायोगमर्जनादिविघ्नान्तरोदयात्ताटस्थ्यास्फुटत्वं

विषयावेशवैवश्यं च सौन्दर्यविरहात्। अत्र तु स्वात्मैकगतत्वनियमासंभवात्स्वानुप्रवेशात्परगतत्वनियमाभावात्तद्विभावादिसाधारण्यसंप्रबुद्धोचितनिजरत्यादिवासनावेशवशाच्च न विघ्नान्तरादीनां संभव इत्यवोचमबहुशः। अतएव विभावादयो न निष्पत्तिहेतवो रसस्य, तद्बोधापगमेऽपि रससंभवात्। नापि ज्ञप्तिहेतवो येन प्रमाणमध्ये पतेयुः, सिद्धस्य कस्यचित्प्रमेयभूतस्य रसस्याभावात्। किं तर्ह्येतद्विभावादय इति, अलौकिक एवायं चर्वणोपयोगी विभावादिव्यवहारः। क्वान्यत्रेत्थं दृष्टमिति चेद्भूषणमेतदस्माकमलौकिकत्वसिद्धेः। पानकरसास्वादोऽपि किं गुडमरिचादिषु दृष्ट इति समानमेतत्।

नन्वेवं रसोऽप्रमेयः स्यात्, एवं युक्तं भवितुमर्हति—रस्यतैकप्राणो ह्यसौ, न प्रमेयादिस्वभावः। तर्हि सूत्रे निष्पत्तिरिति कथम्? नेयं रसस्य, अपि तु तद्विषयरसनायाः। तन्निष्पत्त्या तु यदि तदेकायत्तजीवितस्य रसस्य निष्पत्तिरुच्यते तेन न क्वचिदत्र दोषः। सा च रसना न प्रमाणव्यापारो न कारकव्यापारः। स्वयं तु नाप्रामाणिका स्वसंवेदनसिद्धत्वात्। रसना बोधरूपैव किं तु बोधान्तरेभ्यो विलक्षणैव, उपायानां विभावादीनां लौकिकवैलक्षण्यात्। तेन विभावादिसंयोगाद्रसना यतो निष्पद्यते ततस्तथाविधरसनागोचरो लौकिकोत्तरोऽर्थो रस इति तात्पर्यम्। सूत्रस्यायमत्र संक्षेपः—मुकुटप्रतिशीर्षकादिना तावन्नटबुद्धिराच्छाद्यते। गाढप्राक्तनसंवित्संस्काराच्च काव्यबलादानीयमानापि न तत्र रामधीर्विश्राम्यति। अतएवोभयदेशकालत्यागः। रोमाञ्चादयश्च भूयसा रतिप्रतीतिकारितया दृष्टास्तत्रापि लौकिकाः देशकालानियमेन रतिं गमयन्ति। यस्यां स्वात्मापि तद्वासनावत्त्वादनुप्रविष्टः। अतएव न तटस्थतया रत्यवगमः। न च नियतकारणतया, येनार्जनाभिषङ्गादिसंभावना। न च नियतपरात्मैकगतया, येन दुःखद्वेषाद्युदयः। तेन साधारणीभूता संतानवृत्तेरेकस्या एव वा संविदो गोचरीभूता रतिः शृङ्गारः। साधारणीभावना च विभावादिभिरिति।

तत्र विभावप्राधान्यं [यथा]—

केलीकन्दलितस्य विभ्रममधो धुर्यं वपुस्ते दृशौ
भङ्गीभङ्गुरकामकार्मुकमिदं भ्रूनर्मकर्मक्रमः।
आपातेऽपि विकारकारणमहो वक्त्राम्बुजन्मासवः
सत्यं सुन्दरि वेधसस्त्रिजगतीसारं त्वमेका कृतिः॥[40]

अत्र च विभावकृतं सौन्दर्यं प्राधान्येन भाति। तदनुगतत्वेन केलीविभ्रमभङ्गुरनर्मवचोमहिम्ना चानुभाववर्गो भङ्गिक्रमविकारादिशब्दबलाच्च व्यभिचारिवर्गः प्रतिभातीत्यत एव नास्फुटत्वाशङ्का च रत्यास्वादमये शृङ्गारे।

[40] हेमचन्द्रकाव्यानुशासने (पृ॰ ९९)।

विधेयानुभावप्राधान्यं—यथा शुद्धसारस्वतप्रवाहपवित्रसकलवाङ्मयमहार्णवपूर्णभावसंपादनद्विजराजस्येन्दुराजस्य

[21] यद्विश्रम्य विलोकितेषु बहुशो निःस्थेमनी लोचने
यद्गात्राणि दरिद्रति प्रतिदिनं लूनाब्जिनीनालवत्।
दूर्वाकाण्डविडम्बकश्च निबिडो यत्पाण्डिमा गण्डयोः
कृष्णे यूनि सयौवनासु वनितास्वेषैव वेषस्थितिः॥

अत्र विश्रम्येति बहुश इति प्रतिदिनमिति च पदसमर्पिता व्यभिचारिणः कृष्ण इति पदार्पितस्य विभावो गुणत्वेन प्रतिभासते। विश्रान्तिलक्षणस्तम्भविलोकनवैचित्र्यगात्रतानवतारतम्यपुलकवैवर्ण्यप्रभृतिस्त्वनुभावसंचयः।

व्यभिचारिणां तु प्राधान्यं यद्विभावानुभावप्राधान्यकृतं तत्राद्यं यथा, महाकवेः कलशकस्य

आत्तमात्तमधिकान्तमुज्झितं
कातरा शफरशङ्किनी जहौ।
अञ्जली जलमधीरलोचना
लोचनप्रतिशरीरलाञ्छितम्॥[22]

इत्यत्र सुकुमारप्रमदाजनभूषणभूतस्य व्यभिचारिवर्गस्य वितर्कत्रासशङ्कादेः प्राधान्यम्। तद्विभावानां प्राधान्यादिसौन्दर्यातिशयकृतादात्तमित्याद्यर्पितानुभावस्तु तदनुयायी। एवं द्वयप्राधान्ये चोदाहार्यम्, किंतु समप्राधान्य एव रसास्वादस्योत्कर्षः। तच्च प्रबन्ध एव भवति, वस्तुतस्तु दशरूपक एव। यदाह वामनः—"सन्दर्भेषु दशरूपकं श्रेयः[23] तद्धि चित्रं चित्रपटवद्विशेषसाकल्यात्" इति। तद्रूपसमर्पणया तु प्रबन्धे भाषावेशप्रकृत्यौचित्यादिकल्पनात्। तद्रूपजीवनेन मुक्तके। तथा च तत्र सहृदयाः पूर्वापरमुचितं परिकल्प्य ईदृगत्र वक्तास्मिन्नवसर इत्यादि बहुतरं पीठबन्धरूपं विदधते। तेन ये काव्याभ्यासप्राक्तनपुण्यादिहेतुबलादिति सहृदयाः, तेषां परिमितविभावाद्युन्मीलनेऽपि परिस्फुट एव साक्षात्कारकल्पनः काव्यार्थः स्फुरति। अतएव तेषां काव्यमेव प्रीतिव्युत्पत्तिकृत्, अनपेक्षितनाट्यमपि। तेषां तु नाट्यं "निपतिताः स्फुरिताः शशिरश्मयः" इति न्यायेन सुतरां निर्मलीकरणम्। असहृदयानां च तदेव नैर्मल्याधायि, यत्र पतिता गीतवाद्यगणिकादयो न व्यसनितायै पर्यवस्यन्ति नाट्योपलक्षणात्। तत्र च नाटो(?)ध्यायिनामिव

[21] श्लोकोऽयं भट्टेन्दुराजस्य ध्वन्यालोकलोचनेऽप्युदाहृतः।
[22] हेमचन्द्रकाव्यानुशासनवृत्तौ नामरहितोऽयं श्लोक उदाहृतः।
[23] काव्यालंकारसूत्रे १।३।३०-३१

इदं ध्यानपदम्, न हि तत्रायमेव सिन्दूरमयो वासुदेवः स्मरणीयप्रतिपत्तिः, अपि तु तदुपायद्वारेणातिस्फुटीभूतसंकल्पगोचरो देवताविशेषो ध्यायिनां फलद्वत्। तद्वन्नटप्रक्रिया नाट्योपलक्ष्यादितातिस्फुटाध्यवसायविषयितो नियतदेशकालाद्यस्पृष्टनूतन(?) इदं फल-मिति विधिस्थानीयोऽर्थो व्युत्पत्तिविमतरतियुते(?) दृष्टान्यनियमादौ चित्तवृत्त्यादौ वा न बाधकोदयः।

HISTORY OF THE RĀṬHORS.

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The Rāṭhor tribe claims a high antiquity for itself. As early as the middle of the third century B.C., during the time of Aśoka, his inscriptions mention the Rāsṭikas. It appears that in his time the modern Rāṭhor tribe was known as Rāsṭikas.

Of the numerous inscriptions of Aśoka, discovered in all parts of India, those at Jūnāgaḍh, Mānserā and Śahabāzgaḍhi only contain reference to the Rāsṭikas. In the Fifth Rock Edict of Jūnāgaḍh, the Rāsṭikas are mentioned along with other races, such as, the Yavanas, the Kāmbojas, the Gāndhāras and the Petenikas.

"धंमाय तस च योन-कांबोज-गंधारानं रास्टिक-पेतेनिकानं ये चापि अञे अपराता ।" [1]

Likewise, the edicts at Mānserā [2] and the Śahabāzgaḍhi also mention the Rāsṭikas, from which it is clear that at that period the Rāshṭrakūṭa [3] tribe abounded in large numbers in those places and was regarded as an important and brave one.

It is from 'Rāsṭika' that the apabhraṁśa term Raṭṭa was derived; the latter, again, in the hands of learned Saṁskrit writers took the form of Rāshṭra; and the important members of this tribe were thenceforward known as the Rāsṭrakūṭas. Traces of Rāsṭrakūṭa principalities from early times are met with both in Southern as well as in Northern India. But that in the Deccan acquired so much strength after it had conquered the Chālukyas, that a large part of India passed into its hands within a short interval. Its possessions then extended from the Adams Bridge, the farthest limit in the south, to Nepāl in the north.

[1] "संस्कृतम्-धर्माय तस्य च यवनकाम्बोजगान्धाराणां राष्ट्रिकपेतेनिकानां ये चाप्यन्ये अपरान्ताः ।" *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, p. 203.

[2] Near Baluchistān.

[3] Words like कूट, शिखर, तिलक, मुकुट, शार्दूल, etc., indicate superiority.

and from Guzerāt and Mālwā in the west to the Central Provinces, Behār, Bengal and the Himālayas in the east.

Inscriptions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas have been traced both in the Northern as well as Southern India; and, according to Dr. Fleet, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the south migrated there from the north. This conjecture seems reasonable in so far as the Aśoka edicts containing the reference to the Rāṣṭikas have been found at Jūnāgaḍh, Mānserā and Shahabāzgaḍhi, places situated in or contiguous to the North-Western parts of India.

Although inscriptions relating to several Rāṣṭrakūṭa families in Northern India have been traced out, they do not enable us to construct a connected and systematic history of those families like the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the south—save and except the Rāṭhors (Gahaḍawālas) of Kanouj.

Copperplates of Abhimanyu, Nannarāja and Nandarāja, (all belonging to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa tribe), discovered in Northern India, are in point of time earlier than any inscription, so far discovered, relating to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the South. The copperplate of Abhimanyu was found at Ūnḍiskavāṭikā and has been published by Dr. Bhāu Dāji.[4] Though it contains no date, Dr. Bhagavānlāl Indrajī ascribes it to the fifth century A.D.[5] Dr. Fleet however refers it to the seventh century[6] and in support of his conjecture says that its palaeography tallies with the Vallabhi plates. This copperplate contains the following four names:—

1. Mānāṇka.
2. Devarāja.
3. Bhavishya.
4. Abhimanyu.

Two other inscriptions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas have been found at Multai, in the Beṭūl pargannah, Central Provinces. One of them referring to Nannarāja, Śaka Saṁvat 553[7] (631 A.D.), discovered at Tivarakhed, contains the following four names:—

1. Durgarāja.
2. Govindarāja.
3. Swāmikarāja.
4. Nannarāja.

[4] *J.B.A.S.* Vol. XVI, p. 90.

[5] Kielhorn, *Northern List*, No. 607.

[6] *Ibid.*, footnote No. 4.

[7] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 276.

The second inscription refers to Nannarāja and the Śaka year 631 [8] (709 A.D.). This also supplies us with four names :—

1. Durgarāja.
2. Govindarāja.
3. Swāmikarāja.
4. Nandarāja.

It will be found that the first three names in the above two inscriptions are the same. The fourth name only is different ; it is Nannarāja in the first and Nandarāja in the second inscription. It should also be noted that Nannarāja is spoken of as the son of Swāmikarāja in the first, while in the second inscription Swāmikarāja's son is said to be Nandarāja. It is clear therefore that Nandarāja was the younger brother of Nannarāja and it is highly probable that after Swāmikarāja, Nannarāja ascended the throne and he was succeeded by his younger brother Nandarāja.

A fourth and later inscription of this tribe referring to the time of Parabala of Vikrama Saṁvat 917 [9] has been found at Paṭhāri in the Bhopāl State. It contains three names :—

1. Jejjaṭa. [10]
2. Karkarāja.
3. Parabala.

Parabala's daughter Raṇṇādevī was married to Dharmapāla [11] of the Pāla dynasty of Gauḍa. Verse 14 of this inscription informs us that Parabala defeated Nāgāvaloka who appears to be Nāgabhaṭa, son of the Pratīhāra king, Vatsarāja. An inscription [12] of Nāgabhaṭa has been traced at the village of Buchkalā in the pargannah of Bīlādā, Mārwār. It bears the date of Saṁvat 872 and is thus close to the time of Parabala.

A fifth and still later inscription [13] referring to the reign of Tuṅgadharmāvaloka and discovered at Buddh-Gayā contains the following three names :—

1. Nanna-Guṇāvaloka.
2. Kīrtirāja.
3. Tuṅgadharmāvaloka.

[8] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 234. [9] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 248.

[10] Professor Kielhorn reads 'Jejja', but it is Jejjaṭa.

[11] *Vide* Kielhorn, *Northern List*, No. 635. [12] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 198.

[13] Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra, *Buddha-Gayā*, p. 195 and Plate XL.

Tuñga's daughter Bhāgyadevī[14] was married to Rājyapāla, the fifth lineal descendant of Dharmapāla of the famous Pāla dynasty of Bengal. It is this connection which clearly proves the present inscription to be later than the preceding one.

All the important Rāṭhor ruling families of Rājputānā trace their descent from Sīhājī who carved out an independent principality for himself in Mārwār about the middle of the thirteenth century of the Christian era. But epigraphic evidence shows that long before the establishment of a Rāṭhor principality by Sīhā, independent Rāṭhor principalities existed in Rājputānā. Close to Bījāpur, a village in the Goḍwāḍ district, Mārwār, lies a solitary Jaina temple, stuck up against the walls of which was found an inscription of 1053[15] which has now been deposited in the Ajmer Museum. It informs us that there was a city named Hastikuṇḍī ruled over by a Rāṣṭrakūṭa family. It also supplies us with the dates of the three princes of the ruling family. The genealogy as given in this inscription is :—

1. Harivarmā.
2. Vidagdharāja—V.S. 973.
3. Mammaṭa —V.S. 996.
4. Dhavala —V.S. 1053.
5. Bālaprasāda.

Inscriptions of still another Rāṣṭrakūṭa family of Rājputānā have been discovered at Dhanop in the Koṭā State. One[16] of these bears the date of V.S. 1063 and supplies the following names :—

1. Bhallila (?).
2. Dantivarmā.
3. Buddharāja, Govinda.

The inscriptions and copperplate grants mentioned above have been found at various places and although of the same Rāṣṭrakūṭa tribe they refer to independent branches of it. It is therefore impossible to form any connected history or genealogy out of these disconnected materials.

Copperplates varying from 60 to 65 in number have been discovered

[14] Kielhorn, *Northern List*, No. 640.
[15] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 17.
[16] Unpublished.

dealing with the Rāṭhors of Kanouj alone. From these it has been possible to establish a connected account and genealogy of the Rāṭhors of Kanouj from the time of Yaśovigraha to that of Hariśchandra; while, from an inscription in Badāun we get the genealogy of the Rāṭhors of Badāun from the time of Chandra, grandson of Yaśovigraha, to that of Lākhaṇapāla. To this day the Rājās of Rāmpur in Etāh district claim lineal descent from Jajapāla, a descendant of Jayachandra of Kanouj; and it was Rāv Sīhā, another descendant of this Jayachandra, who migrated to Mārwār and members of whose family hold many principalities in Rajputānā and Mālwā even now.

In the Kanouj plates the name of the tribe is invariably given as Gahaḍawāla, in the Badāun inscription it is Rāṣṭrakūṭa and in the inscriptions of Mārwār it is either Rāṣṭrakūṭa or Rāṭhor. Besides these variations others also occur; such as, Raṣṭrauḍa, Rāṣṭravar Rāṣṭravarya, Raṭṭtha-uḍa, Raṭha-uḍa, Raṭhaḍa and Raṭhavara. The Prākṛta version of the term Rāṣṭra, was Raṭṭa, as, that of Kūṭa was Ūḍa; and the name Rāṭhauḍa was derived from the conjunction of these two Prākṛta terms.

The late Dr. V. A. Smith maintained in his books that the Gahaḍawāla dynasty of Kanouj had nothing to do with the Rāṭhors or Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and that therefore the claim of the Gahaḍawālas to be reckoned as Rāṭhors lay on no sounder basis than a myth. But it will be seen from what follows that the Gahaḍawālas formed an important sept of the Rāṭhor tribe or clan; just as the Hāḍās, the Khīchīs and the Devḍās did of the Chauhāns, or the Sīsodiyās and the Āhāḍās of the Gehalots. The following facts will show clearly that the Gahaḍawālas were Rāṭhors:—Firstly, the Gahaḍawālas, to this day, maintain that they belong to the Rāṭhor clan. The Rājā of Māṇḍā, Bījāpur, in the Mirzāpur district belongs to the Gahaḍawāla sept and claims that he comes of the Rāṭhor clan. It is also held that he is a lineal descendant of Māṇikchandra, brother of Jayachandra of Kanouj. Secondly, it is accepted on all hands that Jayachandra of Kanouj belonged to the Rāṭhor clan. Thirdly, Chandavardāi, the author of *Pṛthvīrājarāso*, applies the epithets Rāṭhor and Kamaḍhaja to Jayachandra. These two terms are synonymous—the latter one being used almost always in poetry in place of the former. Fourthly, the inscription of Lākhaṇapāla of Badāun clearly says that the first Rāṭhor prince to conquer Pañchāladeśa was Chandra; and in the copperplate found at Chandrā-

vatī and relating to the Kanouj princes also Chandra is mentioned as the first prince who conquered Pañchâladeśa by his own arms. We quote the following from the Badâun inscription (lines 2–3) :—

" प्रख्याताखिलराष्ट्रकूटकुलजक्ष्मापालदोःपालिता ।
पञ्चालाभिधदेशभूषणकरी वोदामयूता पुरी ॥
तत्रादितोऽभवदनन्तगुणो नरेन्द्र-
श्चन्द्रः स्वखड्गभयभीषितवैरिवृन्दः " ॥

which means, "There is the city named Bodâmayūtā (Badâun), the ornament of the tract known as Pañchâla, and protected by the arms of princes of the celebrated Rāṣṭrakūṭa clan. In that city the first prince to rule was Chandra, the receptacle of all virtues, and the terrifier of his enemies by the power of his own sword."

And in the Chandrāvatī copperplate of Saṁvat 1150 also occurs the following description of Chandra (line 12) :—

" चपलपञ्चालचूलचुम्बनचणचन्द्रहासः " ।

"he whose sword kissed the locks of (i.e. conquered) the fickle Pañchâla country." It is clear therefore, that the Chandra of the Chandrāvatī copperplate and that of the Badâun inscription must be one and the same individual. The Badâun inscription states in unequivocal terms that the first prince to conquer Pañchâladeśa was Chandra ; and the Chandrāvatī copperplate no less distinctly affirms that Chandra was the first king of Kanouj who conquered Pañchâladeśa. No doubt should therefore be entertained that these two Chandra's indicate but one and the same individual, since both the inscriptions regard Chandra to be the first conqueror of the tract referred to. Moreover, the fact that these two inscriptions refer to about the same time supports the above argument. A copperplate of Jaychandra's son, Hariśchandra, the sixth in descent from Chandra, bears the date of V.S. 1253 ; while the Badâun inscription of Lākhaṇapâla, who was eighth in descent from Chandra, refers to about 1280 V.S. The interval between these two inscriptions is only 27 years—a period which is quite possible to be covered by two generations of rulers.

The genealogy of the two branches is as follows :—

1. Chandra.

Kanouj line.

2. Madanapāla.
3. Govindachandra.
4. Vijyachandra.
5. Jayachandra.
6. Hariśchandra (V.S. 1253).

Badāun line.

2. Vigrahapāla.
3. Bhuvanapāla.
4. Gopāldev.
5. Tribuhvana Madanapāla Devapāla.
6. Bhīmpāla.
7. Śīrpāla.
8. Lākhaṇapāla Amṛtpāla (Circa V.S. 1280).

We have set forth above the conclusive proofs which show that the Chandra's are indistinguishable. Also we know that the two lines of princes which branched off from Chandra were known by two separate designations, one being called Gahaḍawāla and the other Rāṭhor. Now the question arises which of these two names then was the earlier and original one? We have already seen that the Gahaḍawālas claim themselves to belong to the Rāṭhor clan. Thus, prima facie, it would appear that the name Rāṭhor was the earlier and original one, while the Gahaḍawālas were a sept of the Rāṭhors. Moreover, from epigraphic evidence also we learn that while inscriptions of the Rāṭhors have been traced bearing very early dates, no mention of Gahaḍawālas has been found in any inscription prior to the eleventh century of the Christian era. In these circumstances we are compelled to acknowledge that the Rāṭhor is the original name of the clan; while the Gahaḍawāla is but a name of one of its septs or branches. It is customary to mention only the sept when it has acquired some pre-eminence in place of the clan or tribal name. Thus although the Sindhals and the Ūhaḍas are only septs of the Rāṭhor clan, they invariably style themselves as Sindhals and Ūhaḍas respectively, instead of as Rāṭhors; and only when pressed for their tribal name they would give themselves out as Rāṭhors. In the same way, the Gahaḍawālas and the Rainkawālas are septs of the Rāṭhors; only after persistent queries would they tell us that they belong to the Rāṭhor clan: but, on the contrary, in their correspondence and inscriptions, they do invariably proclaim themselves as Gahaḍawālas or Rainkawālas.

The Kanouj plates supply us with eight names, from Yaśovigraha

to Hariśchandra. The Chandrāvatī plate of 1148 V.S. referring to the time of Chandradev says that after a long line of princes in the Solar line had ruled there arose Yaśovigraha.

1. Yaśovigraha.

His son and successor was the celebrated Mahichandra, otherwise known as Mahītala or Mahiyala.

2. Mahichandra.

The third prince of the line was Chandradev, sometimes written as Chandra. Three copperplates of his time (V.S. 1148–1150, and 1156) have so far been discovered. We are told therein that he was a just ruler, a crusher of his enemies and a destroyer of the arrogant. It was by his own arms that he destroyed the oppression exercised upon the people and acquired the widely-extensive country of Kanouj. His dominion extended over Kaśi (Benares), Kuśika (Kanouj), Northern Kośala (Oudh) as well as Indrasthāna (Delhi). He is said to have been always travelling over the holy places where he distributed gold equal to the weight of his own person. He also set up an image of Viṣṇu, called Ādikeśava, at Benares and conquered Pañchāladeśa.

3. Chandradev.

As his earliest date is that given in the copperplate of 1148 V.S. when he had already become king; we may assume that it was some years previous to the year 1148 that he had conquered and made himself master of Kanouj.

The Basāhi copperplate of V.S. 1161 expressly mentions that he took possession of Kanouj after the death of Bhoja and Karṇa who appear to have belonged to the Paramāra and the Haihaya dynasties respectively. These two latter princes were at feud with each other. Karṇa is mentioned to have once led an attack against Bhoja and was a very powerful prince who conquered the Gauḍa and the Gurjara countries. It is likely that Kanouj fell into his hands at that time. After Karṇa's death disturbance arose in his kingdom which was taken advantage of by Chandra who soon usurped the throne of Kanouj.

"Nayn Pál . . . . in the year S. 526 (A.D. 470)," writes Col. Tod,[17] "conquered Canouj, slaying its monarch Ajipál; from which period the race was termed Canoujea Rathore." No trace, however, of the Rāṭhors coming into possession of Kanouj as early as V.S. 526 has been so far discovered. On the contrary, epigraphic evidence enables us to ascertain

[17] *Annals of Rajast'han* (Routledge), Vol. II, p. 2.

that at that period the powerful Gupta dynasty held sway over Kanouj and continued in possession of that province till V.S. 589. Later on the Maukharis came into possession of that province about V.S. 611 and later still in V.S. 663 the famous Bais dynasty acquired that principality. Foregoing account of Tod, written on the authority of a Jaina Yaṭṭi, appears to be far from reliable.

4. Madanapāla.

Madanapāla, otherwise known as Madanadev, is said to have defeated a large number of his enemies. From a copperplate, dated V.S. 1154, referring to Madanapāla but issued during the lifetime of his father, Chandradev, it is known that during the latter part of his reign Chandradev, invested his son Madanapāla with all regal powers and renounced the throne.

5. Govindachandra.

Nearly 40 copperplates of his reign have so far come to light, besides several gold coins. He led an expedition against Gauḍa and gained a victory there. By this time the Mahomedans had advanced as far as Lāhore and were even trying to penetrate further south. Govindachandra was thus compelled to take up arms against these invaders to oppose their progress. He was noted for his heroism as well as his learning. His copperplates give him the title of विविधविद्याविचारवाचस्पति to him. He was a patron of all learned men who were favoured by him in every way. His copperplates assign to him the dates V.S. 1161–V.S. 1211; but a copperplate of V.S. 1166 begins thus "In the victorious reign of Madanapāla—Mahārāja-putra Govindachandradev." From this it appears that Madanapāla had invested his son with all regal powers during his lifetime. Govindachandra had three sons—Vijyachandra, Rājyapāla and Āsphoṭachandra. His queen, Kumaradevī, caused a temple to be constructed and handed it over to Dharma Chakra Jinaśāsana. By the royal order, his minister of peace and war Lakshmīdhara, wrote a book named *Vyavahārakalpataru*.

6. Vijayachandra.

Vijyachandra was also known as Malladev. His queen was Chandralekhā. He was a devotee of Viṣnu and constructed several temples which were dedicated to this divinity. We know from his copperplate of V.S. 1224 that he installed his son Jayachandra into the Yuvarājaship.

7. Jayachandra.

Jayachandra was also known as Jaitrachandra and sometimes as Jayantachandra. His grandfather Govindachandra conquered the country of Daśārṇa on the day of his birth and this led to his being called Jaitrachandra. His

coronation took place in V.S. 1226. As he had a large army at his command he acquired the epithet Dalapangula.[18] He defeated the Chandel king Madanavarma [19] of Kalinjara and annexed his territories to his kingdom. An inscription of this Madanavarma bears the date of V.S. 1219.[20] Jayachandra was a patron of learning. The famous poet Śri-Harśa, the author of the great epic *Naiśadha*,[21] adorned his court. This king is said to have performed the Rājasūya sacrifice in this Kali age, and it was on the occasion of this ceremony that enmity grew up between him and Pṛthvīrāja, the Chauhāna king of Delhi and Ajmer which weakened both the contending parties and thus afforded an excellent opportunity to the Mahomedans who were steadily pressing forward. The invaders found another tempting occasion for interference as Jayachandra's mistress Sūhavadevī requested her husband to make her son Meghachandra the heir-apparent; and as this suggestion was declined by the king, Sūhavadevī sent a confidential messenger to the Mahomedans asking their aid.

Jayachandra constructed several forts. One was in the city of Kanouj itself, a second at Asai in the Etawah district and a third at Kurra on the Ganges. At the last place a severe battle took place between himself and the Mahomedans, and several of their important Amirs lay dead on the field as indicated by the remains of old tombs there.

The first attacks of the Mahomedans were defeated by Jayachandra, but in the battle which took place at Chandāval in V.S. 1250 against Shāhabuddin Ghori, he was himself defeated and while fleeing across the Ganges he was drowned. Some authorities hold that he died on the field of battle. Whatever version may be regarded as true, it is admitted on all hands that he died in that very year. With the death of Jayachandra the Hindu principalities of Northern India fell easily into the hands of the Mahomedans who established their authority on the soil of India.

[18] "गङ्गायमुनास्रोतस्विनीयष्टिद्वयमन्तरेण रिपुमेदिनीदयितदत्तदैन्यसागरवरं प्रचालयितुमक्षमत्वा-त्पङ्गुरिति प्राप्तगुणविरुदस्य"।

रम्भामञ्जरीनाटिकाप्रस्तावना पृ. २.

[19] "अभिनवरामावतारश्रीमन्मदनवर्ममेदिनीदयितमाथाथलकौकरणकालानलभ्यमानबाहुदण्डस्य"

रम्भामञ्जरीनाटिकाप्रस्तावना पृ. २.

[20] Kielhorn, *Northern List*, No. 142.

[21] At the end of every canto the poet pays his respect to the king. "ताम्बूलद्वयमासनं च भजते यः कान्यकुब्जेश्वरात्"।

8. Hariśchandra (Vardāisena).

At Jayachandra's death Kanouj was occupied by the Mahomedans. The Rāṭhors fled in all directions and founded independent states wherever there was an opportunity of protecting themselves against the onrush of the invaders. On enquiry into the early history of places like Rāmpur, Khemsepur and Śamsābād, we come to learn that after the fall of Kanouj the Rāṭhors at first retired to Khoḍa (Śamsābād) and established themselves there. This is corroborated by the *Āīn-i Akbarī.*[22] A copperplate[23] grant of V.S. 1253 and referring to the reign of Hariśchandra, son of Jayachandra, attributes to that prince the titles o "परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वर-परममाहेश्वर-अश्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपति-विविधविद्याविचारवाचस्पति" like those of his father. Moreover we know that he made a gift of some villages to Brahmans. There is no reason to doubt that Hariśchandra was an independent prince. The early history of Rāmpur and the adjacent places shows us that Hariśchandra's kingdom extended as far as Khoḍa (modern Śamsābād) a district which his father, Jayachandra, acquired after defeating the Bhors. The principality of Khoḍa was ruled by the Rāṭhors from 1251 to 1270. In the following year, 1271, Śamsuddin Altamaś sent an expedition against Khoḍa and drove the Rāṭhors from that place and its name was now changed into Śamsābād after himself. The Mahomedan conquerer also set up a governor of his own at that place. Driven out of their homes, the Rāṭhors fled in all directions and established themselves wherever they found a refuge. The descendants of Jajapāla, son of Jayachandra, at this time, fled to Uset in the Badāun district where a branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas had been ruling. Soon however about V.S. 1280, Mahomedans attacked that place so that the Rāṭhors retired to Vilasaḍa. Later on, Rājā Rāmasahāya settled down at Rāmpur. His descendants in still later times divided themselves off into two main branches—the scions of which at present are the Rājās of Rāmpur in the Etāh district and the Rāvs of Khemsepur in the Furrukhābād district. Besides these, there are still other families in that place.

The descendants of Hariśchandra (Vardāisena) retired in the first place to Furrukhābād from Khoḍa and settled at Mahui. A fortress was constructed on the river Kali; and, from that place they went to Mārwār. Mr. Kālirāya[24] states in his history of Fatehgaḍh that the name of

[22] Blochmann's edition, Vol. II, p. 271. [23] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 95.

[24] *Fatehgaḍhnāmā*, *passim*.

Hariśchandra is changed into Harsu, while in the history of Rāmpur and other places it is transformed into Praḥasta, and in the history of Mārwār it becomes Vardāisena. The following lists will make the point clearer.

Kanouj. Copperplate.	*Fatehgaḍh-nāma.*	Rāmpur. history		Khemsepur. history	Mārwār Chronicles.
Jayachandra.	Jayachandra.	Jayachandra.	Jayachandra.	Jayachandra.	Jayachandra.
Hariśchandra.	Harsu.	Praḥasta, Jajapāla	Praḥasta, Jajapāla	Praḥasta, Jajapāla.	Vardāisena.
	Setarāma.			Setarāma.	Setarāma.
	Sīhā.	Sīhā.		Sīhā.	Sīhā.

It will be seen from the above that Vardāisena, Praḥasta, Harsu and Hariśchandra refer to but one and the same person. Occasionally in the inscriptions two or three names of the same person are given. Of the above names Harsu is but a variant form of Hariśchandra, while the others too may be regarded as indicative of the same person. All our authorities maintain that Sīhā who went over to Mārwār was a descendant of Hariśhchandra. The inscription[25] of V.S. 1645 of Rāi-siṁhaji of Bīkāner speaks of Sīhā as the great-grandson of Jayachandra. The *Āīn-i Akbarī*[26] holds Sīhā to be a nephew of Jayachandra; while Col. Tod describes Sīhā in different places as his nephew,[27] his son,[28] or his grandson.[29] Whatever may be the relationship, every version declares Sīhā to be a lineal descendant of Hariśchandra and Jayachandra. In truth, Sīhājī was the great-grandson of Jayachandra and his descendants are styled Kanoujiā Rāṭhors.

In an inscription of Sīhā dated V.S. 1330,[30] Setarāma[31] is held to be the father of Sīhā and as the epithet 'prince' is appended to Setarāma's name, it is apparent

9. Setarāma

[25] Unpublished. "तस्माद्विजयचन्द्रोऽभूज्जयचन्द्रस्ततोऽभवत् ।
वरदायीसेननामा तत्पुत्रोऽतुलविक्रमः ॥
तदात्मजः सीतरामो रामभक्तिपरायणः ।
सीतरामस्य तनयो नृपचक्रशिरोमणिः ॥
राजा सीह इति ख्यातः शौर्यवीर्यसमन्वितः ॥"

[26] *Āīn-i Akbari* (translated by Blochmann and Jarrett), Vol. II, p. 191.

[27] *Annals*, Vol. II, p. 2.

[28] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 78.

[29] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 9.

[30] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 181.

[31] Col. Tod (Vol. II, p. 9) is of opinion that Setarāma is the brother of Sīhā and adds that Sīhā fought a battle with Lākhā Phūlāṇī in which he was killed. But nowhere in the bardic chronicles (Khyātas) is Setarāma described as Sīhā's brother, nor is there any mention of his having been killed in battle. Setarāma was not the *brother*, but the *father* of

that Setarāma was a younger son of Vardāisena. In the U.P. the custom prevails that the reigning sovereign is known by such titles as Rājā Rāv, etc., while the younger brother obtains the title of 'prince' (कुंवर) even after the father's death.

10. Rāv Sīhājī.

In V.S. 1268, Śamsuddin Altamaś ascended the throne of Delhi and in 1271 led an expedition against Khoḍa where the descendants of Jayachandra were ruling. After a hard struggle in which Śamsuddin gained the victory, the Rāṭhors were driven from that place. Rāv Sīhājī, or his father, passed through Modhā and reached Mahui. There, on the bank of the river Kali built a fort, the remains of which exist to this day and which look like a mound of earthwork. Even now the people of the locality point out this place as the mound of Rāv Sīhā.

It is very likely that owing to a Mahomedan invasion on this place Sīhājī left it and proceeded towards the west. An inscription of Rāv Sīhā dated V.S. 1330 found at Bīṭhū in Mārwār enables us to say that Sīhā went to Mārwār about 1300 V.S. In 1271 V.S. when Khoḍa had passed out of his hands, he proceeded to Mahui and built a fort there too, so he must have resided there for twenty-five or thirty years. It was after this that Sīhā proceeded to Mārwār.

Sīhājī's descendants in Mārwār are known as Kanoujiā Rāṭhors in accordance with their early history which, as we have just seen, shows us that they had come to Mārwār from Kanouj. An inscription of Jagmāl[32] II found at Nagara, dated V.S. 1686, applies the epithets Sūryavamśi and Kanoujiā Rāṭhor to him. A copy of a copperplate inscription[33] of Jodhājī has come to light which informs us that an

Sīhā. The above-mentioned inscription of 1330 mentions Setarāma as the father of Sīhā. His battle with Lākhā Phūlāṇī and his death therein, though based entirely on the authority of the bhāṭ chronicles are historical statements: Lākhā Phūlāṇī was a ruler of Cutch and was killed by Mūlarāja I of the Solaṅki clan, the chief of Aṇahilwāḍā. *Dvyāśraya Mahākāvya* written by Hemachandra-Āchārya states, that Mūlarāja I with his iron spear killed Lākhā.

Mūlarāja's copperplates dating from V.S. 973 to 1005, have been found. So Lākhā must have been his contemporary, while Sīhājī's inscriptions bear the date of 1330. As there is thus an interval of three centuries between Sīhājī and Lākhā, so it is not possible for the latter to have killed the former.

32 "सूरिजवंसी कनोजिया राठोड़ सीहा।"

33 "महारावजी श्रीजोधाजी वचनायतं तथा कनोजसुं सेवग सुंव रिसी जात रो मारस्वत खोजा खोड सेवा लेनें आयो सु राठोड़ वंसरा सेवग छे है—पहली राठोड़ वंस रै माताजी श्री चादपदणीजी

image of his family goddess was brought to Mārwār from Kanouj. It may be said that the inscription is not in original. But a sanad,[34] testifying to the accuracy of this inscription, is still in possession of a Sāraswat Brahman Jayarām, a lineal descendant of Ṛṣabhdev. Jodhājī's copperplate supplies us also with this further information that when the image of the family goddess had been procured from Kanouj, Dhūhaḍjī appointed Lumb Ṛṣi to be the priest for her worship and handed over a copperplate grant in testimony of the rights conferred upon him. Jodhājī's copperplate of 1516 V.S. was only a fresh copy of this earlier one. It is said that the tutelary goddess appeared before Dhūhaḍjī in the form of a serpent which acquired for her the name of Nāgaṇechiyā. A temple dedicated to her still exists at Nāgāṇā in the Pachapadarā Pargannah and an image of the same divinity is also to be found in Jodhpur fort, the hereditary priests for her worship being Sāraswat Brahmans. It is still spoken of as having been made by Dhūhaḍjī.

Sīhājī was proceeding on a pilgrimage to Dwārakā after leaving Kanouj and was encamped near the sacred place Puśkar. At that time a party of Bhīnmāl Brāhmans who had gone on a pilgrimage near Puśkar met him there, and finding that Sīhājī commanded a very strong force requested him to protect them against the Mahomedans who were always giving them trouble. Sīhā promised assistance and going forthwith along with them defeated the invaders. An old verse relating to this incident says

"भीनमाल लीधी भड़े, सीहै सेल बजाय ।
दत दीधौ सत संग्रह्यौ, ओ जस कदे न जाय ॥"

After he had finished his religious duties at Dwārakā, Sīhā stayed for a time at Aṇahilwāḍā and then returned to Mārwār. At this time the Brāhmans of Pālī approached Sīhā, who had already earned a name for himself by his bravery, and prayed for his assistance against the Meṇās, the Mīrs, the Vālīsās and other freebooters of the locality

चक्रेश्वरीजी पछै रावजी श्रीधूहड़जी नें वर दीधो, ने नाग रा रूप सुं दरसण दीधो—स १५१६ रा मीगसर सुद १. दुवो श्रीमुख. परवांनगी राठोड़ करमसीजी. मुकाम सुधवास जोधपुर. लिखतं पं हरीदास चाईदासोत. महाराबजी रा हुकम सुं."

[34] "महाराजाधिराज श्रीश्रीउदैसिंघजी वचनायतं सेवग हरो सदाबंध कदीम सुं छै राठोड वंस री सेवगपणो कदीमसुं दवरै छै तिणरो हतेरण सांमत १५१६ री तांबापतर मुजब परवांणो कर दीनो छै—सं १६३५ रा माहा सुद ५."

and promised to pay him one lac of rupees in case he was successful. Pālī was at this time a famous entrepot for trade. Merchandise from the western countries, such as Arabia, Persia passed through it to the eastern parts of India and vice versa. Tradition has it that there were a lac of families in this city. Sīhā's help was requested by Yaśodhara, the leader of the Brāhmans who were saved from these freebooters. The Brāhmans gave him some villages wherewith he could maintain his retinue. Sīhā married into the Solaṅkī family and his wife bore him three sons—Āsthāna, Sonaga and Aja. A short time later, Sīhā took possession of some places from the Gohils of Kheḍ and was trying to establish himself there, when a Mahomedan invasion of Pālī took place. But Sīhājī at once marched upon that place and not only drove away the invaders but followed them for some distance. An engagement took place at Biṭhū and Sīhājī was himself among the slain.[35] His wife, the Solaṅkinī Pārvatī, followed him to the funeral pyre. An inscription relating to this incident dated V.S. 1330 has been traced at Bīṭhū and is now in the Mehkmā Tawārīkh of the Jodhpur darbār.

Close by a well in Pālī there is a funeral monument which tradition attributes to the memory of Sīhājī. It is possible that a memorial stone was raised up in this place by his successors, in addition to the regular one built over the cremation spot at Bīṭhū in accordance with custom. This has caused the erection of two memorial monuments in memory of the same person, the one being at the place of cremation and the other at the place where he lived.

11. Rāv Āsthānjī.

Like his father, Āsthānjī also stayed at Pālī on the revenue of lands bestowed by the Brāhmans. At this time some misunderstanding arose between the Gohil chief of Kheḍ and his minister who was a Ḍābhī Rājput. The latter came at once to Āsthānjī and proposed to raise him to the throne of Kheḍ, if the latter was willing. A plan was at once agreed upon and it was settled that should any engagement take place between the Rāṭhors and the Gohils, the Ḍābhīs who formed a part of the latter army would be on the left wing so that there might be no difficulty in recognising them. To this day a proverb says, "Ḍābhīs to the left and Gohils to the right." After this a pretext was sought out to stir up a quarrel.

[35] *Āin-i Akbarī* (transl. Blochmann and Jarrett Vol. II, p. 271) states that Sīhā was killed in a battle at Śamaābād; but as it is contrary to what the inscription states, it cannot be believed.

Āsthānjī demanded the hand of the daughter of Pratāpasiṁha,[36] the Gohil chief of Kheḍ, in marriage but the latter refused. Āsthānjī took this as a good *casus belli* and immediately marched upon Kheḍ and a sanguinary battle took place in which Pratāpasiṁha died along with a large number of his Gohil followers, while others fled to Kāṭhiāwāḍ. The descendants of these latter are now chiefs of Ghoghā, Dhrangdharā and Bhāvanagar. As a result of the battle Āsthānjī became the master of Kheḍ. An old couplet says :—

"गोहिल गलहथियेह, खेड़ धरा खागां मुहै।
आसो अपणायेह, गल् भरियौ बल् गंजियौ ॥"

"Āsthānjī won over Āsā Ḍābhī to his own side and with his help as well as by his own sword broke the power of the Gohils and killed them."

Over Īḍar at this time ruled a Bhīl chieftain, named Sāṁvaliyo Soḍ.[37] Āsthānjī killed him in battle and placed his brother Sonaga over that tract. The descendants of the latter are known as Īḍariā Rāṭhors.[38] Aja who was the third brother of Āsthānjī went with a party to Okhāmanḍala, near Dwārakā, and having killed the Chāwḍā chieftain of that place Bhojarāja (Tod calls him Bhīkham Śāh), made himself its master. His descendants are now known as Vāḍhelā Rāṭhors.

Āsthānjī was a strong and successful ruler. It was by his own strength that he conquered such an important principality like Kheḍ and the elevation of his two brothers over two other places was also due to him. He died in 1348[39] V.S. leaving eight sons behind him, Dhūhaḍa, Dhāndhala, Chāchaka, Āsala, Haraḍaka, Khīpsā, Pohaḍa, Jopsā, who were the progenitors of twelve branches of the Rāṭhors. The Dhāndhala, Chāchaka, Āsala, Harḍakata, Khīpsā and Pohaḍa Rāṭhors were named after the six sons. Jopsā had eight sons after whom six branches were named. They were Sīndhala, Ūhaḍa, Jolu, Mūlu, Rājaga and Jorāwat.

12. Rāv Dhūhadjī.

He was as powerful as his father. He conquered 140 villages and annexed them to his paternal state. In his reign a Sāraswat Brāhman, Luṁb Ṛṣi, brought an

[36] Col. Tod names him Mahesdās.

[37] Col. Tod mentions that Ḍābhīs were ruling over Īḍar at that time. Forbes in his *Rāsmālā* states that the ruler of Īḍar was Sāṁvaliyo Soḍ.

[38] Col. Tod calls them Hathūndiyā Rāṭhors. But the name Hathūndiyā has been derived from Hastikuṇḍī, and an inscription of the Hastikuṇḍī Rāṭhors bears the date V S. 1035.

[39] This date has been supplied from the chronicle of Jośi Śivarāja of Mertā.

image of Chakreśwarī, the family goddess of the Rāṭhors, from Kanouj[40] and delivered it to the custody of Dhūhaḍjī. Chakreśwarī is said to have been pleased with Dhūhaḍji and blessed him with a vision of hers in the shape of a snake. From this time the family goddess acquired the name of Nāgaṇechiyā. Dhūhaḍjī placed the image in a temple constructed near a hill, both of which exist to the present day in a village named Nāgāṇā. The image is still worshipped by the Nāgaṇechiyā Rāṭhors and it is said that the names of both the village as well of the Rāṭhors who worship her have been derived from her. The Rāṭhors of this place regard with reverence and never cut the branches of the Nīmb tree, as it is said that the goddess resided for a time in it. About four koss (eight miles) from Nāgāṇā lies the pargannah of Pachapadarā and sixteen miles from that village there is a village named Tiṅgḍī given to the Brāhmans as a gift. In this village an inscription of Dhūhaḍjī bearing the date of V.S. 1366,[41] has been discovered; but as most of the letters have been destroyed it is impossible to make out its purport. The date is however very important. We know that in this village a sanguinary battle took place between Dhūhaḍjī and the Parihāras[42] in which the former lost his life.

Dhūhaḍjī left seven sons: Rāyapāla, Candrapāla, Behaḍa, Pīthaḍa, Khetapāla, Ūnaḍ and Jogo. The latter five became the originators of the following five septs respectively; the Behaḍa Rāṭhors, the Pīthaḍa Rāṭhors, the Khetapālots, the Ūnaḍas and the Jogāwats.

13. Rayapāla.

He is said to have preserved the life of his subjects by distributing food in times of famine, for which he is known as the *Mahirelaṇa*, which means that just as clouds by their showers satisfy the parched earth, in like manner he satisfied his subjects with food.

Rayapāljī left thirteen sons and out of them ten branches issued:— Kelaṇa's son Koṭechā was the ancestor of the Koṭechās; Thānthī's son Fiṭaka, of the Fiṭakas; Rāndō, of the Rāndās; Ḍāngī, of the Ḍāngīs; Sūnḍā, of the Sūnḍās; Mopā, of the Mopās; Mohaṇa, of the Mohaṇiās;

[40] Some chronicles state that the image was brought from Kalyāni in the Konkana. But Kalyāṇi from which this image was procured must refer to the Kalyāṇa Kaṭak (Kalyāṇi) in Kanouj from where the Rāṭhors came to Mārwār. *Cf. Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, p. 150.

[41] Unpublished.

[42] One of the Khyātas states that the battle in question was fought against a Chāhamāna prince named Ānā.

as well as of the Mūhaṇot branch of the Jaina Oswālas; Būlā, of the Būlās; Vikramāditya, of the Vīkramāyats.

He succeeded to the throne of Kheḍ and died fighting with the Mahomedans. He left three sons of whom Bhīma was very brave. In a battle which took place on the bank of the Kāka river with the Bhāṭṭīs, although he was killed, the boundary between Jaissalmer and Kheḍ was settled once for all. An old couplet says:—

14. Rāv Kanapālajī.

"आधौ धरतौ भौंव, आधौ जोदरवै धणौ ।
काक नदौ छै सौंव, राठोड़ां ने भाटियां ॥"

The river Kāka forms the boundary between the Rāṭhors and the Bhāṭṭīs; on one side is the kingdom of Jaissalmer while on the other rules Bhīma.

15. Rāv Jālaṇsī.

This ruler declared a tree to be immortal and ordered that no one should pluck out a leaf, a flower or a fruit from of it. A certain Soḍhā plucked a fruit of this tree; and as his orders were disobeyed Jālaṇsī marched upon the culprit's camp which was looted. A piece of turban cloth was taken away by the Rāv from the camp as a token of his victory. From this time the Rāṭhors began to wear a turban above their heads. An uncle of this prince was murdered by Hājī Malik of the Sarāi tribe and out of a revenge Jālaṇsī marched to Pālanpur and killed him. He also looted Thaṭṭā and exacted tribute from Multān. The Mahomedans took the offensive and a battle took place in consequence, which ended in the death of Jālaṇsī. He had three sons Chhāḍā, Bhākharsī and Ḍūngarsī.

16. Rāv Chhāḍojī.

On his death bed Jālaṇsī reminded Chhāḍojī to take from Soḍhā Durjansāl of Ūmarkoṭ the horses promised in tribute. The son carried out with a vengence his father's dying injunction, and took four times the number agreed upon. He compelled the Bhāṭṭīs of Jaissalmer to pay a tribute to him and also to give him a daughter of theirs in marriage. On their refusal, Rāvjī marched to Jaissalmer and on a threat of plundering their city compelled the Bhāṭṭīs to accede to his terms. He left seven sons behind him and from them three branches issued: from Khokar, the Khokars; from Bānar, the Bānars; and from Sīhāmal, the Sīhāmalots.

He succeeded his father in V.S. 1401 and conquered the whole of Mahewā. His next victory over Sāmantasimha the Songarā Chauhān chief of Bhīnmāl, enabled him to exact tribute from the Bhāṭṭīs as well as the Solañkis. About this time the Mahomedans fell upon Siwānā, a principality held by the Chauhāns under Sātal and Somā who turned for help to Tīḍojī. The latter marched to the help of his nephew to Siwānā, where a very fierce battle took place in which a large number of Mahomedans lay dead on the field. Rāvjī was himself slain (V.S. 1414). He left three sons, Tribhuvanasi, Kānhaḍa and Salkhā.

17. Rāv Tīḍojī.

After the death of Tīḍojī, Tribhuvanasi ascended the throne. He had three sons, of whom, Ūdā founded a branch called Beṭhwāsiyā Ūdāwat. After Tribhuvansai's death Kānhaḍa ruled over Mahewā. During his time the Mahomedans fell upon him and acquired his kingdom.

Salkhājī had married the daughter of the Parihāra Rāṇā Rūpḍā of Manḍor. With the latter's help Salkhājī reconquered Mahewā from the Mahomedans in 1422. About that time Tribhuvanasi's son Kānhaḍa retook Kheḍ after defeating the Mahomedans; but Mallināthjī, the eldest son of Salkhājī, invited the Mahomedans of Jālor to attack Kānhaḍa who died at their hands. After a reign of eight years over Mahewā, Salkhājī died in a battle against the Mahomedans in 1430. He had four sons, Mallināthjī, Jaitmālaji, Vīramjī, Sobhitajī.

18. Rāv Salkhājī.

Mallināthajī become the next ruler of Mahewā in 1431 after Salkhājī's death. He is regarded as a saint and a temple dedicated to him is now situated at Talawāḍā on the Lūni. His son Jagamālajī was a very brave warrior and brought away by force Gīndolī, the daughter of the Mahomedan ruler of Guzerāt. Songs and stories relating to this incident are still to be heard in Mārwār. Eighteen branches originated from Mallināthajī, of whom ten were from Jagamāla :—Bāhaḍamerā, Vāṭaḍā, Sāgara, Thūmaliyā, Khābariyā, Ūngā, Dhāroiyā, Kānāsariyā, Koṭaḍiyā and Gāgariyā from Jagmāla; Kusamaliyā from Mānḍaṇa; Āsaḍechā from Jaimā; Mahechā, Jasoliyā, Varayechā from Manḍalīka; Gomechā from Kūmpā; Pārakarā from Jagapāla, and Phalasūnḍiā from Mehā.

Mallināthjī appointed his younger brother Jaitmālajī to be the ruler of Siwānā, while Vīramajī ruled at Kheḍ. Sobhitajī drove away the Paramāras from Osiā and lived there. The descendants of Sobhita are known as Sohaḍa Rāṭhors. Five branches originated from Jaitmālajī,

—the Jaitmālots, the Junjhāniyās, the Rāḍadaḍās, the Sobhāwats and the Dhavechās.

19. Rāv Vīramajī.

The capital of his kingdom was at Kheḍ. A misunderstanding arose between him and Rāwal Mallināthjī owing to the following reason. The Joyās who lived in Sindh looted several articles belonging to the Emperor of Delhi and came to Mallināthjī for shelter. It happened that the Joyā chief possessed a mare which attracted the fancy of Mallināthjī; but as the former could in no way be pursuaded to part with her, ill-feeling grew up between the two, and the Joyās went straight to Vīramajī at Kheḍ for protection. Vīramjī welcomed them to his place and the latter were so much pleased with Vīramjī that they of their own accord presented him with that mare. Vīramjī refused to part with the mare, when his nephew Jagmāljī—Mallināthjī's eldest son—asked for her, but fled to Māllānī desert and founded Setrāvā which was given to his son Devrāj. He himself went away to Sindh and the Joyās presented him with the district of Sahavān. But even then his erratic temperament led him into trouble. In order to have a drum of unusual size he destroyed a Palāsa tree which the Joyās held sacred. Naturally his hosts resented this act of his, and a quarrel broke out between Vīramjī and the Joyās and he was killed. Vīramjī left five sons; four of whom founded four branches of the Rāṭhors: Devarāj, the Devrājots; Gogā, the Gogādes; Jaisiṁha, the Jaisiṁhas; Chāhaḍde, the Chāhaḍdes.

20. Rāv Chūnḍājī.

Vīramjī's son Rāv Chūnḍājī[44] was a powerful ruler and the principalities of the Rāṭhors in Mārwār grew extensive in his time. After taking possession of Manḍor he conquered Nāgor, Ḍīḍwānā, Khāṭu, Ajmer and Sāṁbhar from the Mahomedans. After the death of Vīramajī, Māñgaliyānī, the mother of Chūnḍājī, came along with her sons to the Thal and resided in the house of a Chāraṇa named Alhā in the village of Kālāu. It is said that Ālhā having noticed the remarkable physiognomy of Chūnḍājī prophesied that he would be a renowned ruler. Shortly afterwards Chūnḍājī was appointed a Thānādār by Mallināthjī over the village of Sāloḍī. Later still, the Īndās who were a branch of the Parihāras, captured the fort of Manḍor from the Mahomedans; but as they found it difficult to retain possession of the place they called in Chūnḍājī to their help

[44] Col. Tod places the date of his accession in 1438. Bearing in mind that Vīramjī died in 1440, it is impossible to hold that Chūnḍājī came to the gādi in 1438.

which was accorded. The leader of the Īndās named Rāyadhaval now married his daughter to Chūndājī and gave him Mandor in dowry.[45] An old couplet refers to this incident:—

> "ईंदां रौ उपगार, कमधज मत भूलौ कदै ।
> चूंडौ चैंवरी चाड, दियौ मंडोवर दायजै ॥"

As master of Mandor Chūndājī was looked upon with much respect by the Rajput tribes, such as the Īndās, the Māñgaliyās, the Āsāyachs, etc., who served under him. With the help of such a strong force, he drove away the Mahomedans from Nāgor and annexed that place. He followed up his success by the conquest of Ḍīḍwānā, Khāṭu and Sāṁbhar. The tract of country known as Jāṅgal also came into his possession.

About that time a marriage between Koḍamade, the daughter of the Mohil chief Māṇikdeva of Auḍīnṭ, with Bhāṭṭī Sādūl, son of Rāṇangde; chief of Pūgal took place. But as the hand of this bride had been sought in marriage by Chūndājī's son Aḍakamala and as Koḍamade had refused, he promised to take revenge for the insult cast upon his Rajput honour. With a force of 4,000 soldiers he awaited the return of Sādūl on the way. In his train was a Sānkhalā chief named Mehrāja, father of Harbhū who had entered into Chūndājī's service after the murder of his son by Rāṇangde. While Sādūl was marching home along with his bride on the way he was stopped by Aḍakamala and his party. A sanguinary battle took place in which Sādūl lay dead on the field. His newly married wife became a Satī.[46] This news having reached Rāṇangde he was overwhelmed with grief at the loss of his son; and finding Aḍakamala too powerful for him, fell upon Mehrāja and killed him. Rāv Chūndājī now entered into the field and killed Rāṇangde who had dared to lay hands on his vassal.

As a result of this, the Bhāṭṭīs and the Mohils who lived in Pūgal sought assistance from the ruler of Multān and brought down a force

[45] Col. Tod says that Chūndājī put the Parihār chief to death and occupied his territories. But no corroboration of this is available.

[46] Col. Tod says that Lake Koḍamadesara, situated in the village of that name, in the Bīkāner State, was constructed by Kodamade. Mūhaṇot Nensi also supports him. But an inscription of the time of Jodhājī, dated V.S. 1516, clearly states that this lake was constructed to preserve the memory of his mother who also bore the name of Kodamade. The similarity of the names must have led Tod and Nensi into the mistake.

under Salīm and besieged Nāgor. Some of the Rājputs in the train of Chūṇḍājī advised him to retreat, but the latter remained obdurate in his refusal; saying that as he had never before retreated in the face of the enemy so he would not do it then. But he asked his sons to leave the fort, while he himself died fighting with the enemy in 1480.

Rāv Chūṇḍājī is regarded as the founder of the village of Chūṇḍāsar in Bikāner. A temple dedicated to Chāmuṇḍā Devī and situated near village Chāvaṇḍa, about 8 koss from Jodhpur, is also said to have been constructed by him. Near that temple an inscription has been discovered bearing the date of V.S. 1451 and though it contains no name, so far at least it is clear that it refers to the construction of the temple itself. It is possible that it was built soon after the accession of Chūṇḍājī to the gādi.[47]

Chūṇḍājī left 14 sons all of whom were known as Rāvs. Twelve branches originated from them—the Satāvats from Satā, the Raṇadhīrots from Raṇadhīra, the Bhīmots from Bhīm, the Arjunots from Arjun, the Aḍakamalots from Aḍakamala, the Pūnāwats from Pūnā, the Kānhāwats from Kānhā, the Śivarājots, from Śivarāja, the Lumbhāwats from Lumbhā, the Vijāwats from Vijā, the Sahasamalots from Sahasamal, the Harachandots from Harachanda.

21. Rāv Raṇamalajī.

Rav Chūṇḍājī once said to his eldest son that he wished that the throne of Manḍor might pass on to Kānhā after him, and in accordance with his father's wish Raṇamalajī handed over the kingdom of Manḍor to his younger brother, himself retiring to Chitor to the court of Rāṇā[48] Lākhā who gave him 40 villages for his maintenance. Kānhā ruled for eleven months only.

[47] An unpublished copperplate of Chūṇḍājī has been traced at the village of Badali and is dated V.S. 1478.

[48] An inscription of Rāṇā Lākhā has been traced at Koṭ Solaṅkiā in Goḍwāḍ and is dated V.S. 1475. (*J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XII (N.S.), p. 115.) The late Dr. Tessitori read the date as "14[4?]5." The third figure in the date was misunderstood by him, for it should be really 1475. An inscription on the Chitor Jayasthambha refers to Rāṇā Kshetrasiṁha as having imprisoned Raṇamala of Iḍar, who had humbled the pride of the Guzerāt king. This last incident must have taken place in 1403 A.D. when the son of Muzaffar Khān imprisoned his father and ruled for a short period. (*Bom. Gaz.* Vol. 1, p. 234.) In this usurpation Raṇamala assisted Muzaffar's son and thus humbled the pride of the Guzerāt king. Moreover a copperplate of Rāṇā Lākhā is dated V.S. 1462. Thus Rāṇā Lākhā must have come to the throne of Mewār between V.S. 1460 and 1462 and the date of this inscription must be later, i.e. V.S. 1475. Col. Tod assigns the date V.S. 1439 to the accession of Lākhā, but in view of the fact that Khetā was alive in V.S. 1460 this date must be regarded as incorrect.

After his death, Chūṇḍājī's son Satā was raised to the throne, but he too reigned for a short period of 3 or 4 years. Satā's son Narabada presented Rāṇā Kuṁbhā with his own eye on the latter's request. Some misunderstanding arose between Satā and his younger brother Raṇadhīrjī; when the latter went to his eldest brother Raṇamala in Mewār and said to him that he had abdicated the throne in favour of Kānhā only, and so Satājī had no right to the principality. Raṇamala was impressed with this argument; and with Mokaljī's [49] help marched to Manḍor, drove away Satā and himself sat [50] on the throne. Shortly after with the Rāṇā's help Raṇamalajī led an expedition against Nāgor and defeating the Mahomedan army under Feroze and Mahomad annexed that state to his own.

There is an old verse which refers to Raṇamalajī in the following terms :—

"तैं गंजे पीरोज ढाल महिमद गो ढाळे ।"

This event is also referred to in the Kumbhalgaḍh Praśasti of Mahārāṇā Kuṁbhā, dated 1517. In the description it contains about Mokaljī it says :—

"पीरोजं समहंमदं शरशतैरापात्य यः प्रोल्लसत्-
कुन्तव्रातनिपातदोर्गंहृदयांस्तस्यावधीद्दन्तिनः ॥ २२१ ॥"

"(Mokaljī) killed Feroze and Mahomad with a hundred arrows."

This supports the proposition that with Mokaljī's help Raṇamalaji conquered Nāgor.

Raṇamalajī was of great assistance to the Rāṇās of Mewār. In 1490 V.S., Chāchā and Merā, two of the illegitimate sons of Rāṇā Khetājī, murdered Mokaljī. When this news reached Raṇamalajī he at once came to the help of Kuṁbhā, Mokal's son; and, having killed the murderers in their place of refuge, seated Kuṁbhā on the throne. The administrative affairs of Mewār were also settled by him. Thereupon the Sardārs of Mewār headed by Chāchā's son Ākā and the Paramār Mahapā with the assistance of Mokal's elder brother Chūṇḍā warned Kuṁbhājī to be on his guard, otherwise the throne would pass on to the Rāṭhors. The mind of Kuṁbhājī was thus poisoned and in consequence in 1495 the Rāṇā caused Raṇamala to be murdered.

[49] So we learn from the inscriptions.

[50] Col. Tod places Raṇamalajī's accession immediately after Chūṇḍājī But as we have seen two reigns intervened between them.

Raṇamalajī's son Jodhājī[51] was with his father in Mewār. The news of his father's death was sent to him with the hint that he must flee for his life. With the help of 700 followers Jodhājī fled from the city, but Sisodīa Chunḍājī followed with a large army. All along the way skirmishes took place, so that when Jodhājī reached Mārwār there were only seven of his followers left. Jodhājī at first thought of settling down at Manḍor, but since he was followed by the Mahārāṇā's soldiers, he had to retire further and establish himself at Kāhunī[52] in the Thal. Rāṇā Kuṁbhā made himself master of the whole of the Mārwār, and placed Rāṭhor Rāghavadev, grandson of Rāv Chūnḍā and son of Sahasamal, with the title of Rāv, upon Sojhat. At Manḍor and Chokḍi the Rāṇā established powerful garrisons under well-known soldiers of the State. Of these latter, were Kuṁbhājī's brother Sūā, Kuntala and Mānjā sons of Sīsodiā Chūnḍā, Hingolā of the Āhaḍā sept as well as Ākā the Sīsodiā.

Raṇamalajī had 26 sons from whom 24 branches originated. Five from Akherāj, the Rāṇāwat branch was named after Rāṇā, the Bhadāwats from Bhadā, Akherāj's son; his grandson Kūṁpā[53] gave his name to the Kūṁpāwats; Panchāin's son Jetā gave his name to the Jetāwats Kalā became the founder of the Kalāwats; Kāndhal, of the Kāndhalots; Chāṁpā, of the Chāṁpāwats; Lākhā, of the Lākhāwats, Mānḍaṇa, of the Mānḍaṇots; Rūpā, of the Rūpāwats; Ḍūngarsi, of the Ḍūngarots; Karaṇasi, of the Karaṇots; Bīrā, of the Bīrāwats; Sānḍā, of the Sānḍāwats; Manḍalā, of the Manḍalots; Aḍmal, of the Aḍmalots; Sīnghā, of the Raṇamalots; Hāpā, of the Raṇamalots; Nāthu, of the Nāthāwats and of the Harkhāwats; Bhākharsi, of the Bālās; Jagmāl of the Jagmālots; Jetmāl, of the Bhojāwats and Pātā of the Pātāwats.

22. Rāv Jodhājī.

Jodhājī[54] was a very brave and powerful prince. After he had settled himself at Kāhunī he led some attacks against Manḍor but all his attempts were futile. On one occasion Rāvjī is said to have entered into the house of a Jāṭ

[51] Col. Tod takes Jodhājī to be the eldest son of his father. But the eldest son of Raṇamalajī was Akherāj, whose descendants are still living at Bāgdi. The latter, even to the present day, put the tilaka on the head of the heir-apparent.

[52] Col. Tod holds that Jodhājī fled to the Aravellī mountains, but an inscription of Jodhājī dated V.S. 1516 has been found at Koḍamadeśa in Bīkāner. It appears, therefore, that Jodhājī fled in that direction, *J.A.S.B.* Vol. XIII. (N.S.) p. 217.

[53] Col. Tod holds Kūṁpā to be the eldest son of Akherāj; but in fact he was his grandson, being the son of Mehrāj.

[54] Col. Tod assigns the date V.S. 1484 to Jodhājī's birth; but he was born in 1472, as his horoscope discovered recently clearly shows.

peasant and being very hungry, he requested the latter for some food. In the house there was only soup made from Bājrī seeds and the wife of the peasant placed a plate of it before Jodhājī. Ravjī dipped his fingers in the soup, but as it was very hot his fingers were burnt. The Jāṭnī thereupon, remarked "I see you are a fool like Jodhājī." Jodhājī asked her the reason why she held him to be a fool. She replied that Jodhājī marched direct upon Manḍor and this act like his placing his fingers in the hot soup only caused failure. Rāvjī took the lesson to heart and in V.S. 1510 assisted by Sānkhlā Harbhū,[55] Bhāṭṭī Jaisā and other relatives marched upon Manḍor and defeating the Rāṇā's garrisons therein, annexed that territory to his own. This news having reached Rāṇā Kuṁbhā, he marched personally against Mārwār. Rāv Jodhājī prepared his army and marched with some of his followers on horses and camels, while others came in carts. The Rāṇā found that soldiers who came to meet him in carts were determined either to win or to die and thus apprehending much loss of life retreated to Mewār. Soon a large number of Rajput warriors joined Jodhājī who now fell upon Mewār to avenge his father's death. Goḍwāḍ was plundered, and the Rāv then advanced upon Chitor. Rāṇā Kuṁbhā fled from the city; whereupon Jodhājī burnt the gates of the fort, committed some devastations in Mewār and drank his horses in the Pīcholā lake.

Some old sayings referring to this incident run thus :—

छप्पय ।

"चीतोड़ तणा चंडाहरै किंमाड़ह परजालिया ।"

नीशाणी ।

"जोधै जंगम आपरा पीछोले पाया ।"

Rāṇā Kuṁbhājī, finding how very strong his enemy was, sent his son Ūdā to Jodhājī to negotiate peace; and it was settled that the boundaries of the two kingdoms should be determined by the plant Ānval on the Udaipur side and tree of Bānval on the Mārwār side. From this time forward Jodhājī's power went on increasing. In V.S. 1515, Rāvjī constructed a fortress on the hill which lay three koss from Manḍor and on which lived a Jogī of the name of Chiḍiyānātha. The gate of the original fort built by Jodhājī is still known as Jodhājī's gate. On the valley below the fortress was founded the town of Jodh-

[55] Col. Tod finding that Rāmdev and Harbhū accompanied Jodhājī, took the latter for a Rāṭhor. Rāmdev really was a Yomāra.

pur named after himself. Close by the fort his queen Jasmāde constructed a tank named Rāṇīsar.

About the year 1531, Rāv Jodhājī defeated and killed in battle the Mohīl chief of Chhāpara Droṇapur now known as Bīdāvatī in modern Bīkāner and made his own son Bīdā the ruler of that place. In the same way the Sānkhalā chief Jesala, son of Bisala, who ruled over the Jāṅgal country, modern Bīkāner, was defeated; his territory being taken possession of by Jodhājī's son Bīkā. The latter founded the modern city of Bīkāner in 1541.

Ajmer was at that time an appenage to the kingdom of Mālwā. About 360 villages of this tract were annexed by Rāv Jodhājī who placed his sons Barsing and Dūdā over Mertā to which the above villages were added.

Jodhājī's attention was not drawn to worldly affairs alone, but spiritual affairs had much fascination for him. He went on a pilgrimage to Gayā and there induced the king of Jaunpur in whose territory Gayā lay, to remit the taxes levied upon the pilgrims who went there. Maharāṇā Rāimalla's inscription found at Ghosundi[56] and dated 1561 V.S. alludes to this incident which earned for its author undying fame.

Rāv Jodhājī left this world in 1545 V.S. He left 20[57] sons who produced 11 branches. Barsiṁha became the ancestor of the Barsiṁhots; Dūdā,[58] of the Meḍtiās and the Chāndāwats, Bīkā, of the Bīkās; Bīdā, of the Bīdāwats; Banbīr, of the Banbīrots; Jogā's son Khangār, of the Khangārots; Karamsi, of the Karamsots; Bhārmal, of the Bhārmalots; Śivarāj, of the Śivarājots; and Rāypāla, of the Rāypālots.

For his sons he carved out independent principalities which he distributed among them so that they might not have an occasion to quarrel among themselves. In the latter part of his life he enjoyed complete peace, such as fell to the lot of very few Rajput rulers. His prowess, integrity, generosity and farsightedness are manifest in all his actions. From him originated the Jodhā branch of the Rāṭhor clan and this term exactly fits them because of their uncommon bravery.

56 *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXVI, Pt. I, No. 2.

"पूर्वांननार्त्तिद्वयथा विमुक्तया ।"

57 Col. Tod says that there were 14 sons only.

58 Col. Tod says that Dūdā's daughter Mirāñbāī was married to Mahārāṇā Kumbhā; but Mirāñbāī was the daughter of Ratnasiṁha, Dūdā's son; and she was married to Bhojrājā, son of Rāṇā Sāngā and grandson of Kumbhā.

After the death of Jodhājī in V.S. 1545, his son Sātaljī[59] ascended the throne and reigned for three years only. He adopted his nephew Narā who founded the city of Sātalmer near Pokaraṇ, and named it after Sātaljī. Some of the chronicles hold that Sātaljī himself was the founder of this city. His brothers, Barsiṁhajī and Dūdājī, who had been placed over Mertā by Jodhājī plundered the Mahomedan city of Sāṁbhar which brought Mallu Khān, the Subedār of Ajmer, upon them. Rāv Sātaljī came to the assistance of his brother along with Sūjājī. Mallu Khān was encamped near Pīpār. As the women of this place had gone out of the village to worship the Goddess Gauri, Mallu Khān fell upon them unawares and took them prisoners. This news having reached the Rāṭhor princes, all the four brothers marched upon Mallu Khān to rescue the women[60] from the hands of the enemy. A battle took place at the village of Kosāṇā where the Mahomedan general Ghaḍūkā was killed and Mallu Khān saved himself by flight. Some of the annals put the name of Sariyā Khān in place of Mallu Khān. In the battle Sātaljī[61] was mortally wounded, and he died in the same night. Sātaljī's wife Fūlāṁ, a Bhāṭṭī, constructed a tank named Fūlelāo Talāv in 1547. An inscription[62] of Sātaljī has been traced in Kolu, Phalodhi Pargannah, and is dated 1515. It attributes the title of Mahārāv to Jodhājī and Rāv to Sātaljī and thus proves that during the lifetime of his father Sātaljī was put in charge of the Phalodhi Pargannah.

23. Rāv Sātaljī.

On the death of Rāv Sātaljī his younger brother came to the throne in 1548 V.S. Sūjājī's son, Narā[63] had been taken in adoption by Sātaljī; but, on the death of

24. Rāv Sūjājī.

[59] Tod, *Annals* Vol. II, p. 17. Col. Tod makes Sūjājī ascend the throne after Jodhājī, and says that the occupation of the gādi by Sātaljī appears to be a mistake as he was killed in defending Sātalmer. But all the chronicles of Mārwār relate his history as given above.

[60] Col. Tod says Mallu Khān seized the "Rājputānīs" of Pīpār. But this is a mistake. The women belonged to the lower classes, as the Rājput ladies never stir out of the harem.

[61] Col. Tod puts the name of Sūjā in place of Sātaljī, and says that the event occurred in V.S. 1572. But the incident took place in V.S. 1548. When Sātaljī died, Sūjājī was present in the battlefield and ascended the throne on Sātaljī's death.

[62] *J.A.S.B.* 1916, p. 108.

[63] Col. Tod (*Annals* Vol. II, p. 18) says that Narā was son of Viramdev, the fifth son of Sūjā but Narā was not the grandson of Sūjā; he was the latter's son. An inscription of Narā dated V.S., 1532 has been discovered at Phalodhi and it clearly mentions him to be a son of Sūjā. *J.A.S.B.* Vol. XII, (N.S.), p. 94.

his adopted father, Sūjājī handed over to him the Pargannahs of Pokaraṇ and Phalodhi where he ruled as Sūjājī's vassal. At that time Phalodhi contained a small population; while at Pokaraṇ, a dynasty of Rāṭhors known as the Pokaraṇā Rāṭhors and descendants of Mallināthjī's grandson Hammīr[64] ruled independently. The chief of these Pokaraṇā Rāṭhors was driven away by Narā who established his rule over that Pargannah. In 1555 V.S., this dethroned chief, Khīmā, with the assistance of a Rāṭhor soldier named Lūnkā of Bāhaḍmer took away some cattle from Narā's territory. Narā advanced to rescue his cattle and a battle took place in which Narā was killed. Sūjā, to avenge the death of his son, marched upon Lūnkā and plundered Bāhaḍmer. After this he divided the territory of Narā among his two sons—Pokaraṇ was given over to Govinda, and Phalodhi to Hammīr. An inscription[65] of Hammīr has been found in Phalodhi bearing the date of 1573 V.S. Another inscription of Sūjāji of 1552[66] V.S., has been discovered at Āso.

After Mallu Khān's defeat, he inveigled Barsiṁhadev, Sūjājī's brother, into a trap and held him prisoner in Ajmer. The news having reached Sūjājī, he prepared for an attack on Ajmer but even before he could reach there, his other brothers Bīkājī and Dūdājī marched upon the Ajmer direct from Bīkāner and demanded the surrender of their brother Barsiṁhadev. Mallukhān was compelled to surrender his prisoner and the three brothers then went to Mertā.

From very early times the Sīndhal Rāṭhors had been in possession of Jetāraṇa, which they held of the Rāṇās of Mewār. When Jodhājī conquered parts of Goḍwāḍ from the Rāṇā, the Rāṭhors of Jetāraṇa were compelled to transfer their allegiance to him. But on Sūjājī's accession, he drove away the Sīndhal Rāṭhors from the place which was handed over to his own son Ūdā whose descendants are known as Ūdāwats. Sūjājī's eldest son Bāghājī died in the lifetime of his father in 1571 V.S. In the following year Rāv Sūjājī died after a reign of 23[67] years. He had 11 sons who founded nine branches: Sekhā the Sekhāwats; Ūdā, the Ūdāwats; Devīdās, the Devīdāsots; Sāngā, the

[64] Rāmśā Pir of the Tonwar clan founded the city of Pokaraṇ, with the consent of Mallināthjī. Later on Rāmśā Pir gave his daughter in marriage to Hammīr, son of Jagmāl and grandson of Mallināthji, and also gave Pokaraṇ in a dowry to his son-in-law.

[65] *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XII, (N.S.), p. 95. [66] Unpublished. [67] Col. Tod says 27 years.

Sāngāwats; Prāgdās, the Prāgdāsots; Narā, the Narāwats; Māpā, the Māpāwats; Tilokasi the Tilokasiots: Khangār, the Khangārots.

When Bāghājī was at the point of death his father Sūjājī asked if he had any wish to be carried out. Kunwar Bāghājī requested his father to instal one of his own sons after Sūjājī's death on the throne. Sūjājī, with the consent of his other son Sekhā, said that it would be done as he wished, and fixed upon Bāghājī's son, Vīram. But after Sūjājī's death, Vīram's claims were overlooked and his younger brother Gāngā ascended the throne. Bāghājī left 7 sons, of whom Vīram and Pratāp were the founders of one branch of Rāṭhors known as the Bāghāwat Jodhās.

25. Rāv Gāngājī.

After Sūjājī's death the Sardārs of the State led by Panchāin, Akherāja's son, met to instal Kunwar Bāghājī's eldest son Vīram on the throne of Jodhpur. As the sons of these Sardārs felt hungry, they were told by their elders to go to the mother of Vīram for their food and to send some dishes for the Sardārs themselves. But the old lady not only did not entertain them with any food, but retorted that she was not a cook. This displeased some of the Sardārs. When this affair reached the ears of Gāngājī's[63] mother, she had the dishes prepared within a short time, served food to the sons of the Sardārs and showed every respect to them. This incident prejudiced the minds of the Sardārs against Vīram and they delayed the time of installation on the plea that the hour was not auspicious. Gāngājī was at that time in Mewār. He was invited to return at once and on his arrival was installed on the throne. Vīram was given the Pargannah of Sojhat. But his partisans led by Sūjā's son Sekhā at the same time made the tilaka on Vīramjī's head in the fort below Jodhpur and sent him direct to Sojhat with Mutā Rāyamal.

Rāv Gāngājī, before he was installed on the throne of Jodhpur, had been of great help to Rāṇā Sāngā and accompanied him in all his battles. In V.S. 1571, Muzaffar II reinstalled Bhārmal to the throne of Īḍar which had been usurped by his cousin Rāimal with the assistance of his father-in-law Rāṇā Sāngā of Chitor. Rāṇā Sāngā thereupon determined to attack Guzerāt and to secure the assistance of Rāv Gāngājī sent Rāwal Ḍūngarsī of Ḍūngarpur to the court of Gāngājī. In 1573 V.S. Rāṇājī

[63] Col. Tod holds Gāngājī to be the eldest son of Bāghājī; but he was not the eldest son as will be seen from the above.

marched upon Guzerāt with Gāngājī and defeated Muzaffar II. Rāv Rāimal was reinstalled on the throne of Īḍar. Later on Rāṇā Sāngā fought a battle against Bābar in 1584 V.S. in which Gāngājī helped the Rāṇā. It is said that Dūdāji's son Rāimal[69] went with his brother Ratansiṁha at the head of 4000 soldiers to the assistance of Sāngā in the battle of Bayānā. Both these brothers attacked the cannons of the Mogul invader and died fighting bravely in this battle.

Rāv Gāngājī's uncle Sekhā had received Peepāḍa as his share of the paternal estate. This Sekhā had sided with Vīramjī and thus there were constant troubles between Rāvjī and himself. The dispute over the boundary provided a constant source of quarrel. In the end however Rāvji proposed that the fields which produced the karaḍ grass should belong to himself, while those producing bhurat should go to Sekhājī. But the latter did not want to come to terms and sent his officials Haradās, an Ūhaḍa Rāṭhor, to Rāvjī saying that the proposal did not meet with his approval. Moreover in 1586 V.S. he induced Khānzādā[70] Daulat Khān from Nāgor to lead an expedition against Rāvjī. The Khānzādā encamped at Seoki, in Jodhpur, and Rāvjī marched forwards to meet him and encamped at Gāngāṇī. A battle ensued; but Rāvjī, having taken opium, was drooping down his head in his palanquin. His Sardārs approached him and scolded him for his apparent carelessness when his own forces were being cut to pieces. This remark brought Rāvji to his senses and opening his eyes found that the Mahomedan army was marching forward with an elephant at its vanguard. The Mahomedan general had tied a sword to the trunk of the elephant which was carrying destruction right and left among the Rajput ranks. Gāngājī, as soon as he came to his senses, shot an arrow at the elephant which at once fled away and trampled down the Mahomedan army, which consequently took to its heels and Sekhā[71] was himself among the slain. That elephant, which was named Dariājoś, fled to Mertā and was captured by Dūdājī's son Vīramjī. Māldevjī, Gāngājī's son, had followed the elephant and now demanded it of the latter. The

[69] Col. Tod maintains that this Rāimal was the grandson of Gāngājī; but in fact, the two are to be distinguished, Gāngājī had a grandson named Rāimal but he was not born at that time.

[70] Col. Tod says that he belonged to the Lodi family, but he was a Tāk Musalmān and belonged to the reigning family of Guzerāt.

[71] Tod mistakes the name for Sāngā.

demand was refused and thus enmity arose between Prince Māldevjī and Vīramji. This ill-feeling caused the defeat of Māldevjī in his war against Sher Śāh as Mārwār was deprived of the help of such heroic sons like Jetā and Kūṁpā. Two years after this battle Rāvji died in 1588 V.S.

A well and a tank constructed by Rāv Gāngājī, named Gāngārī Bāuḍi and Gāngelāv respectively, still commemorate his name. His queen Padmāvati, daughter of Rāṇā Sāngā built a tank known as Padamsar.[72] The image of Gangaśiāmjī (Viṣṇu) which is still regarded as one of the principal images of the city of Jodhpur, was brought there by Rāvjī on the occasion of his marriage at Sirohī. Along with this queen of Rāvji came some Oswāls of the Singhi tribe to Jodhpur.

Gāngājī had six sons. Two of these Kriṣṇasiṁha and Berisāl have left a branch known as the Gāngāwat Jodhās.

26. Rāv Māldevjī.

Māldevjī ascended the throne on the death of his father in 1588 V.S. He was a very strong ruler and had in his service an army of 80,000 cavalry. His kingdom comprised a vast area and was bounded by Hānsi and Hissār on the north-east, Jāṇgal on the north, Sindh on the west, Sirohī and Pālanpur on the south and Mewār and Hāḍāvaṭī on the south-east.

When Māldev came to the throne his territory included only two districts—Jodhpur and Sojhat. Nāgor, Jālor, Sāṁbhar, Ḍīdwānā, and Ajmer were under Mahomedan possession. Over Māllanī, the descendants of Mallināthjī reigned supreme. Goḍwāḍ was in the hands of the Rāṇās of Mewār. At Sāchor, the Chauhāns were ruling. Vīramjī was the lord of Mertā. But all these districts were conquered by Rāv Māldevjī. Besides these, Chāṭsū, Naraṇā, Lālsot, Bonli, Fatehpur and Jūjhnū (in modern Jaipur) were annexed to his kingdom. To the west of his king-

[72] Paṇḍit Gauriśankar Ojhā states in his History of Sirohi (p. 205) that Rāwal Jagmāl's daughter Padmāvatībāi excavated the tank known as Padamalasar at Jodhpur. The name is not Padmalasar but Padamasar, and it was excavated not by the daughter of the Sirohī chief, but by that of Rāṇā Sāngā. Both these ladies bore the same name. In the Khyāta of Mūndiaḍ written in the time of Jasavantsiṁha I, it is clearly written :—

"सोलोदणोजी अतिमदे, राणा सांगा री बेटी, उदैसिंघ राणा री बेहन नाम पद्मावती पोधर थो—इण री करायो तलाव पदमसर।"

Paṇḍitjī also says that the daughter of the Sirohī chief became a Satī on the death of her husband Gāngājī, but the above Khyāta clearly mentions her as being alive after her husband's death :—

"देवड़ीजी मांणकदेजी, ने पोधर रो नाम पदम बाई थो, तिण रा बेटा ३ ने बेटी १ हुआ।"

dom, he added Chohatan and Pārakar from the Paramāras, and Ūmarkoṭ from the Soḍhās. In the south he extended his authority over Sāchor, then ruled by the Chauhāns, as well as Rādhanpur and Khābaḍ ruled by the Paramāras. The districts of Goḍawaḍ, Badnor, Madāriā and Kosīthal were seized from Mewār. In addition to the above, Puramāṇḍala, Kekrī, Mālpurā, Amarsar, Ṭoṅk and Ṭodā were added to his kingdom. He occupied Sirohī as well; but as the Rāv of that place was his maternal grandfather he was re-instated in his kingdom.

The state of Bīkāner too was added to his kingdom after the defeat of its ruler Jetsi. In fact the banner of Rāv Māldev waved over 52 districts and 84 forts.

Rāvjī rendered much help to Rāṇā Udaisiṁha of Chitor. After the murder of Rāṇā Vikramāditya; Banbīr, an illegitimate son of Rāṇā Sāngā, had usurped the throne of Mewār. Udaisiṁha, Sāngā's son, then a refugee at Kuṁbhalmer wrote to Rāv Māldev asking for his assistance. The latter at once sent his famous Generals Jetā and Kūṁpā to Udaisiṁha's help. They drove away Banbīr and re-instated Udaisiṁha on the throne of Chitor in 1597 V.S. In recognition of this act the Rāṇā sent 40,000 Ferozi coins and an elephant named Vasantarāi as a present to Rāvjī.

In 1599, the Moghul emperor Humāyūn after he had been deprived of his kingdom by Śer Śāh, sought shelter with Māldevjī. Humāyūn stayed near Manḍor for about 3 or 4 months. At that time the Moghul Emperor was told by some person that Māldevjī intended to appropriate his treasures. In fear of losing his treasure, Humāyūn left Manḍor and marched out of Mārwār. Passing through Jaissalmer he had some skirmishes with Rāv Lūṇakaraṇ, the chief of the place; and at last reached Ūmarkoṭ, where the famous emperor Akbar saw the light of the day. From that place Humāyūn went to Śāh Tahmāsp II, the king of Persia.

We have already seen that there had arisen an enmity between Vīramjī of Mertā and Rāv Māldevjī. The latter in pursuit of his revenge drove out his enemy from Mertā. After some adventures, Vīramjī sought shelter with Śer Śāh and induced the latter to attack Māldev. The Emperor advanced and took his post at Sumela in Ajmer. Māldevjī too moved forward and encamped at Girri facing the Mahomedan army. Śer Śāh was seized with fear and desired to construct redoubts on all sides of his camp. He filled a large number of sacks with sand and

placed them one over another so as to form a wall which could protect his army. In this fashion the two armies remained entrenched for a month "Śer Śāh would gladly have retreated quickly," says Feriśtā, "but the danger was too great to admit of his venturing to quit his entrenchments; while the position of the enemy was such as to render an attack on him very hazardous".[73] At this juncture Vīramjī of Mertā, approached Śer Śāh and said to him that there was no cause of anxiety and that he would be able to gain the victory for him without the loss of a single life.

Vīramjī adopted a stratagem. He caused letters addressed to the chief officers in Māldev's army to be written and had them stamped by the imperial seal. These letters were then sewed down in the cushion inside the shields and sent to the respective Rājput officers along with some money. At the same time some spies were also sent to Māldevjī, who was informed that his officers had joined the Mahomedan Emperor, and that if the Rāv were only to unsew the cushions of their shields their treachery would be made manifest to him. Rāvjī sent for the shields of his officers and the letters were found inside them. Māldevjī was seized with fear and at once retreated to Jālor. Jetā and Kūṁpā as well as other officers of his army tried their best to remove the suspicion of Māldev, but the latter remained obdurate. At this stage Jetā and Kūṁpā said that even should Rāvjī leave the field they would never leave their position. With a small band of 12,000 Rājput soldiers, Jetā and Kūṁpā stood ready for the attack which followed soon. But this small band repeatedly repulsed the vast army of the Emperor which amounted to 80,000 and would probably have defeated them had not a reinforcement joined the Mahomedan ranks. "Śer Śāh now falling on the Rājputs with renewed vigour threw them into disorder" (Ferishtā). The Rājput lines broke, and Jetā and Kūṁpā together with all their followers were cut to pieces. Śer Śāh is said to have declared after this hard-won victory, that for a handful of bājrā he had almost lost the empire of Hindusthān.

With this battle began the decline of Māldev's fortunes. In 1605, Rāvjī was able for a second time to establish his authority upon Ajmer and Nāgor, but in 1613 Hājī Khān a Paṭhān adventurer, again drove out Māldevjī from Ajmer. In the meantime Akbar had ascended the throne of Delhi in 1611. Shortly after his accession he won over Bhārmal, the rājā of Āmber, to his side and annexed certain territories

[73] Briggs' translation, Vol. II, p. 121.

in Rājputānā. In 1614 V.S. Akbar sent his general Śāh Kulī Khān Muharam to Ajmer and drove away Hājī Khān from that place. As a result of this victory, the districts of Ajmer, Jetāran and Nāgor were annexed to his kingdom. Gradually the authority of the Emperor was established in the eastern parts of Mārwār and the kingdom of Rāv Māldev was reduced to a small principality. In 1619 V.S. Sharfuddin Husain Mirzā, the Subedār of Ajmer, fought a battle which continued for three days with Rāṭhor Devīdās and Jagmāl, the Generals of Māldevjī, in Mertā and drove them away from that district, where Vīramjī's son Jaimal was placed as governor. In that very year Māldevjī died at Jodhpur.[74] Māldevjī's queen Rūṭhī Rāṇī, daughter of Rāval Lūṇkaraṇ of Jaissalmer although she had never lived with her husband in her life, but as soon as the news of his death reached her became Satī.

Several forts and fortresses constructed by Māldevjī exist to this day. Mālkoṭ in Mertā and several bastions of the fort of Vīnṭalī in Ajmer were constructed by him. Inside the latter fort a wheel to draw water from the well placed there by Māldevjī may be seen even now.

Māldevjī had 22 sons from whom originated 13 branches: Rām became the founder of the Rāmots; Chandrasena, of the Chandrasenots; Ratansiṁha, of the Ratansiṁhots; Bhāṇa, of the Bhāṇots; Bhojarāja, of the Bhojarājots; Gopāldās, of the Gopāldāsots; Mahesdās, of the Mahesdāsots; Vikramāditya, of the Vikramāyats; Tiloksi, of the Tiloksiots; Ḍūngarsi, of the Ḍūngarots; and Kesarisiṁha, of the Kesarisiṁhots. A grandson of Māldev, Abherāj the son of Rāimal became the ancestor of the Abherājots; and from a great-grandson of the Rāv, Vihārīdās, of the Vihārīdāsots, are descended.

27. Rāv Chandrasenajī.

In 1619 V.S. Chandrasenajī succeeded his father to the throne. Like his father he possessed a spirit of independence which made him look with aversion to submission to the Emperor; though after the death of Māldevjī, Akbar the Great sent Husain Kulī Khān, governor of Ajmer, and Rāv Rām, the

[74] Col. Tod (*Annals*, Vol. II, p. 22) writes. "In 1625, Maldeo . . . . in conformity with the times, sent his second son, Chundersên, with gifts to Akber, then at Ajmêr" "At the close of life, the old Rao . . . . was obliged to yield homage, and pay it in the person of his son Oodi Sing, who, attending with a contingent, was enrolled amongst the commanders of 'one thousand.'" Also, "he died soon after the title was conferred on his son."

It will appear from the above, that all of these statements are incorrect. Māldev died in 1619 V.S. and after his death Rāv Chandrasena reigned for three years over Jodhpur.

eldest son of Māldevjī to him commanding him to pay allegiance to the throne of Delhi. A war ensued and Husain Kulī Khān besieged the fort of Jodhpur in 1621. After some hard fighting, Chandrasena was obliged to leave the fort and passing through Bhādrājan, he reached Siwānā.

In 1627 V.S. Emperor Akbar went on a pilgrimage to Ajmer and thence he repaired to Nāgor. At that time Chandrasenajī was invited by the Emperor to see him, and he did so. At the same time Udaisiṁha (Māldev's son) from Phalodhi, Rāimal (Chandrasena's younger brother) from Siwānā, Kalyāṇasiṁha and his son Rāisiṁha from Bīkāner—all flocked to the Emperor's presence in the hope of being granted the Jodhpur State. But the Emperor gave it to none of them; and they went back to their respective territories except Udaisiṁha who remained with the Emperor. Rāv Chandrasenajī now went back to Bhādrājan. On account of this love of independence an old poem places Chandrasena and Rāṇā Pratāp in the same rank.

"अणदगिया तुरी ऊजला असमर,
चाकर छोगि न डिगियौ चीत।
सारा छौंदूकार तणै सिरि,
पातल् नै चंद्रसेण प्रवीत॥"

From Bhādrājan Chandrasenajī proceeded to Siwānā and carried devastation in the territories which had been occupied by the Mahomedans, so that Śāh Kulī Khān of Ajmer and Rāisiṁha of Bīkāner surrounded the Rāv in Siwānā. The Rāv found the Mahomedan army too strong for him and leaving the garrison in charge of a Rāṭhor soldier named Pattā, himself retired into the hills. Finding that the Mahomedan army had concentrated all their attention upon Siwānā, Chandrasena's nephew Kallā (Rāimal's son) occupied Nāgor which had been left practically defenceless. The Mahomedan army had now been engaged in the seige of Siwānā for about five years; yet, there was no sign of its coming to an early end. Moreover Nāgor had, in the meantime, passed out of the Mahomedan hands. Akbar found it expedient to despatch a new and strong army under Bakśī Śāhbāz Khān who speedily brought the Rāṭhors under subjection. Nāgor and Siwānā were occupied. Strong garrisons were now placed in important centres, and Chandrasena was now cooped up in his mountain refuge. Later on, he picked up courage and with a raiding party looted Ajmer. While retreating to his forest

abode he was followed by Pāindah Khān, Kāsim and other Mahomedan generals. Chandrasena with great hardship, made his way back to his shelter where he died in 1637 V.S. Five of his wives followed him on the funeral pyre. An inscription of Chandrasena bearing date 1637 V.S. (not yet published), has been found at Sāraṇ in Sojhat district. His descendants known as the Chandrasenot Jodhās now occupy certain parts of Ajmer. The rājā of Bhiṇāya in Ajmer is one of them.

Chandrasena had 3 sons—Rāisiṁha, Ugrasena [75] and Āskarana. The eldest of these Rāisiṁha accepted service under the Mahomedan Emperor and was sent along with the imperial forces to Kābul. After Chandrasena's death, the tilaka was made on Āskarana—his elder brother being away in Kābul, and Ugrasena [75] in Būndī. When the news of Chandrasena's death reached Ugrasena he came to Mārwār but owing to a difference which arose about the partition of the paternal lands, he put his younger brother Āskarana to death. The partisans of the latter retaliated and Ugrasena died at their hands. An inscription of Āskarana dated 1638 V.S. has been found at Sāraṇ.

The two brothers having thus died, the Rāṭhors of Mārwār wrote to Kābul requesting Rāisiṁha to return to his country and accept the gādi. The latter accordingly came back to Mārwār. The Emperor also gave him a Jāgir in the district of Sojhat where he settled down.

Emperor Akbar had rewarded Jagmāl (Maharāṇā Udaisiṁha's son) with the Jāgir consisting of half of Sirohī. At that time Rāisiṁha was with the Emperor at Fatehpur Sīkrī. He was sent along with Jagmāl to take possession of the Sirohī Jāgir on behalf of the latter. Accordingly both of them advanced on Sirohī. A battle took place at Dattāni with Rāv Surtān of Sirohī in which Rāisiṁha and Jagamāl were killed in 1640 V.S.

28. Rājā Udaisiṁhajī.

Māhārājā Udaisiṁhajī received from the Emperor the following tracts in Jāgir in 1640 V.S.: Jodhpur with its five districts, one district in Hāḍoti and one in Chamāri. While his father was alive he had also obtained Phalodhi from him. At that time some quarrels arose between the Bhāṭṭīs and the Rāṭhors. All trade with Sindh and Thaṭṭā passed at that time through Bikupur which was then a possession of the Bhāṭṭīs. But then Udaisiṁha wanted to divert this traffic to Phalodhi, so that he might

75 Col. Tod holds Ugrasena to be the eldest son, but he was the second.

reap a good income from the custom duties. As we have already seen Udaisiṁha, along with his brothers, had taken service under Akbar. There, through the exertions of Muhatā Bhīm, the misunderstanding which had arisen between the brothers was removed. Udaisiṁha remained with the Emperor and went along with Sādik Khān. When the imperial forces were sent against Madhukar Shāh, the ruler of Orchhā in Bundelkhand, Udaisiṁha displayed much bravery in this expedition and the conquest of the fort of Narwar was due to his heroism. Later on, he was despatched to quell some Gūzar free-booters who had their seat at Samāvalī in Gwalior State. Udaisiṁha was successful in this task and soon brought them under subjection. The Emperor, satisfied with the services rendered, awarded the title of Rājā upon him and seated him on the gādi of Jodhpur. Rājā Udaisiṁha sent for his family and retinue who were then at Samāvalī and had them brought over to Jodhpur.

The Rāṭhor rulers of Mārwār prior to his time had been known as Rāvs, but henceforth they came to be styled Rājās. In the year 1641 V.S. Akbar despatched Abdu-r rahīm Khān-Khānān against Muzaffar, the last independent ruler of Guzerāt, and along with him Rājā Udaisiṁha was also sent. As a result of the battle which took place at Rāj Pīplī with Muzaffar, the latter being defeated took to his heels and victory crowned the imperial standard.

We have already noticed that the ruler of Sirohī, Rāv Surtān, had inflicted a defeat on the forces of the Emperor. To avenge the defeat, Rājā Udaisiṁha was sent along with Jāmbeg Paṭhān of Jālor against Rāv Surtān. The latter finding it hard to cope with the imperial forces at once submitted and gave two lacs of Ferozi coins, thirteen horses as well as two hostages.

In 1644 V.S. the Emperor awarded the state of Sirohī to the Devḍā chief Bijā who was a rival of Rāv Surtān and asked Rājā Udaisiṁha to obtain that principality for Bijā. Udaisiṁha, accompanied by Jāmbeg, fell upon the village of Nitoḍā in the same year, plundered it and encamped there. Rāv Surtān at once fled to the hills followed by Devḍā Bijā and Paṭhān Jāmbeg. When Surtān came to know that Bijā was following him, he retraced his steps and met the latter at the village of Vāsthānjī. In the battle Bijā lay dead on the field and Jāmbeg's brother was wounded. Rāv Surtān then again fled to the hills near Ābu. Rājā Udaisiṁha now

seated Rāv Kallā on the throne of Sirohī, in accordance with the desire of the Emperor, and returned to his capital.

We have already seen that Rāṭhor Kallā had taken possession of Nāgor, while the imperial forces were hemming Chandraseṇa in Siwānā. Soon after Nāgor was re-conquered by the Mahomedans, Kallā accepted service under the Emperor and was stationed at Lāhore. There he entered into a quarrel with a Mahomedan officer and put him to death. Thereafter he fled to Mārwār and took refuge in the fort of Siwānā. The Emperor asked Rājā Udaisiṁha to deal severely with Kallā. Udaisiṁha ordered his son Kunwar Sūrsiṁha and Bhanḍāri Mānā to proceed at once to Siwānā and act in accordance with the Emperor's desire. The prince however deputed some brave officers, like Bhupālsiṁha and others, to the task. The latter besieged Kallā in the fort of Siwānā. In this situation, the parties remained for a few days; when, one night, Kallā suddenly sallied out of the fort and fell upon the besieging force. Many of the brave soldiers were killed and the rest fled in all directions. This news having reached the Emperor, he asked Rājā Udaisiṁha to proceed personally against Siwānā. Accordingly with a large force the Rājā went there; but in spite of his attempts, the fort remained unconquered and the Rājā had recourse to a stratagem. He bribed a barber of the fort named Poliā to his side, and with his help got himself acquainted with the internal condition of the place. Some soldiers were taken inside the fort by means of a rope. Kallā, finding the enemy already inside the fort, determined to sell his life as dearly as possible; but considering lest his family might be roughly handled by the enemy killed all the women with his own hand and rushing forward sword in hand against the enemy, was soon overpowered and slain.

Towards the close of his life, Udaisiṁha became enormously fat. He was unable even to ride upon a horse or any animal. The Emperor in recognition of his services and with a reference to his corpulence rewarded him with the Mansab of one thousand horse and the title of Moṭā Rājā. He occupied the gādi for eleven years and died in 1651 V.S.

He had 17 sons; of them the third, Sūrajsiṁha, succeeded his father. Another of his sons, Dalpat, served the Emperor with much credit and received the fort of Jālor in Jāgir. It was Ratnasiṁha, a grandson of this Dalpat, who was rewarded with a Jāgir in Mālwā by Emperor Śāh Jehān and founded the city of Rutlām there, after his

own name. Ratanasiṁha's descendants still rule over that principality. Ratanasiṁha was in the ranks of Mahārājā Jasavantsiṁha of Jodhpur, when the latter fought the battle of Ujjain against Aurangzeb. In the thick of the battle he placed himself in the position of his leader, Mahārājā Jasavantsiṁha, and was among the slain. Still another son of Udaisiṁha, Kṛiṣṇasiṁha by name, received a Jāgir in Ajmer from Emperor Jehāngīr and founded there a city named Kṛiṣṇgaḍh. The descendants of Kṛiṣṇasiṁhajī are still ruling over that principality.

Nine branches of Raṭhors originated from Udaisiṁha's sons—from Sagatsiṁha, the Sagatsiṁhots, from Bhopālsiṁha, the Bhopatots[76]; from Narhardās, the Narhardāsots; from Mohaṇdās, the Mohaṇdāsots; from Mādhosiṁha, the Mādhosiṁhots[77] and the Sujānsiṁhots; from Dalpat, the Dalpatots; and from Ratansiṁha, the Ratanots and the Govindāsots.

29. Rājā Sūrajsiṁhajī.

At the time of his father's death Sūrajsiṁhajī was away at Lāhore He was installed on the gādi in 1651 when he was granted 16 districts by the Emperor—nine in Mārwār, five in Guzerāt, one in Mālwā, and one in the Deccan. Shortly after he was appointed a temporary Subedār over Guzerāt. While there he received orders from the Emperor to join Śāhzādā Dāniyāl and Abu-l Fazl in their campaign in the Deccan and displayed much bravery in the capture of Nāsik and other places. The Emperor, pleased with his deeds, gave him the title of Savāi Rājā. Later on, Śāhzādā Dāniyāl and Nawāb Khān Khānān were surrounded by the enemy; but Sūrajsiṁhajī, who was close at hand rushed upon the latter and drove the enemy (Amara Champu)[78] away. For about ten years Sūrajsiṁha, remained on deputation in the Deccan entrusted with the work of subjugating the enemy and when he returned to Mārwār at the close of that period, he stationed Bhāṭṭī Govindadās as his representative in the Deccan. On his way back to Mārwār he passed through Sirohī and brought Rāv Surtān into subjection.

76 Col. Tod says, "Nurudas, Sukut Sing, Bhoput had no issue attaining eminence." The Sakatsiṁhotes are however at the present time rulers of Kharwā in the Ajmer district.

77 Rulers of Juniā (Ajmer). Tod's statement that Māldev's son Āskaraṇa's descendants are at Juniā is a mistake.

78 Col. Tod puts the name as Amara Bālisā. But, nowhere do we find mention of any Bālisā ruler as having governed a tract as far as the Narbadā. The Bālisās are a branch of the Chauhāns, and at the present time they possess lands in Goḍwāḍ and on the boundary between Mewār and Mārwār

On the death of Akbar in 1661 V.S., Sūrajsiṁha was for a second time sent to Guzerāt as its Subedār. From Guzerāt he went again to the Deccan, and after having killed a Koli ruler of the name of Lāl seized his principality, Manḍwa. He returned to Mārwār in 1671 V.S. In that year Śāhzādā Khusrū was despatched against Mahārāṇā Amarasiṁha of Mewār and Sūrajsiṁha joined in the campaign. After a hard struggle of nine years, the Rāṇā sued for peace through Sūrajsiṁhajī and offered to serve the Emperor with 1,000 cavalry. Peace was accordingly concluded. Śāhzādā Khusrū, thereupon, reinstated the Rāṇā on the throne of Chitor which had been given over to Sīsodiyā Sagar, and made him a Mansabdār [79] of 5,000 cavalry. On the return of Sūrajsiṁhajī, he also was raised to be the Mansabdār of the same rank. While he was encamped at Puśkar, his minister Bhāṭṭī Govindadās was murdered by Kṛiṣṇasiṁhajī, the founder of Kṛiṣṇgaḍh, to avenge the murder of Gopāldās, Kṛiṣṇasiṁhaji's cousin, by Govindadās. This being a direct insult to Rājā Sūrajsiṁha, the latter was obliged to put Kṛiṣṇasiṁha to death, though he was his step-brother. After this incident Sūrajsiṁhajī returned for a short time to Jodhpur, from which place he again proceeded to Delhi taking his son, Gajasiṁhajī with him. While there he was asked by the Emperor to go for a third time to the Deccan, where he died in 1676 V.S.

Although a large part of his life was spent in the Deccan in subduing the enemies of the Emperor, nevertheless it was owing to his intelligence and capacity that he raised the State of Jodhpur to its pinnacle of glory. All the parts of the administration received his attention. His name stands commemorated in the celebrated tanks Sūrajkunḍa and Sūrasāgara which are named after him. The palace situated on the bank of the Sūrasāgara now contains the Sardār Museum and the Sumer Public Library. Emperor Jehāngīr speaks in the following terms of this Rāṭhor ruler in his personal Memoirs: "In A.H. 1208 (V.S. 1676) I received the news of Mahārājā Sūrajsiṁha's

[79] Cf. the following extracts from the Khyāta of Mūhaṇot Nensi:—

"संवत् १६७१ पातसाह जहांगीर आप आय अजमेर बैठो. साहजादो खुरम आय उदैपुर बैठो. तरै रांणो अमरसिंघ खुरमसूं मिळियो. असवार १००० सूं चाकरी कबूल करी. तरै मेवाड़ पाछो अमरसिंघ नुं दीयो. अमर नुं रावताई दीवी॥

"संवत् १६७१ रांणो अमरसिंघ साहजादे खुरम सूं मिळियो. तठा पछै रांणो अमरसिंघ उदैपुर आयो. तठा पछै राजथान उदैपुर हुवो. रांणा सूं वात हुई. तद मेवाड़ ऊपर पांच हजारी जात पांच हजार असवार रो मन्सब दीयो।"

death in the Deccan. He was grandson of Rāv Māldev and acquired for himself much renown and a good position. His kingdom under his rule improved a great deal more than in the times of his grandfather or father. His son is Gajasiṁha who had been placed in charge of the administration by him in his lifetime."

30. Rājā Gajasiṁhajī.

At the time of his father's death Gajasiṁhajī was at Burhānpur (Deccan). The Emperor of Delhi sent the customary paraphernalia of installation to that place and Nawāb Khān Khānān was deputed to instal him on the gādi on behalf of the Emperor. At the same time 17 districts were allotted to Gajasiṁhajī by Jehāngīr—8 in Mārwār, 7 in Guzerāt, one in Jhilāya and one in Masūdā. Gajasiṁha received the title of Rājā and was made an imperial Mansabdār of 1,000 horse besides a personal allowance equal to the pay of 2,000 cavalry. He was also allowed to use a particular emblem called Nejā upon his elephant. Rājā Gajasiṁhajī's younger brother, Sabalsiṁhajī, was awarded with a Mansab of 250 horse and a personal allowance amounting to the pay of 500 cavalry and a Jāgir in his own district.

Even during the lifetime of his father, Gajasiṁhajī had taken possession of Jālor from the Behāri Paṭhāns.

An old couplet says :—

"पिता तपंतै खाटियौ, तैं जाळोर निसंक ।
ज्यौं दसरथ तपतै गजन, रामज खाटौ लंक ॥"

Soon after he was enthroned, Rājā Gajasiṁhaji was sent with the imperial forces to Māhakar, at that time an important station in the Deccan, as a subordinate officer to Nawāb Durāb Khān, son of Khān Khānān, the commander-in-chief of the imperial forces. Gajasiṁha occupied a place of honour in the army, as he was in the vanguard. Shortly after, Nizāmśāh Amara Champu suddenly fell upon the imperial camp and surrounded it. Several skirmishes took place and the imperial forces remained in that position for three months, at the end of which Rājā Gajasiṁhajī defeated and drove the enemy away. During all this period Gajasiṁhajī remained firm in the vanguard. His courage acquired for him the title दलथंभन which means "the pillar of the forces."

"गजबंधो आलौचियौ, करि भेळा वरियाम ।
पतसाहौ राखूं पगै, तौ दलथंभण नाम ॥"

At the same time his Mansab was raised to that of three thousand cavalry, with a personal allowance amounting to the pay of 4,000 horse.

On the death of Akbar in 1661 V.S., Sūrajsiṁha was for a second time sent to Guzerāt as its Subedār. From Guzerāt he went again to the Deccan, and after having killed a Koli ruler of the name of Lāl seized his principality, Manḍwa. He returned to Mārwār in 1671 V.S. In that year Śāhzādā Khusrū was despatched against Mahārāṇā Amarasiṁha of Mewār and Sūrajsiṁha joined in the campaign. After a hard struggle of nine years, the Rāṇā sued for peace through Sūrajsiṁhajī and offered to serve the Emperor with 1,000 cavalry. Peace was accordingly concluded. Śāhzādā Khusrū, thereupon, reinstated the Rāṇā on the throne of Chitor which had been given over to Sīsodiyā Sagar, and made him a Mansabdār[79] of 5,000 cavalry. On the return of Sūrajsiṁhajī, he also was raised to be the Mansabdār of the same rank. While he was encamped at Puṣkar, his minister Bhāṭṭī Govindadās was murdered by Kriṣṇasiṁhajī, the founder of Kriṣngaḍh, to avenge the murder of Gopāldās, Kriṣṇasiṁhaji's cousin, by Govindadās. This being a direct insult to Rājā Sūrajsiṁha, the latter was obliged to put Kriṣṇasiṁha to death, though he was his step-brother. After this incident Sūrajsiṁhajī returned for a short time to Jodhpur, from which place he again proceeded to Delhi taking his son, Gajasiṁhajī with him. While there he was asked by the Emperor to go for a third time to the Deccan, where he died in 1676 V.S.

Although a large part of his life was spent in the Deccan in subduing the enemies of the Emperor, nevertheless it was owing to his intelligence and capacity that he raised the State of Jodhpur to its pinnacle of glory. All the parts of the administration received his attention. His name stands commemorated in the celebrated tanks Sūrajkunḍa and Sūrasāgara which are named after him. The palace situated on the bank of the Sūrasāgara now contains the Sardār Museum and the Sumer Public Library. Emperor Jehāngīr speaks in the following terms of this Rāṭhor ruler in his personal Memoirs: "In A.H. 1208 (V.S. 1676) I received the news of Mahārājā Sūrajsiṁha's

[79] Cf. the following extracts from the Khyāta of Mūhaṇot Nensī :—

"संवत् १६७१ पातसाह जहांगीर आप आय अजमेर बैठो. साहजादो खुरम आय उदैपुर बैठो. तरै रांणो अमरसिंघ खुरमसूं मिळियो. असवार १००० सूं चाकरी कबूल करी. तरै मेवाड़ पाछो अमरसिंघ नुं दीया. मगर नुं रावताई दीवी॥

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In 1679, Śāhzādā Khurram proceeded to the Deccan where, through the efforts of Rājā Gajasiṁhajī, peace was concluded with Amara Champu. Two years later Śāhzādā Khurram raised the standard of revolt against his father who sent Śāhzādā Parvīz and Mohabat Khān to subdue him. In the imperial army Rājā Gajasiṁhajī's force formed an important contingent. A battle took place at Hājīpur Paṭnā between the two parties in which Rājā Gajasiṁha took a prominent part. The battle resulted in the defeat of Khurram. Prince Khurram fled from the battle-field pursued by Rājā Gajasiṁha and Hāḍā Ratan who followed him through his flight in Bengal and the Deccan. Rājā Gajasiṁhajī at last encamped at Burhānpur where Khurram surprised them, but was himself defeated. A short time later Mohabat Khān left Parvīz and joined forces with Prince Khurram. Thereupon, Gajasiṁha's son Amarasiṁha was awarded a Jāgir in Guzerāt and a Nakkārā (a drum as an indication high honour) and was ordered, to follow Mohabat Khān in pursuit. After the death of Jehāngīr and his son Parvīz in 1684, Khurram became Emperor and adopted the title of Śāh Jehān. Rājā Gajasiṁhajī was at this time with Khān Jehān Lodi, the Subedār of Mālwā. Gajasiṁhajī left Mālwā and proceeded to his own principality ; but on the way he thought it better to pay his respects to the new Emperor and so went to Āgrā. There he received from the Emperor marks of high dignity such as Nejā, drum, elephants, horses, sword and a khillat. In the following year Khān Jehān Lodi who had been transferred to Khāndeś as its Subedār raised the standard of rebellion. The emperor sent against him Irādat Khān accompanied by Rājā Gajasiṁhajī as well as the rulers of Būndi and Bīkāner. The campaign lasted for two years when Khān Jehān was killed along with his supporters. This was the last campaign in which Gajasiṁhajī took an active part, for after this war Gajasiṁhajī sent his son Amarasiṁhajī in all military activities as his representative.

In 1694, Rājā Gajasiṁhajī went to Āgrā along with his younger son Jasavantsiṁha with the intention of securing the succession of the latter to the gādi after his death. While at Āgrā, Gajasiṁhajī died in 1695 [80] after a reign of nineteen years.

[80] Col. Tod says Gajasiṁha died in a war in Guzerāt. But there is nothing to corroborate this statement. Moreover we know that he was not engaged in any military expeditions during the latter part of his reign.

On the death of Gajasiṁha, for succession to the throne his elder son was passed over in favour of his younger son Jasavantsiṁha. The reason why the legal rights of the elder son were overlooked is thus given in *Badśāhnāmāh Śāhjehāni* by Maulvi Abdul Hamīd of Lahore :—

"On Muharram 20, A.H. 1048 (1695 V.S.) Rājā Gajasiṁhajī died. He had been reckoned as the most important of all the Rājās of India, thanks to his competence, heroism as well as the large number of soldiers he commanded. On his death, Emperor Śāh Jehān bestowed upon his son, Jasavantsiṁha a khillat, a weapon called jamadhar, a Mansab of 3,000 horse and a personal allowance equal to the pay of 4,000 cavalry together with the title of Rājā—all of which had belonged to his father. While the Rājā presented a tribute of 1,000 mohurs, 12 elephants and jewelled weapons. Rājā Jasavant's elder brother Amarasiṁha, who had been ordered to accompany Śāhzādā Śūjā to Kābul, received from the Emperor a Mansab of 3,000 horse, a personal allowance of 3,000 cavalry and the title of Rāv. This title was assumed by the Rāthor ruler of Mārwār in old times. But when Sūrajsiṁha's father Udaisiṁha paid submission to and accepted the service of the Emperor Akbar, the latter granted him the title of Rājā and declared that henceforth the ruler of the Rāṭhors would on their accession to the gādi be styled Rājās, but if the younger brother came to the throne, the elder brother should receive the title of Rāv."

We come to learn from the chronicles of Mārwār that when Gajasiṁhajī was on his death bed, the Emperor came to his place and inquired what his dying wish was; whereupon the Rājā desired that Jasavant should succeed after him, for his mother was the favourite of the Rājā. After Gajasiṁha's death, the Emperor came personally to the deceased's residence to sympathise with his family. There the Emperor asked Amarasiṁha to supply him with the names of his ancestors. The latter proceeded with the enumeration of the names of Rājā Gajasiṁha, Rājā Sūrajsiṁha, Rājā Udaisiṁha, Rāv Māldev and so on. The Emperor bearing in mind the personal wish of Rājā Gajasiṁha replied to Amarasiṁha, "It appears to me the title of Rāv is superior to that of Rājā. I therefore confer upon you the title of Rāv and upon your younger brother Jasavantsiṁha that of Rājā." Amarasiṁha retorted that a mere title without lands to support it was no good. Thereupon Rāv Amarasiṁha was rewarded with the Jāgir of Nāgor.

As the boundaries of the districts of Nāgor and Bikāner had not then been settled, constant skirmishes took place between the respective forces over the boundary question, till a sanguinary battle ensued between them over a melon plant which had sprang up on the boundary. Both the sides lost many brave soldiers. Salābat Khān, the commander-in-chief to the Emperor, assisted Karaṇasiṁha of Bikāner and in the Durbār of the Emperor scolded severely Amarasiṁha who stabbed him to death then and there. Amarasiṁha's descendants form a branch of the Rāṭhors known as the Amarasiṁhot Jodhās.

31. Mahārājā Jasavantsiṁhajī.

Jasavantsiṁhajī ascended the gādi in 1695. Born in 1683 at Burhānpur, he was only twelve years old when he was installed personally by the Emperor Śāh Jehān in 1695. He received the full support of the Emperor and after his accession his Mansab was raised to that of 5,000 horse by the Emperor who took him to Kābul along with him. That the personal affairs of the Rājā might not suffer during his absence, Śāh Jehān sent Rājasiṁha, of the Kūṁpāvat branch and a Mansabdār under him to Mārwār to look after the administration of that province. Rājasiṁha[31] performed his duties satisfactorily. He was clever and faithful. There is a story that Rājsiṁha sacrificed his own life to a demon so that his master, Rājā Jasavantsiṁhajī, might be spared. As Rājasiṁha lost his life in the capacity of a chief minister, his descendants, the Sardārs of Āsop, took an oath that none of them would ever accept such a post again—a promise which they have maintained to the present day. After Rājasiṁha's death, Mahesdās Rāṭhor was appointed in his place. Mahesdās was the grandson of the Moṭā Rājā, Udaisiṁha, and the father of Ratansiṁha, the founder of the celebrated city of Ratlām in Mālwā. On this occasion Mahesdās received from the Emperor a Nansab of 2,000 horse and a personal allowance for the same number of cavalry.

We have already seen that Rāv Amarasiṁha stabbed to death Salābat Khān Bakśī in the presence of the Emperor. Immediately after, Khalilullā Khān and Amarasiṁha's brother-in-law Arjuna Goḍ,

[31] Tod puts the name Nāhar Khān in his place. In truth Nāhar was the son of Rājasiṁha, and it was the latter who sacrificed his own life for the sake of Mahārājā Jasavantsiṁha. A commemorative temple containing his image and an inscription bearing the date V.S. 1697 is yet to be found in Kāgā Bāgh, Jodhpur.

killed Amarasiṁhajī on the spot. While the dead body of the Rāv was being conveyed out of the durbār his followers picked up a quarrel with the sentinels in which several of the imperial guards were killed; but they were soon overpowered and despatched by other forces. On enquiries into the cause of this incident it was found that a quarrel had subsisted for some time past between Amarasiṁhajī and Rāv Karaṇasiṁha of Bīkāner owing to a boundary question; and that Salābat Khān had on behalf of Karaṇasiṁhajī applied for and had been permitted to take an Amin of the Emperor to Nāgor to confiscate that principality. After Amarasiṁha's death, his son Rāisiṁha received the Jāgir of Nāgor from the Emperor. Rāisiṁha's son Indrasiṁha[12] was deprived perforce of this tract by Māhārājā Ajitsiṁhajī.

In 1702, Emperor Śāh Jehān granted to Jasavantsiṁhajī a Mansab of 6,000 cavalry, a personal allowance amounting to the pay of the same number of horsemen as well as the title of Mahārājā. Such distinction had not been bestowed upon any Rajput prince prior to this time.

In 1706, Rāwal Manohardās, the ruler of Pokaraṇ, breathed his last; after which the Emperor granted that principality to Mahārājā Jasavantsiṁhajī. The latter sent his soldiers to that place and brought it under his own control.

In 1714, Śāh Jehān was taken seriously ill and a scramble for the empire at once ensued among his sons. Mahārājā Jasavantsiṁhajī took up the cause of Dārā, the eldest and rightful heir to the throne. Aurangzeb and Murād, the viceroys of the Deccan and Guzerāt, combined their forces and were proceeding towards Delhi to take possession of the capital. In this emergency, Emperor Śāh Jehān sent Mahārājā Jasavantsiṁhajī along with several other Mahomedan generals such as Kāsīm Khān and others to Mālwā, to intercept their progress. The Mahārājā on this occasion received the subedārship of Mālwā and a mansab of 7,000 cavalry. Besides, he received a gift of one lac of Rupees and was made the Commander-in-chief of the imperial forces. The Mahārājā was on this expedition accom-

[12] Col. Tod holds Indrasiṁha to be the fourth in descent from Rāisiṁha: "his Rāisiṁha's son Hāti Sing, his son Anop Sing, his son Indur Sing"—Vol. II, p. 35. But Haṭisiṁha and Anopsiṁha were nephews of Rāisiṁha; while "Indur Sing" was his son.

pained by 22 Umarās, of whom 15 were Mussalmān and the remaining seven Hindu. The astute Aurangzeb adopted a stratagem and was successful in winning over the Mussalmān Umarās to his side. At the village of Billochpur (modern Fatehābād) near Ujjain, the two opposing forces came in sight of each other and a battle ensued which lasted for about six hours. Although the Mussalmān Umarās had already deserted the ranks of the Mahārājā, Jasavant aided by his Hindu nobles fought valiantly against Aurangzeb and Murād. "Ten thousand Moslems," says Col. Tod, "fell in the onset, which cost seventeen hundred Rāthors, besides Gehalotes, Hāḍās, Gores and some of every clan of Rajwāḍā." Before the two parties met in combat, Kāsīm Khān along with his forces stood aloof from the imperial forces which were commanded by a Hindu chief. This treachery on the part of the Mussalmān section of the imperial forces weakened Jasavantsiṁhajī to a large extent, and was mainly responsible for the defeat which he sustained at the hand of the rebel princes. Jasavantsiṁhajī and his steed Māhbub were covered with blood and the Mahārājā looked like a famished lion. Thinking it unsafe for the Mahārājā to stay longer on the field, the Sardārs induced him to leave it at once and repair to his principality of Mārwār. But the Sardārs themselves were resolved not to yield to the enemy. They set up at once the Mahārājā's friend Ratanasiṁha,[38] the Rāṭhor ruler of Ratlām, in his place and engaged in battle. Ratnasiṁha was ably assisted by a Sīsodiyā Sujāṇsiṁha, Rājā of Shāhpurā. These two princes rushed upon the artillery of the enemy and were about to make themselves masters of that sector after having killed its general Murśid Kulī Khān and his assistants, when Aurangzeb personally assumed charge of it. By that time Murād Bakś who had been placed on the right of the army turned to his left and fell upon the Rājputs. Though vastly outnumbered, Sujāṇsiṁha and Ratanasiṁha fought bravely till they were killed. The battle resulted in the defeat of the imperial forces which took to their heels. The traitors, Kāsīm Khān and others, made their way to Āgrā.

The Mahārājā retreated to Mārwār through Sojhat. The result of the battle and the consequent retreat forced upon him gave a great shock to Jasavantsiṁha, who said that there had been no ruler in the

[38] Ratanasiṁha's inscriptions, V.S. 1709-1711.

illustrious Rāṭhor family of Jodhpur who had ever retreated from the field of battle. The news of the defeat of the imperial forces reached the Emperor, who at the same time was made aware of its cause, namely the treachery of Kāsīm Khān and his party. The Emperor thereupon sent a fresh order to Jasavantsiṁha with a remittance of 50 lacs of Rupees from Sāṁbhar asking the latter to muster his forces and proceed at once to Āgrā.

The Mahārājā accordingly started on his journey; but before he began his march he made over the administration of his kingdom to Mūhaṇot Nensi. On his way, he stayed for a month at Ajmer, after which he joined Dārā Śikoh near Āgrā. A second battle with Aurangzeb took place at Dholpur, in which the imperial party was defeated and lost its commanders Rustam Khān, Satrusāl, ruler of Būndi and Rūpsiṁha, the Rāṭhor ruler of Rūpnagar. Aurangzeb was victorious. Jasavantsiṁha retreated to Mārwār. After his success at Dholpur, Aurangzeb at once marched upon Delhi, threw his old father into prison and usurped the throne. Murād Bakś, with whose help Aurangzeb had gained such success, proved a thorn on the side of the new Emperor, who was not satisfied with the imprisonment of his brother but found an opportunity to put him to death.

Of all persons who had fought against him, Mahārājā Jasavantsiṁha alone remained. But he was too powerful for Aurangzeb who regarded him with the utmost fear. Aurangzeb, consequently, thought of winning him over to his side by peaceful means. He sent Mirzā Rājā Jaiasiṁhajī of Āmber to Jasavantsiṁha and on the latter's arrival at Delhi peace was concluded between them.

At this time, Śāh Śūjā was marching to Delhi from Bengal with the intention of contending for the throne. Aurangzeb sent his eldest son Sultān Muhammad and Jasavantsiṁha against Śūjā and himself followed them there. Mahārājā Jasavantsiṁha proceeded to Allāhābād and reached Khajuā—a place situated about 30 miles north of Allāhābād. Śūjā had already arrived there. The two armies remained opposed to each other. Jasavantsiṁhajī sent a private message to Śūjā saying that he had made up his mind not to join in the combat and that the prince might do as he liked with Muhammad. In the night, Jasavantsiṁha plundered the camp and having become master of a good booty; the Mahārājā at once marched

towards Mārwār. Soon Aurangzeb re-established order in the imperial forces, which attacked and defeated Śūjā.

In the meantime Dārā Śikoh who had fled to Sindh came to Ajmer in the hope of getting succour from Jasavantsiṁhajī. The latter proceeded to join him and reached as far as Mertā within 40 miles of Ajmer. Aurangzeb tactfully handled the situation and remembering how very dangerous his position would become if he allowed Dārā and Jasavantsiṁhajī to unite, sent Jaisiṁha, Rājā of Āmber, to the Rāṭhor ruler holding out high hopes to him should he desert Dārā. Jasavantsiṁha fell into the snare of the Emperor, and deserting his ally retraced his steps to Jodhpur. Though this act of the Rāṭhor led to the undoing of Dārā, the latter's habitual idleness contributed not a little to his destruction.

In 1716, Aurangzeb confirmed the Mansab of 7,000 cavalry, which had been conferred upon Jasavantsiṁha by Śāh Jehān and appointed him Subedār of Guzerāt. Two years later the Mahārājā had to join Nawāb Śāistā Khān in an expedition in the Deccan against the famous Marāṭhā leader Śivājī. Aurangzeb was at this time bent on destroying Śivājī's power, but this intention was not liked by Jasavantsiṁha who saw in the Marāṭhā the hope of Hindu regeneration in India. Consequently, the Mahārājā sent one of his trusted followers Raṇchhoḍdās, son of Rāṭhor Govindadās, to Śivājī's son. On the latter's arrival, the plan of Aurangzeb was unfolded to him and he was asked to take every precaution against the tactics of the Emperor. The affair having reached the ears of Śāistā Khān, he wrote to the Emperor that Jasavant was plotting with the Marāṭhā leader. During all this time Śivājī was not idle. Having ascertained that he would get every encouragement from Jasavantsiṁha, Śivājī fell one night upon Śāistā Khān who through good luck escaped with his life. Aurangzeb now recalled Śāistā Khān and the Mahārājā from the Deccan; and sent Prince Muazzam and Jaisiṁha, Rājā of Āmber, in their place. It is well known how Jaisiṁha prevailed upon Śivājī to come to Delhi and pay his respects to the Emperor. But as Aurangzeb planned to keep Śivājī a prisoner at Delhi, the latter contrived to escape to his country. During this negotiation Jaisiṁha had returned to Delhi.

Mahārājā Jasavantsiṁha was sent for a second time to the Deccan with Prince Muazzam and remained there for four years. There he

poisoned the ears of Muazzam against his father, but before his scheme could take any definite shape Aurangzeb sent Mahābat Khān as the Subedār of the Deccan in place of Muazzam. Jasavant now returned to Mārwār and after a short time went to the imperial court along with his son Pṛthvisiṁha.

In 1727, Mahārājā Jasavantsiṁha was for a third time sent as the Subedār of Guzerāt, where he spent three years. At the end of that period, he was sent to Kābul to assist the Subedār of that province against the invasions of the Paṭhāns. The Mahārājā rendered splendid service there and the Paṭhāns were driven back. Jasavantsiṁhajī was now stationed at the important station of Jamroj on the Indian frontier where he passed the remaining days of his life.

On the eve of his departure to Kābul, Mahārājā Jasavantsiṁhajī left the administration entirely in the hands of Prince Pṛthvisiṁha. Col. Tod on the authority of the chronicles tells us how Aurangzeb demanded the presence of the Rāṭhor prince at the imperial court. With unusual cordiality, the Emperor grasped firmly his folded hands and asked "What can you do now?" With the usual Rājput dignity, Pṛthvisiṁha replied, "God preserve your Majesty, when the sovereign of mankind lays the hand of protection on the meanest of his subjects, all his hopes are realised; but when he condescends to take both of mine I feel as if I could conquer the world." Upon this the Emperor exclaimed "Ah, here is another kuṭṭan." This term he always applied to Jasavantsiṁha who always tried to avoid the snares of the Emperor and paid him back in his own coin. Aurangzeb, "affecting to be pleased with the frank boldness of the prince's speech ordered him a splendid dress which, as customary, he put on." But shortly after he was taken ill and expired. His death is attributed to the poisoned robe of honour presented by the Emperor. Some of the chronicles, however, affirm that his death was due to an attack of small-pox.

When the news of this premature end of the young prince reached his father, he was overwhelmed with grief; and while pouring out the libation of water to the memory of his son, he exclaimed "This libation is not meant for you, but for Mārwār as well," meaning that he would never take part in any affairs of his principality.

The Subedār of Kābul was always at war with the Paṭhān tribes, who though defeated in battle always sought opportunities for plunder. In one such skirmish an imperial Mansabdār was killed and his army

took to heels. Mahārājā Jasavantsiṁha who was close at hand sent forces to the assistance of the retreating army. A second action now took place between the Paṭhāns and the Mahārājā, in which the latter, though having lost some of his best warriors, was able to drive the enemy to their mountain abodes. After this incident the Paṭhāns were so much afraid of the Mahārājā that, it is said, they would tremble with fear even when they heard the name of Jasavantsiṁhajī. For five years the Mahārājā stayed at Kābul, and through his endeavours and prowess peace was everywhere restored in this principality.

His second son Jagatsiṁhajī, too, died in his father's lifetime. Shortly after, he followed his sons to the grave in the year 1735 at Jamroj in Kābul.

If a life extending over fifty-two years, the Mahārājā passed the first twenty years in peace and tranquility, during the reign of Śāh Jehān; while the same number of years, though passed during the reign of Aurangzeb in an atmosphere of mistrust and treachery, was spent creditably with rare courage and intelligence. Far-sighted, politic and clever as he was, he was versed in the literature and the Vedānta as well. In literature he has rendered his name famous by writing a book called *Bhāshābhūshaṇa*, while books on Vendānta like *Swātmānubhava* and others proclaim his keen intellect in the domain of philosophy.

The last years of his life were spent in the far off north-western frontier of India. The shrewd Moghul Emperor had some definite motives in sending this powerful Hindu prince to such a distant place. He found that the presence of Jasavant on the frontier of India would ensure the safety of his kingdom from the inroads of the Paṭhān tribes who were as troublesome in those days as they are now. Should however the Hindu prince die in the discharge of this onerous duty, the Emperor could not but be pleased at his kingdom being rid of one of the powerful vassals, who used to raise up his head whenever he liked. Moreover, the Rājput prince would get the assistance of none of his brethren, should he raise the standard of rebellion, in such a distant place. These were the intentions which influenced Aurangzeb, when he sent away Jasavant to protect the frontier.

Mahārājā Jasavant fully understood the tactics which Aurangzeb adopted to get rid of his enemies and he was always on the alert. The Mahārājā was a sincere patron of his religion. There is a story that once when, through bigotry, Aurangzeb destroyed several Hindu temples

and built mosques in their place; the Mahārājā, then in Peshāwar, caused an assembly consisting of both Hindus and Mahomedans to be held. In the open meeting he declared, that should the Emperor persist in his policy of persecution, he himself would carry on a counter-persecution by the destruction of mosques. Thereupon, it is said, some well-wisher of the Mahārājā told him that if his words reached the ears of the Emperor the latter would be indignant with him. "This is just the reason," replied the Mahārājā boldly, "why I have declared my resolution in an open meeting."

Three months after the death of the Mahārājā, his two queens Jādamjī and Narukijī gave birth to two posthumous sons named Ajitasiṁha and Dalthambhana respectively in the city of Lāhore. But Aurangzeb declared them to be illegitimate and in consequence, forfeited the principality of Mārwār for want of legal heirs.

32. Mahārājā Ajitsiṁha.

In order that Ajitsiṁha, the elder son of Mahārājā Jasavantsiṁha might succeed his father, the Rāṭhors wrote from Kābul a letter to that effect to the Emperor. But Aurangzeb refused as the heir was still a baby of three months, and he ordered that the infant prince should be sent to his court. He took Ajitsiṁha under his care, so that he might not be carried away to Mārwār. As the Rāṭhors found Aurangzeb was not favourable to their proposal, they came in person to plead their cause at Delhi. To their dismay, they found that the infant prince was very strictly guarded by the Emperor; and they planned to steal away their ruler to Jodhpur. At this time it so happened that the wife of the Sardār of Borāwar, on her return from a pilgrimage to the Ganges, had come to Delhi. The Rāṭhors saw it was a good opportunity to carry out their design. So on Durgādās's advice, they had both the infant princes sent to the Sardārni at the hands of Khichī Mukundadās who was disguised as a Sādhu. Prince Dalthambhana died on the way, while Ajitsiṁha was brought to Balūndā under the protection of the Sardārni, and from there was sent to Sirohī. Here he was placed with a Brāhman Purohit named Jaggu under the supervision of Mukundadās. The Emperor came to know that Mahārājkumār had been taken away from him, so he ordered that the infant should be brought back to him. The Rāṭhors prepared to fight for their prince, the Emperor took up the challenge. They killed the two wives of Jasavantsiṁha and drowned their bodies in the Jamunā. A battle took place between the imperial

forces and the Rāṭhors in Delhi in 1736 and there Jodhā Ranchhoḍdās and Bhāṭṭī Raghunāth were killed, while Rāṭhor Durgādās though wounded escaped.

The Emperor granted the State of Jodhpur to Indrasiṁha, the grandson of Amarasiṁha, who established his authority all over Jodhpur, though Chāmpāwat Sonag and Durgādās continued to fight on behalf of Ajitsiṁhajī. At last Sonag and his party including Durgādās left Jodhpur and went away to Mewār. Mahārāṇā Rājasiṁha protected them. At this time Aurangzeb went on an expedition to the Deccan. This was a favourable opportunity which was seized by the Rāṭhors who defeated and drove away the imperial officers from Mārwār. The latter hastened to the Emperor at Ajmer and described to him all the violent acts committed by the Rāṭhors. Aurangzeb sent his son Prince Akbar to Jodhpur to bring the Rāṭhors to obedience. Durgādās seeing that force would be of no avail to him, tried to win over Akbar by diplomacy to his side, by tempting him with the offer to place him on his father's throne. Akbar was only too willing to imitate his father's example, and he soon threw in his lot with Durgādās. They together advanced with 100,000 men against the Emperor, who had barely 10,000 men with him at Ajmer. Seeing his critical condition Aurangzeb at once sent word to Muazzam to come immediately to Ajmer. This Prince, after his return from Ujjain, was encamped at Udaipur near the Udaisāgar lake. No sooner had he received his father's order, than he came to Ajmer, while Akbar and his Rāṭhor allies were only four miles from that place. Zāhid Khān and other commanders deserted Akbar's side and went over to the Emperor. Only Tāhir Khān, the Commander-in-Chief of Akbar's army, remained faithful to Akbar; but even he was tempted by Aurangzeb to leave the prince. Unsuspectingly at midnight he deserted Akbar and prostrated himself at the imperial feet. But he was killed by a mace at Aurangzeb's order. At these numerous misfortunes, Prince Akbar lost heart. Khāfi Khān and other Mahomedan historians are of opinion that Aurangzeb very cleverly had a forged proclamation distributed in Akbar's army and it fell into Rāṭhor hands. The proclamation stated that Akbar had cleverly brought the Rājputs with him, now they should be placed in front while he should station himself in the rear. The Rājputs placed between two fires could be easily destroyed by Aurangzeb's army in front and Akbar's force in the rear. No sooner did the Rājputs come to know of

this proclamation than they separated from him. Akbar had no other alternative but flight. Prince Muazzam and Abu-l Kāsim were sent after him. All the baggage of Akbar's force was captured and his personal attendants were put to the sword. In spite of his distress, Akbar was still more anxious for the fate of his children and knew not where to shelter them. Durgādās offered to place the children under the care of his family and asked Akbar to accompany him. The Prince had full confidence in the Rāṭhor chief and entrusted his children to Rajput protection. Durgādās sent them with a favourite of his to his zenānā. Taking Akbar with him, they went to the Deccan by way of Rājpiplā. There Sambhājī and Akbar were brought together, so that Aurangzeb was compelled to turn his attention southwards.

In the meanwhile, Sonag and his party were killed in a fight with Etikād Khān, son of Āśraf Khān. Other Rāṭhors went and plundered Pur and Mānḍal, in Mewār, where Mānsiṁha, the Rājā of Kṛisṇgaḍh was commanding the imperial forces. Afterwards they went away to Sirohī, where their infant king Ajitsiṁha was in hiding. In 1742, the Rāṭhors laid siege to the fortress of Siwānā where its commander Purdil Khān Mevāti was killed. Two years later, Hāḍā Durjansiṁha who had been driven away from Būndī and had joined the Rāṭhors in their plunder of Pur and Mānḍal, was killed by the Mahomedans.

In 1745, the idea occurred to some of the Rāṭhors that they had seen nothing of the ruler for whom they were fighting and suffering so much. So they must see him with their own eyes and afterwards they could bear any suffering for his cause with equanimity. So they appointed Chāmpāwat Udaisiṁha, son of Lakhdhīr, and Mukundadās, son of Sujāṇasiṁha, as their spokesmen. These two pestered Khīchī Mukundadās and even threatened him with death if he refused to show to them their ruler; especially as some of the Sardārs were beginning to doubt whether their ruler was alive or not; and if alive, they were asking for his whereabouts. But Khīchī Mukundadās replied that as he had been entrusted with the care of the Mahārājā's person by Durgādās; and as the latter was away in the Deccan, he could not bring out the Mahārājā without Durgādās's consent. But as the chiefs insisted on the matter, he had to give way and they with their young ruler went away to the hills and from there carried on a guerilla war for eighteen years.

In 1751, the Mahārājā was married to a daughter of the Rāṇā of Udaipur. Aurangzeb had so far suspected that Ajitsiṁha was a

mere pretender; but seeing that the Rāṇā had given his daughter in marriage to the Rāṭhor, he was convinced that the latter must be the real son of Jasavantsiṁha. But now the Emperor began to be anxious about the fate of his grand-children,—the children of Prince Akbar—who were being brought up in the zenānā of Durgādās. Aurangzeb was very much afraid lest they might be forced to marry into some common Mahomedan family which would be a degradation to their imperial rank. So he asked Durgādās to give these children back to him. Seeing a favourable opportunity the Rāṭhor chief sent them away to the Emperor by means of Śujāt Khān, the Subedār of Guzerāt. Aurangzeb was very much pleased with Durgādās and granted to him Mertā in Jāgīr and made him the commander of 2,500 Jāts and of 2,500 horsemen. On Durgādās's request, he granted to Ajitsiṁha Jālor and Sāchor. Mojāhid Khān, who was hitherto the ruler of Jālor was given in compensation Pālanpur, where his descendants are reigning to this day as the Nawābs of Pālanpur.

In 1759, two princes were born to Ajitsiṁha. Four years later, on hearing of the news of Aurangzeb's death, the Mahārājā immediately attacked Jodhpur and took possession of the city, defeating Nājim Kulī, the imperial commander, who fled away. Later he conquered Sojhat, Siwānā and Pālī. Emperor Bahādur Śāh, Aurangzeb's successor, invaded Jodhpur, because of Ajitsiṁha's unauthorised action in taking possession of his ancestral kingdom. The Emperor had also to chastise Jaisiṁha, the Rājā of Āmber, as the latter had helped Prince Azam in his attempt to obtain the imperial crown. Bahādur Śāh came up to Ajmer and ordered Jodhpur and Āmber to be confiscated and thereupon both Ajitsiṁha and Jaisiṁha came to the Emperor and from there went to Delhi. They were ordered to accompany the imperial forces which were sent to the Deccan to quell the disturbances there. But both the dispossessed Rājās went as far as the Narbadā river and from there turned back. They went to Udaipur and following the Rāṇā's advice, drove out the imperial forces from Jodhpur. For six months Jaisiṁha stayed in Jodhpur then seeing a favourable opportunity, he took possession of his patrimony at Āmber. After some interval, the two Mahārājās and Durgādās took possession of lake Sāṁbhar, which was a part of the imperial territory. Ajitsiṁha and Jaisiṁha divided up their new possession between themselves, but Durgādās also claimed some share of the spoil; but Jaisiṁha tauntingly said that to obtain a share of lake

Sāṁbhar, one must be born of Jasavantsiṁha's family. Naturally Durgādās felt aggrieved.

In 1766, Bahādur Śāh, visited Ajmer. Jaisiṁha and Ajitsiṁha met him there. Bahādur Śāh, recognizing accomplished facts, granted an imperial farmān investing both the Mahārājās with the territories which they had usurped by force. The Emperor needed very badly peace in Rājputānā, as the Sikhs were becoming very turbulent in the Punjāb and he was planning an expedition against them. At this time, Amarasiṁha of Udaipur was conspiring against his father Rāṇā Jaisiṁha in order to usurp the gādi. The Rāṇā demanded help from Ajitsiṁha at this critical juncture; and the Jodhpur Mahārājā finding it was an excellent opportunity to be rid of Durgādās sent him away to Udaipur to settle amicably the dispute between the father and son. Durgādās was successful in his mission, the rebellious Amarasiṁha was appeased by the grant of Rājnagar, which yielded an annual revenue of three lacs. The Rāṇā was so pleased with this Rāṭhor Sardār, that he kept him at his court. When nearing his death, Durgādās went to Ujjain and died an exile on the bank of the Siprā. In his memory a *chhatri* has been erected and is now called the Rāṭhor *chhatri*. For his unwisdom, in giving up such a loyal and devoted servant as Durgādās, a poet wrote as follows :—

"इण घर आछिज रीत, दुरगो सफरा दागियो ।"

A century later, another Mahārājā of Jodhpur, Mānsiṁha confiscated the estates of the Sardārs who had helped him before. The couplet was written at that time, and means that in this (Jodhpur) family, it is customary to be ungrateful, as Durgā was burnt on the Siprā river.

Bahādur Śāh died in 1769 and he was followed by two ephemeral emperors, Jahāndār Śāh and Farrukh-siyar. At the coronation of Farrukh-siyar, Ajitsiṁha was not present. To avenge this slight the Emperor sent Saiyid Husain Alī Khān, his Commander-in-Chief, to Jodhpur. But the Mahārājā came to terms with him and in his company came to Delhi. To please him, the Emperor appointed him commander of 6,000 Jāts and 6,000 horsemen and made him the Subedār of Guzerāt. For six years, Ajitsiṁha remained in Guzerāt and became very friendly with the two Saiyid brothers—Saiyid Abdullah Khān, the Vazīr and Saiyid Husain Alī Khān, the Commander-in-Chief—who were all-powerful in the Empire and are known in history as the Saiyid King-Makers. Ajitsiṁha entered into a conspiracy with these two brothers and the Emperor

was imprisoned and killed by them. On the vacant throne, another puppet prince Rafī-ad-darajāt was made Emperor, and in four months he was succeeded by Rafī-ad-daulā. In 1775, on the coronation Rafī-ad-darajāt, the Emperor, acting on Ajitsiṁha's suggestion, abolished the jizya tax, which was imposed on all the Hindus in the imperial territory. As the ally of the Saiyid King-Makers Ajitsiṁha became very powerful at Delhi, and the trio managed the imperial affairs just as they liked. They decided to place Rośan-akhtar, one of the grandsons of Aurangzeb, on the vacant throne. The new Emperor assumed the name of Mahomad Śāh and with the help of Nizām-al-mulk had Saiyid Abdullah Khān imprisoned and Saiyid Husain Alī Khān killed. Ajitsiṁha wisely remained all the time in his dominions. As the Moghul power was visibly declining, the Mahārājā took advantage of this opportunity and captured Ajmer and placed Ūdāwat Amarasiṁha, the Ṭhākur of Nīmbāj, in command of his new possession. But another imperial force was sent for the recapture of Ajmer, and after a bitter struggle with Amarasiṁha, Ajmer became once more an imperial possession. As Jodhpur was becoming powerful, both Jaisiṁha and the Emperor were becoming jealous of Ajitsiṁha's rise. Jaisiṁha advised Mahomad Śāh to have the Mahārājā killed by his young son Abhaisiṁha, who was residing with the Emperor at Delhi. So once the Emperor and Abhaisiṁha went on an excursion on the Jamunā river. While they were in the middle of the river, Mahomad Śāh asked Abhaisiṁha to kill his father, and threatened to drown him in the river if he refused to carry out his suggestion. In terror of his life, Abhaisiṁha consented and wrote to his younger brother Bakhatsiṁha to murder their father. Bakhatsiṁha carried out his brother's plan. Ajitsiṁha was murdered in 1781. About this sad incident, a poet has written the following verse :—

"बखता बखत बाव्हिरै, तैं मार्यौ अजमाल ।
हिंदवांणी रो सेवरौ, तुरकांणी रो साल ॥"

O Bakhatā! thou of evil omen, thou hast killed Ajitsiṁha, that Ajitsiṁha, the beloved of the whole Hindu world, and the target of all Mahomedan spears.

From the time of his birth to the day of his death, Ajitsiṁha experienced many a vicissitude of fortune. In the care of Durgādās and other Rāṭhor chiefs, he spent his early and impressionable years. When he came to know who he was, he went through many dangers to obtain

his ancestral kingdom, and did not rest till he was successful in his aim. When he ascended the gādi, he made himself so very powerful that he imprisoned Emperor Farrukh-siyar and had him killed, four Delhi sovereigns owed their throne to him and for a considerable time he made and unmade Emperors at his own will. A poet has well said :—

"अजौ दिलौ रौ पातसा, राजा तौ रघनाथ ।"

Ajo (Ajitsiṁha) was the real Emperor of Delhi, and, his minister Raghunāth wielded powers like a Rājā. European writers have styled Ajitsiṁha as a King-Maker. A very lofty temple was built on the spot where Ajitsiṁha was cremated. It was begun in 1856 by Bhīmsiṁhajī and was finished in 1860. Ajitsiṁha had thirteen sons, of whom Abhaisiṁha became the Mahārājā of Jodhpur and Aṇandasiṁha the ruler of Īḍar.

33. Mahārājā Abhaisiṁha.

Abhaisiṁha succeeded his father to the gādi of Jodhpur in 1781. At his coronation, Emperor Mahomad Śāh gave him the title of Rājrājeśwar and granted him in jāgir Nāgor which was then in possession of Indrasiṁha, the grandson of Amarasiṁha. Abhaisiṁha gave Indrasiṁha some other jāgir and handed over Nāgor to his younger brother Bakhatsiṁha. Later the Mahārājā invaded and defeated the Rāv of Sirohī to teach him a lesson. To check the tide of Marāṭhā invasion in 1783, Sarbaland Khān was made Subedār of Guzerāt and he was sent there with a powerful Rajput force including the Jodhpur ruler, Kachhāwā Chhatrasiṁhajī and the Mewār contingent. A battle between the Imperial and Marāṭhā forces took place near Delhi, the Marāṭhās had to flee and the imperial authority was re-established.

As the Delhi authority was becoming gradually weaker, the Subedārs of Oudh and of the Deccan proclaimed their independence in 1787 and Sarbaland Khān, the Subedār of Guzerat also followed their example. Mahomad Śāh made Abhaisiṁha Subedār of Guzerāt, and he invaded his new Subā accompanied by his brother Bakhatsiṁha. At Ahmedābād, the Mahārājā and Sarbaland met in battle and after five days' stubborn fighting, Sarbaland had to acknowledge defeat. The victory was mainly due to the bravery of the Nāgor contingent led by Bakhatsiṁha. The rebel Subedār was allowed to retreat with all his baggage. He then fled to Delhi and persuaded the Emperor that he had to fight Abhaisiṁha, as his troops whose pay was in arrears would have

murdered him if he had submitted. Mahomad Śāh believed this palpable falsehood and made Sarbaland, the Subedār of Kāśmir. Considerable booty fell into the hands of Abhaisiṁha and some of the artillery then captured is still to be seen in the Jodhpur fort. A year later the new Subedār of Guzerāt drove away Bāji Rao Peshwā who had penetrated into Guzerāt as far as Barodā. Abhaisiṁha remained for a long time in Guzerāt. As his younger brother Aṇandasiṁha was without any jāgir, he began to plunder the Mārwār possessions, and to put an end to his forays Abhaisiṁha wisely made him the ruler of Īḍar.

About this time a quarrel arose between Bakhatsiṁha and Zorāwarsiṁha, the Mahārājā of Bīkāner over the possession of Kharbūjī district. Bakhatsiṁha was victorious and annexed the district to his territory. Abhaisiṁha also espoused his brother's cause and invaded and besieged Bīkāner. Zorāwarsiṁha protested against Abhaisiṁha's action, as he had already surrendered the land in dispute to Bakhatsiṁha, and on the latter's suggestion demanded help from Jaisiṁha, the Mahārājā of Jaipur. Jaisiṁha marched immediately on Jodhpur. Abhaisiṁha was compelled to raise the siege of Bīkāner and to retreat to Jodhpur. Bakhatsiṁha was asked by his elder brother to come to his help and fight against Jaisiṁha. He immediately marched against the Jaipur ruler and reached Gagavāṇā (near Ajmer). There a battle was fought. Out of the 5,000 men of Bakhatsiṁha all were killed except a bare 60. With this handful of men, Bakhatsiṁha rushed on the place where the Jaipur flag was flying, thinking that Jaisiṁha must be near about there, and the Jaipur ruler frightened at his approach fled from the battle-field. Thus with but 60 men, the Nāgor ruler defeated the Jaipur forces and checked the invasion. Abhaisiṁha, although he very cordially thanked his brother for his help, blamed him for his rashness. About this battle a poet has sung :—

"एक कटारी आगरै, इद वाही अमरेस ।
गगवाणा रै गोरवैं, खग वाही बखतेस ॥"

Amarsiṁha thrust his dagger with terrible effect at Āgrā, in the same way Bakhat used his steel at Gagavāṇā.

After the battle of Gagavāṇā, at the intercession of the Rāṇā peace was brought about between Jaipur and Jodhpur. In the same year 1795 Nādir Śāh Durāni invaded and plundered Delhi.

In 1804, Emperor Mahomed Śāh died and he was succeeded by Ahmad Śāh. The new Emperor appointed Bakhatsiṁha as Subedār of Guzerāt. Abhaisiṁha died in 1805 after a reign of twenty-four years. He was a brave man and he was always victorious in battle. He left only one son Rāmsiṁha.

34. Mahārājā Rāmsiṁha.

The new ruler ascended the gādi in 1805. Owing to his ill-temper, many of the Rāṭhor Sardārs left him and joined with Bakhatsiṁha. Only a few loyal Sardārs, including the Sardār of Mertā and Purohit Jaggu, remained faithful to Rāmsiṁha when Bakhatsiṁha invaded Mertā. A battle was fought in 1807 outside the Jodhpur gate, and after much slaughter the Nāgor ruler was victorious. After his defeat, Rāmsiṁha sent an envoy to Mādhojī Sindhiā demanding help against his uncle. Before the Marāṭhā chief could come to Rāmsiṁha's help, Bakhatsiṁha marched to Jodhpur and drove away his nephew, who had to fly to Mālwā. Although at first with the Marāṭhā help, he harried and even conquered a large part of Mārwār territories, but in the end Rāmsiṁha was given the Sāṁbhar district by his uncle. In 1829 Rāmsiṁha died in Jaipur.

35. Mahārājā Bakhatsiṁha.

After a successful rule of seventeen years in Nāgor, Bakhatsiṁha became the ruler of Jodhpur after driving away his nephew in 1808 in the month of Śrāvaṇa. Mādhojī Sindhiā, as requested by Rāmsiṁha, was on his way to invade Mārwār, but hearing of the many brave deeds of Bakhatsiṁha, he prudently retreated. But the new ruler thought that the Marāṭhās, although for the present they had gone away, would surely come back and ravage Mārwār; so he prepared a large army to chastise them. With this force Bakhatsiṁha took possession of Ajmer and then marched into Jaipur. He encamped at Sīndholyā. The then ruler of Jaipur, Mādhosiṁha, saw that his kingdom would soon become the battle-field between the Rāṭhors and the Marāṭhās. In this crisis he turned for help to his wife, who was a niece of Bakhatsiṁha, and as such she alone could draw him out of the difficulty. He explained the whole position to his Rāṇī and said that the only solution of the difficulty lay in the death of Bakhatsiṁha. He gave a poisoned dress to his wife, who sent it to her uncle out of obedience to her husband's will, together with some ornaments and gold. The Jodhpur Mahārājā was in need of money and very gladly put on the poisoned dress. In a couple of hours the poison

penetrated into his system and he died in Sīndholyā, in 1809, after a short reign of thirteen months. At their leader's death his army became discouraged and retreated. A temple has been built at Sīndholyā in memory of Bakhatsiṁha by his son Bijaisiṁha in 1822.

Col. Tod, in his *Annals*, writes that it was Īśwarisīṁha's wife who sent that poisoned dress to Bakhatsiṁha. But in 1809, Mādhosiṁha and not Īśwarīsiṁha was on the gādi of Jaipur, and the latter had died in 1808. So it could not be Īśwarīsiṁha's wife who had sent the fatal dress to Bakhatsiṁha.

Moreover Col. Tod writes: "During his three[34] years of sovereignty, Bakhta had found both time and resources to strengthen and embellish the strongholds of Mārwār. He completed the fortifications of the capital, and greatly added to the palace of Jodhā from the spoils of Ahmedābād. He retaliated the injuries of the intolerant Islamite, and threw down his shrines and his mosques in his own fief of Nāgor and with the wrecks restored the edifices of ancient days. It was Bakhta also who prohibited, under pain of death, the Islamite's call to prayer throughout his dominions, and the order remains to this day unrevoked in Mārwār."

Bakhatsiṁha was a brave, political and learned ruler. He was very keen on dealing out justice to his subjects. The Jodhpur wall which is still intact was completed by him within the short space of six months. The work had begun as early as the first decade of the seventeenth century, in the reign of Māldev; but it was only by Bakhatsiṁha's zeal and persistence that the wall was finished.

36. Mahārājā Bijaisiṁha.

Bijaisiṁha was the only son of the late ruler and he was installed on the gādi in the district of Māroṭh, east of Jodhpur. Emperor Ahmad Śāh sent him the customary presents. In 1811, Rāmsiṁha, the dispossessed ruler of Jodhpur, invaded Mārwār with the help of Appājī Rāo and Mādhosiṁha of Jaipur. Gajsiṁha, the Mahārājā of Bīkāner, and Bahādursiṁha, the Mahārājā of Kṛisṇgaḍh came to the rescue of Bijaisiṁha. A battle was fought at Mertā. At first the Jodhpur ruler was victorious, but later on he was defeated. Bijaisiṁha fled to Nāgor. The Marāṭhās under Appājī Rāo followed him and besieged Nāgor. The Jodhpur Sardārs sent two men, one belonging to Khokhar branch of

[34] As a matter of fact he reigned only for one year.

Rāṭhors and the other to the Gehalot[55] clan, to kill Appājī Rāo. These two men disguised as baniās entered the Marāṭhā camp and began to quarrel among themselves. They therefore carried their complaints before Appājī Rāo, and then seeing a favourable opportunity they pierced the Marāṭhā chief with daggers. In the confusion caused in the Marāṭhā camp by the death of their commander, the Khokhar managed to escape and was given a Jāgir. About this incident a poet has made the following couplet :—

"खोखर वडौ खुराकौ, खाधौ आपा सरखौ डाकौ ।"

The Khokhar was a terrible eater, as he swallowed a goblin like Appājī. In spite of Appājī's death Rāmsiṁha managed to obtain possession of a considerable portion of Mārwār, but his rule lasted only for a short time. Taking advantage of the quarrel between the two cousins, Rāmsiṁha and Bijaisiṁha, the Sardārs managed to usurp a good deal of power and caused much trouble to the ruler. Bijaisiṁha engaged a mercenary force to keep his turbulent jāgirdārs in awe. The Sardārs incensed at this step left the darbār and went away to Vīsalpur, 18 miles to the east of Jodhpur, and on the suggestion of Khīchī Gordhan, Bijaisiṁha went to Vīsalpur and persuaded them to return. Shortly afterwards Ātmārām, the Mahārājā's guru, died in the Jodhpur fort and Bijaisiṁha himself performed his funeral ceremonies. Many Sardārs came to the fort to attend the funeral and taking advantage of this, Bijaisiṁha had them all seized and imprisoned them for life. About this incident there is this following couplet :—

"केहर देवौ छत्रसौ, दलौ राजकुमार ।
मरतै मोडै मारिया, चोटीवाला च्यार ॥"

The shaven one even while dead killed four men with tufts of hair. The shaven one refers to Ātmārām who as a spiritual teacher had his head shaved, while the four jāgirdārs as men of the world kept their hair. These four[56] Sardārs were Chāṁpāwat Devīsiṁha,[57] the Ṭhākur of

[55] Col. Tod says that he was an Afghān, but this is not corroborated by the Khyātas.

[56] Col. Tod says that the number was six. But the couplet above cited cites only four names, and the Khyātas also mention only four Sardārs.

[57] Col. Tod writes : "The chief of Pokaraṇ . . . adopted a son of Rājā Ajit [of Jodhpur] as their chief ; his name was Devīsiṁha" and continues that the adoption was taken "not improbably at the suggestion of the dying chief . . . having no sons of his own." There are several inaccuracies here. Devīsiṁha was neither the son of Ajitsiṁha, nor was he given by his father to be adopted by the chief of Pokaraṇ. He was in fact a son of Mahāsiṁha of Pokaraṇ who is said by Tod to have died childless.

Pokaraṇ; Kūṁpāwat Chhatrasiṁha, the Ṭhākur of Āsop; Ūdāwat Kesri-siṁha, the Ṭhākur of Rās and Ūdāwat Daulatsiṁha, the Ṭhākur of Nīmbāj. The first three died in a short time in prison; while the last named was released. Devīsiṁha of Pokaraṇ had become very powerful and used to say that the kingdom of Jodhpur lay in his scabbard; when he was seized he was taunted about his statement and he retorted that the scabbard was now with his son Sabalsiṁha. Sabalsiṁha on hearing of his father's death rebelled and plundered Pālī but while attacking Vīsalpur he was killed. As he had subdued all his rebellious chiefs, Bijaisiṁha's power was firmly established. The Jodhpur ruler was a Vaiṣṇavite of the Vallabhāchārya school and as such he prohibited sternly the use of meat and intoxicants in his dominion. If a Sardār dared to consume wine and meat, he was immediately exiled from Mārwār. So great was the awe in which he was held by his subjects that it was a common saying at the time that in Bijaisiṁha's reign the tiger and the lamb used to drink water from the same pool.

In V.S. 1827 a quarrel broke out in Mewār between Rāṇā Arisiṁha and his Sardārs about the district of Goḍvāḍ. The Rāṇā asked for help from Bijaisiṁha and with his help put down the turbulent chiefs. As the Rāṇā had no money to pay the Mārwār ruler for his help, the Goḍvāḍ district was given to him as compensation and to this day it belongs to the Jodhpur State. About this time the plunderers of the Sarāi caste became troublesome and a force was sent to Ūmarkoṭ to suppress them. In that place the Soḍhās (a sept of Parmārs) were the rulers. They were driven away by the Ṭālpurās of Sindh. Vijaḍ, the Ṭālpurā leader, was defeated by Bijaisiṁha and his territory was annexed to Mārwār. In 1844 as the Marāṭhās were preparing to invade Jaipur, its ruler Pratāpsiṁha asked for help from Bijaisiṁha, because Jaipur formed the bulwark of Rājputānā against the Marāṭhā aggression and should it succumb, Jodhpur would also fall under Marāṭhā domination. The Jodhpur Mahārājā immediately rushed to the defence of the Jaipur territory and a battle was fought between the Rājputs and the Marāṭhās at Tūngā, and it was mainly owing to the Rāṭhor bravery that the Rājputs were victorious and the Marāṭhās were driven away. On their return from Jaipur, Bijaiasiṁha seized Ajmer. To avenge his defeat, Mādhojī Sindhiā prepared another trained force within four years and invaded Mārwār. Bijaisiṁha called the Mahārājās of Bīkāner and of Kṛiṣṇgaḍh to his help. They joined the Jodhpur forces at

Mertā. The Marāṭhā forces came to the Lūni river, and while they were there De Boigne's artillery stuck fast in the mud. Some of the Rāṭhor chiefs advised immediate attack, but owing to internal disunion the opportunity was soon lost. The Mahārājās of Bīkāner and Kṛiṣṇgaḍh withdrew their forces, as they were needed for the defence of their own territories against the impending Marāṭhā attack and the Rāṭhor force was left alone to fight De Boigne. Owing to some confusion, the Rājputs attacked their own artillery mistaking it for the enemy's. Taking advantage of this mistake, the Marāṭhās dashed on the Rājputs and defeated them completely. Bijaisiṁha fled to Mertā and from there to Nāgor. Mādhojī Sindhiā seized Ajmer. Fearing the continuance of the Marāṭhā invasion, Bijaisiṁha soon made terms with Mādhojī. The terms were necessarily severe. The Mahārājā had to pay 60 lacs of Rupees and to give up Ajmer. The tribute hitherto paid to the Dehli Emperors was to be paid hereafter to the Marāṭhās. As the Jodhpur State was too poor to pay 60 lacs in cash; jewels, some cash and a few hostages were given in security.

Mahārājā Bijaisiṁha had a Jāṭ mistress (पासवान) named Gulābrāi, who for a long time was his chief favourite. So great was her hold on the Mahārājā that she even interfered in state matters. The Sardārs naturally resented this intrusion of an upstart woman in politics. A conspiracy was formed against her under the leadership of Savāisiṁha of Pokaraṇ, grandson of Devīsiṁha, and Gulābrāi was murdered. The conspirators even tried to dethrone Bijaisiṁha and place his grandson Bhīmsiṁha on the throne, but the attempt failed. The Mahārājā survived this event by a few months only and he passed away in the month of Aśad, 1749 after a reign of forty years. Although the end of his reign was feeble, Bijaisiṁha for the greater part of his rule gave complete peace and order to his kingdom. He was a devoted follower of the Vaiṣṇvite sect, and built several temples, the most famous of which the Gangaśāmjī temple is still extant. He converted several palaces of his exiled chiefs into temples by depositing idols in them. In honour of his mistress Gulābrāi, he built the Gulābsāgar tank, the Kuñjabihāri temple, Girdikoṭ and Maṁhlābāgh where now the Saddar hospital is situated.

37. Mahārājā Bhīmsiṁha.

After Bijaisiṁha's death, Bhīmsiṁha, the son of Bhomasiṁha and the grandson of the late Mahārājā, who was then in Jaissalmer hastened to Jodhpur and ascended

the gādi. It was the wish of the Bijaisiṁha, that his younger son Zālimsiṁha should succeed him; but owing to the help of Savāisiṁha of Pokaraṇ and of the Ṭhākur of Āuvā, Bhīmsiṁha became the ruler of Mārwār. During his father's lifetime Zālimsiṁha was granted the jāgir of Goḍvāḍ, but his nephew when he became the Mahārājā sent a force against him and Zālimsiṁha had to leave his domain and died in exile in Mewār. Bhīmsiṁha lived on bad terms with his brothers and nephews. The reason for this enmity seems to be due to the evil influence which Savāisiṁha had on his ruler. The Ṭhākur of Pokaraṇ was a bitter foe of Bijaisiṁha who had killed his grandfather; and when he obtained power in Mārwār in Bhīmsiṁha's reign he pursued relentlessly all the survivors of the late ruler's family. The only member of the royal family who managed to escape was Mānsiṁha, a cousin of Bhīmsiṁha.

With his usual foresight, Bijaisiṁha had granted to his grandson Mānsiṁha the jāgir of Jālor, so that he might be out of his cousin's power. When Bhīmsiṁha ascended the gādi, he sent a force against him. A struggle went on between the cousins for some time. In 1857, Mānsiṁha because of his straitened circumstances plundered Pālī and on his return, he came across Bhīmsiṁha's force at Sākdaḍā. He was on the point of being made prisoner, but was saved by the Ṭhākur of Āuvā, who carried him safely to Jālor. The Mahārājā tried in vain to oust his cousin from that place. Bhīmsiṁha sent a large army with Bhanḍāri Gangārām, Singhi Vanrāj and Singhi Indrarāj to besiege Jālor. The siege was very vigorously pursued and Mānsiṁha was compelled to think seriously of leaving the fort. It was about the time of the Divāli festival. He asked for advice from his guru Āyas Devanāṭh. His teacher advised him to wait for four or five days before abandoning the Jālor fort. And it so happened, that on the fifth day after Divāli, Bhīmsiṁha died suddenly in the month of Kārtik, 1860. When this news reached the besieging force, Bhanḍāri Gangārām and Singhi Indrarāj saw that as Bhīmsiṁha was childless, Mānsiṁha was the inevitable successor. So they offered their allegiance to Mānsiṁha and recognised him as their ruler by giving to him nazar and performing nichhrāval. Mānsiṁha thereupon made his state entry into Jodhpur at the head of his forces. Bhīmsiṁha reigned for eleven years. During his reign there was not a single famine in Mārwār. He had a very high idea of his royal dignity. It is related that once when out riding his whip fell down from his hands, and it was given to him by one of his

syces. That such a man as his syce should presume to give him the whip was looked upon by Bhīmsiṁha as an insult to his royal dignity. When he came to the fort, he performed a purification ceremony and made some offerings to Brāhmans to wash out his sin. Bhīmsiṁha was however of a cruel temperament and vindictive towards the members of his family.

38. Mahārājā Mānsiṁha.

Mahārājā Mānsiṁha was the grandson of Bijaisiṁha and son of Gumānsiṁha. He was installed on the gādi in the month of Māgh, 1860. The first two years of the new reign passed in peace and harmony, but the seed of future troubles was already laid. Savāisiṁha of Pokaraṇ announced that the wife of Bhīmsiṁha was about to become mother; and he expected to be the regent if the child happened to be a son. Mānsiṁha declared that, if a son was born he would resign the gādi in his favour, but if the child happened to be a daughter she would be married into some royal family. In any case, the expectant mother should be placed under his care. But Savāisiṁha had Bhīmsiṁha's rāṇī sent away to Pokaraṇ, and shortly afterwards announced that a son was born and gave him the name of Dhoṅkalsiṁha. Mānsiṁha declared that Dhoṅkalsiṁha was only a supposititious son of Bhīmsiṁha and refused to acknowledge him as the Mahārājā. Savāisiṁha sent away the queen mother and her child to Khetḍī.

During the late Mahārājā's lifetime, a marriage was arranged between Bhīmsiṁha and Kṛiṣṇkumārī, a daughter of Mahārāṇā Bhīmsiṁha of Udaipur. But after Bhīmsiṁha's death, negotiations began between Udaipur and Jaipur for the hand of the princess. Mānsiṁha forbade Jagatsiṁha of Jaipur to marry Kṛiṣṇkumārī, as he had a prior right to her hand. But Jagatsiṁha refused to pay any heed to this advice. The Mahārājā led a large force to invade Jaipur and encamped at Ālaniyāvās, near Mertā. There he heard that bridal presents (ṭikā) were being sent from Udaipur to Jaipur. Mānsiṁha sent a force and prevented the bridal party from going to Jaipur and it was made to return to Udaipur. He also called Jasavant Rāo Holkar to his help and the Marāṭhā chief met him near Ajmer. Jagatsiṁha of Jaipur thought it prudent to make peace with Mānsiṁha; and both the Mahārājās met at Puśkar, and a two-fold marriage alliance was arranged between them. But peace between Jaipur and Jodhpur was of short duration. Savāisiṁha of Pokaraṇ, thirsting for revenge against Mānsiṁha, stirred up Jagatsiṁha by recalling to him the insult given by

Mānsiṁha in forcibly preventing his marriage. The Jaipur ruler allowed himself to be won over by Savāisiṁha, and he resolved to fight with Mānsiṁha. As the town of Khetḍī; where Dhoṅkalsiṁha, the supposititious son of Bhīmsiṁha, was living, was in Jaipur territory Jagatsiṁha could very well take up the rival claimant's cause. A large Jaipur force was being prepared to invade Mārwār. Owing to Savāisiṁha's diplomacy, Suratsiṁha of Bīkāner also joined Jaipur. While Jaipur and Bīkāner were preparing to invade Jodhpur, Mānsiṁha and his army took up their position at Mertā, and he immediately wrote to Jasavant Rāo Holkar whose wife and family he had protected when Holkar and the English were fighting. The Marāṭhā chief came as far as Harmāḍā (near Ajmer), but being bribed by Jagatsiṁha he went back. Both the Jodhpur and the Jaipur-Bīkāner armies were encamped at Gīṅgoli. Once more Savāisiṁha played havoc with Mānsiṁha's force by his diplomacy. He won over to his side good many Sardārs of the Jodhpur army, and twenty-two of them deserted Mānsiṁha, either going away to their homes or joining the invading armies. In spite of his hopeless position, the Jodhpur ruler was determined to fight out the matter, but Mertiā Zālimsiṁha, Ṭhākur of Mīṭhaḍī and Mertiā Śivnāṭhsiṁha of Kuchāman and others persuaded him to retreat, and Mānsiṁha was brought back to Jodhpur in the month of Fālgun, 1863. The invading forces soon captured Mertā and rapidly overran Nāgor, Pālī and Sojhat and arrived at Jodhpur which was besieged. Mānsiṁha was quite unprepared to meet the Jaipur-Bīkāner forces. The invaders entered the city in the month of Chaitra, only the fort remained with Mānsiṁha. The enemy now prepared to besiege the fort.

In the fort of Jodhpur, Singhi Indrarāj, the former commander of the army, was a prisoner. He offered to help Mānsiṁha in his difficulty, if he was given freedom. So the Mahārājā released him and he managed to escape through the besieging forces and to reach Mertā. He met Mertiā Śivnāṭhsiṁha of Kuchāman and they prepared an army to invade Jaipur. About this time Mīr Khān, the Pinḍāri chief, was fighting on the side of the Jaipur forces at Jodhpur; but a quarrel broke out between him and Jagatsiṁha over the question of payment, and in anger he withdrew his forces from Jodhpur and went away to Mertā. The Marāṭhās, under Bāpūjī Sindhiā and Jān Butīsī, came to Jodhpur to assist Mānsiṁha and were advancing towards Mertā. To arrange

some terms with Mīr Khān, Śivlāl, the commander of the Jaipur forces, and Savāisiṁha of Pokaraṇ came to Mertā, but they failed to placate the Pindāri leader. But they managed to persuade the Marāṭhās to go away from Mertā by bribing them. On the other hand, Śivnāṭhsiṁha of Kuchāman won over Mīr Khān to the side of Jodhpur, by an immediate payment of one lac of Rupees and a promise of four lacs later. Śivnāṭhsiṁha and the Pinḍāries then invaded Jaipur. The Jaipur forces under Śivlāl and the Jodhpur-Pinḍāri forces met at Fāgi and in the battle, the latter were victorious and captured considerable booty. Śivlāl fled and was pursued by Śivnāṭhsiṁha. The Jodhpur forces harried the Jaipur territory and then returned again to Jodhpur. Jagatsiṁha when he came to know of the havoc wrought by Śivnāṭhsiṁha in his dominions, withdrew his forces from Jodhpur in the month of Bhādrapad, 1864. The Bīkāner forces also retreated and the siege of Jodhpur was raised.

Mānsiṁha was now determined to take revenge on his disloyal Sardārs, especially on Savāisiṁha who had troubled him all through his reign. So the Mahārājā entered into a plot with Mīr Khān. It was arranged by the two conspirators that Mīr Khān should pretend to retire from the Jodhpur service, on the ground that he was ill paid and fly to Pokaraṇ, and having won Savāisiṁha's confidence kill the Ṭhākur at a favourable opportunity. Mīr Khān played the part assigned to him. In anger he withdrew his forces from Jodhpur and encamped at Mūnḍwā —10 miles to the south of Nāgor. There he began to abuse Mānsiṁha, Savāisiṁha believing that the enemy of his enemy was his friend wanted to win over the Pinḍāri chief to his side. Mīr Khān promised on the Qurān to be faithful to Savāisiṁha. The latter invited him to his palace where some ceremony was going on. While the Pokaraṇ Ṭhākur was enjoying the festivities in a tent; the ropes were, by Mīr Khān's order, cut and the tent fell down. Savāisiṁha was buried under the debris and his head was shown to Mānsiṁha by Mīr Khān. Three other chiefs were killed at the same time, Chāṁpāwat Gyānsiṁha, Ṭhākur of Pālī; Jetāwat Kesarisiṁha, Ṭhākur of Bagḍi and Kūṁpāwat, Bagsirām, Ṭhākur of Chanḍāval. Their heads also were carried to Jodhpur and were thrown down from the fort and there burnt. As a reward for this service Mīr Khān was given a jāgir yielding a revenue of 30,000 Rupees, including the villages of Mūnḍwā and Kucherā and a daily allowance of 100 Rupees.

In 1865, Mīr Khān with the Jodhpur forces was sent against Bīkāner as its Mahārājā had helped Savāisiṁha in 1860. The Bīkāner forces were defeated and Suratsiṁha had to pay a fine of 3,00,000 Rupees and give back the district Phalodhi which was in his possession. A year later Mānsiṁha sent Mīr Khān to Udaipur asking the Rāṇā, that as the hand of his daughter Kṛiṣṇākumārī had been promised formerly to a member of the Jodhpur family, she should not be married anywhere else. Some authorities relate that Rāṇā Bhīmsiṁha seeing that this affair might lead to further complications, administered poison to his daughter as the best way out of his difficulty; others relate that the daughter herself drank poison to save her father.

Mīr Khān, seeing how indispensable he had become, wanted to take possession of Mertā and Nāgor in addition to Mūnḍwā and Kucherā which had already been given to him in jāgir. Mānsiṁha raised no objection to Mīr Khān's ambition; but his minister, Singhi Indrarāj, refused to allow this addition to the Pinḍāri power. Mīr Khān joined his forces with Muhtā Akhechand, a bitter enemy of the minister, who promised to give the Pinḍāri chief seven lacs if he could kill Indrarāj. Some Pinḍāri soldiers went to the Jodhpur fort to claim their pay from the minister and Āyasa Devanāṭhjī—Mānsiṁha's old guru—who were carrying on the administration of the State. A quarrel arose and both the minister and the guru were shot. Mānsiṁha took the death of his two friends very much to heart and went into retirement, and in the month of Vaiśākh, 1873 entrusted the affairs of the kingdom to his son Chhatrasiṁha with Muhtā Akhechand as his minister. Mīr Khān had also to leave the Mārwār territory and he later founded a principality in Ṭonk Rāmpurā (in Jaipur territory). For some time Mānsiṁha lived in strict seclusion and paid not the slightest heed to the state affairs. His only friend at that time was Beṇu, his tailor, with whom alone he used to talk.

In 1874, a treaty was entered into between Jodhpur and the East India Company. The heir-apparent Chhatrasiṁha was represented by Byās Bisanrām [53] and Byās Abhairām, and the Governor-General, the Marquess of Hastings, by Col. Metcalfe. The main conditions of this treaty were that the British Government undertook to protect Jodhpur, while in return Jodhpur promised to pay a tribute to the Company and to furnish 1,500 horse for the service of the British Government when required. The Mahārājā promised not to enter into any negotiation

[53] He was an Āsopā (Dāhimā) Brāhman by caste.

with any ruler without the sanction of the British Government. Similar treaties were entered into at different times with the other Rājput States. In 1860, a treaty had been entered into between Jodhpur and the Company. It was signed by the Marquess of Hastings; but as it was not ratified by Mānsiṁha it was of course not valid. In that very year Chhatrasiṁha died. Muhtā Akhechand and Chāṁpāwat Sālimsiṁha, the Ṭhākur of Pokaraṇ administered the State, while Mānsiṁha continued to be in his seclusion.

When the Marquess of Hastings came to know of the death of Chhatrasiṁha he sent his agent Munśi Barkatali to ascertain whether Mānsiṁha was fit to reign or not. The Munśi found out that the Mahārājā was only waiting for a favourable opportunity to resume his active life; and was willing to come out of his retirement, if the Company promised not to interfere in Jodhpur. Mr. Wilders who was also sent by the Governor-General saw that Mānsiṁha was not at all insane, as he had been represented, but only feigned insanity. The Company gave the required promise and once more Mānsiṁha began to administer the state affairs and he inspired so much confidence and trust, that even those who had wronged him felt themselves quite safe. He pleased all the Sardārs by granting them various offices, while those who were office holders were confirmed in their positions. The Mahārājā thus completely won over the trust of all his chiefs.

Mānsiṁha had adopted this policy of conciliation only in order to lull the suspicions of his foes, so that he might deceive them with greater ease. In 1876, Muhtā Akhechand and eighty-four of his companions were seized by the Mahārājā, as they had helped Chhatrasiṁha when he was the virtual head of the State. Eight of these, including Akhechand were forced to drink poison in the Jodhpur fort. The ex-minister promised to pay Mānsiṁha twenty-five lacs if he was released, but Mānsiṁha refused to grant his request. Jośi Śrī Kṛiṣṇa also was poisoned, and while dying, he gave to the Mahārājā the curse that as he was dying childless, his ruler should also die without issue; and so it happened. Owing to this high-handed action his Sardārs sent a vakil to the Agent to the Governor-General at Ajmer, asking for the British help in their difficulties. The Agent promised to bring the matter to the notice of Mānsiṁha. Owing to the representations of the Agent, Mānsiṁha pacified for the time being his rebellious Sardārs, by granting to them various jāgirs.

In 1880, owing to the depredations of the hilly tribes—the Mers and the Mīnās—the district of Merwārā which is 32 miles to the west of Ajmer was brought under the control of the English Government for eight years, and the period was later extended to another nine years. Mr. Dixon, the Commissioner of Ajmer, founded a city—Navośahar—in that district, which was later permanently annexed to the Company's dominions. About the same time the Sardārs and Jāgirdārs of Māllāni began to plunder that district, and the English Political Agent for the time being took up the administration of the locality, paying 4,000 Rupees a year to the Mahārājā. The district was ceded back to the State under the reign of Jasavantsiṁha II. When the English annexed Sindh, Mānsiṁha asked the Company to give him Ūmarkoṭ which belonged formerly to Jodhpur, but was conquered by the Ṭālpurā armies in 1869. But the Company refused to accede to this request, but as compensation gave to Mānsiṁha 10,000 Rupees annually, the estimated revenue of Ūmarkoṭ. As Mānsiṁha had promised to pay a tribute of 2,23,000 Rupees, he had now to pay only 2,13,000 Rupees.

The frontier between Sirohī and Jodhpur was in a disturbed condition owing to the depredations of the Bhīls and the Mīnās. Mānsiṁha was asked to place a force of 600 horse in the locality and thus re-establish order; otherwise the Company would have to encamp its troops there. But as the administration of the State was becoming slack under the ascendency of Bhīmnāṭh no steps were taken; and the English sent up their troops to the disturbed locality, and thus was established the Eranpurā camp which still exists. Madhurājdev Bhoṇsle of Nāgpur fled from his territories and took refuge at Jodhpur. The English asked Mānsiṁha to give up the refugee, but the Mahārājā evaded the request stating that a prisoner in Jodhpur was equally a prisoner in the British territory. A darbār was held at Ajmer by the Political Agent and all the rulers of Rājputānā were invited to come, but Mānsiṁha did not attend the darbār.

While there existed several sources of friction between the Company and the Jodhpur State, another good reason for the English interference in Mārwār was furnished by the slack administration of the State. For some time everything went on quietly; but once more the guru Bhīmnāṭh and his disciples interfered in state matters, and the Mahārājā out of his devotion to his teacher did not wish to go against them. So affairs went on as badly as before. Jāgirs were confiscated,

and once again the Sardārs brought their complaints before Mr. Sutherland, the Company's Agent at Ajmer. In the treaty of alliance between the British and the Jodhpur State it was arranged in 1891, that instead of furnishing 1,500 horse for the service of the Company, the Mahārājā might pay annually to the English a sum of 1,15,000 Rupees. Further it was stipulated between the two parties that the tribute of 1,08,000 Rupees paid formerly to the Marāṭhās should be paid to the Company. Thus Jodhpur had to pay every year a sum of 2,23,000 Rupees to the English treasury. But under the ascendancy of Bhīmnāṭh no money was being paid by the State. Mr. Sutherland asked Mānsiṁha to assume the control of affairs, but so great was the ascendancy of his guru that the Mahārājā paid no heed to this suggestion. The Agent at last made up his mind to interfere and to put an end to the disorders in the State. In 1896, he went into Jodhpur with a small English force, accompanied by all the vakils of all the Rājput States and the dispossessed Jodhpur Sardārs including Bhāṭṭī Saktidān, Ṭhākur of Sāthīn. Mr. Sutherland was given to understand that so long as the English wanted to re-establish order in the State, the Sardārs would be on his side even if it came to fighting; but should any harm be done to Mānsiṁha himself, their loyalty to the Mahārājā would induce them to take up his side.

On hearing of the arrival of Mr. Sutherland, Mānsiṁha left Jodhpur and received him at Baṇāḍ, eight miles to the east of the capital. The Agent asked the Mahārājā to give up the possession of the Jodhpur fort to the English, and Mānsiṁha surrounded by the disaffected Sardārs readily consented. It was agreed that the fort should be given back after six months. After a short interval, the English returned to Ajmer. As regards the Sardārs, Mānsiṁha asked them to go back to their jāgirs, in the hope that they would be too busy fighting among themselves to interfere in state matters. Even now the supremacy of the Nāṭhs was unchallenged, the English seeing that order would not be restored so long as the Nāṭhs remained in the State; seized the leaders, some of whom were taken to Ajmer and others fled away to their estates. Śravaṇanāṭh was exiled and Lakśmīnāṭh of Mahāmandir retired to his estates in Bīkāner. After the downfall of the Nāṭhs, Mānsiṁha ceased to take any interest in state affairs, he took up the garb of a Sannyāsi and left the Jodhpur fort and took up his abode at Manḍor. He designated as his successor Takhatsiṁha, son of Karaṇasiṁha, Rājā

of Ahmednagar. In 1900 on the ekādaśī day, Mānsiṁha passed away.

Mānsiṁha was a ruler of considerable political ability, but owing to his dissensions with his Sardārs and his excessive obedience to the Nāṭhs, he could not administer the State as he really wanted. He experienced considerable vicissitudes of fortune during his time; and of his long reign of forty years, very few were passed in peace. He was personally a learned man and a poet of no mean order. He had a very keen appreciation of the abilities of paṇḍits, poets and musicians, and he welcomed them all to his court, which during his reign became the centre of intellectual and artistic culture. As a poet has well said :—

"जोधै कीधौ जोधपुर, व्रज कीधौ व्रजपाल् ।
लखनेऊ काशी नगर, मान करी नेपाल् ॥"

Jodhā founded Jodhpur: by propagating Vaiṣṇavism and building several temples of Viṣṇu, Bijaisiṁha (Brajpāl) made Jodhpur another Maṭhurā (Braj); Mānsiṁha by bringing together musicians, paṇḍits and yogīs made Jodhpur another Lucknow, Kāśī and Nepāl combined.

39. Mahārājā Takhatsiṁha.

As Mānsiṁha had died childless, Mr. Sutherland placed on the vacant gādi Takhatsiṁha of Ahmednagar, who was descended from Ajitsiṁha, and was designated as his successor by the late ruler. The Rāṇīs of Mānsiṁha, the Sardārs and the officials agreed to recognise him as their ruler. Takhatsiṁha, accompanied by his son Jasavantsiṁha, arrived in Jodhpur in the month of Kārtik, 1900. The new ruler re-established order and the disloyal Sardārs had to retire to their estates. Soon peace and quiet reigned in Jodhpur. Takhatsiṁha wanted to keep possession of Ahmednagar also, but as his son was with him at Jodhpur, Ahmednagar became united to Īḍar. In 1904, the two famous dacoits, Śekhāwat Ḍūngjī and Javārajī, who had been imprisoned by the Company in the Āgrā fort, escaped from their prison and fled to Nāgor. They were seized and handed over to the English by the Mahārājā, as an evidence of his friendship.

In 1914, the Indian Mutiny broke out. At that time a small force of sepoys came to Āuvā, and the Sardār of the place gave them asylum in his fort. The Political Agent requested the Mahārājā to help him with some Jodhpur troops to chastise the Sardār of Āuvā. Takhatsiṁha sent a force under Rāv Rājmal and Killādār Anāḍsiṁha to Āuvā. The place was besieged; and the sepoys and the Sardār were

driven away. Some of the English who had fled into Jodhpur to escape from the fury of the sepoys were given protection by the Mahārājā. A force was sent from Jodhpur to help the Company and it went as far as Nārnol. But in the meantime the Mutiny was quelled. In recognition of the considerable help he had given to the English, Lord Canning made Takhatsiṁha a G.C.S.I. Some of the Sardārs, whose estates had been confiscated during the Mutiny, had fled to Bīkāner and from there were ravaging the Mārwār territory. At the suggestion of the British Government, they were reinstated in their estates.

The first twenty years of his reign were passed in peace. But in 1922, party strife began once more in the State and Takhatsiṁha began to change his dīwāns in rapid succession. Mr. Taylor, a retired British officer, was appointed Dīwān, but he soon resigned; and he was followed by Hājī Mahomed Khān who was murdered in 1923. He was succeeded by Munśi Mardān Alī Khān. Some jāgirdārs became disaffected towards the new minister and left their jāgirs. In 1925, came the great famine and many people left their houses and fled eastwards towards Mālwā. People died in large numbers or else became homeless. In those times the following song was sung :—

"पचीसा काल् फेर मतौ आई रे भोलो दुनिया मैं ।"

"O famine of 1925, may you never return to this simple world." Bājrā, which was formerly sold at twenty seers a Rupee, was sold at the rate of three seers a Rupee. The darbār used to give cooked food to the starving people and especially Rāṇī Jāḍechī, one of the wives of Takhatsiṁha, earned great fame for her liberality and bounty in feeding the hungry multitude.

In 1927, a treaty was entered into between the British Government and the Jodhpur State as regards the salt produced in the Sāṁbhar district. The salt produced there was to be taken by the English, but in return they were to pay to Jodhpur 1,25,000 Rupees. A similar treaty was also concluded with Jaipur. Similar arrangements were entered into with regard to the salt produced in Nāṁwā and Guḍā. In the same year Lord Mayo held a darbār at Ajmer, at which all the rulers of Rājputānā were present. No proper arrangement had been made as regards the seats to be allotted to the different rulers. Takhatsiṁha went to Ajmer; but thinking that he had not been given in the darbār the proper precedence due to him, he did not present himself in the assembly,

and went away without seeing the Viceroy. Lord Mayo looked upon this incident as an insult to the British Government, and the Imperial authorities decided to diminish his salute from nineteen guns to seventeen.

As often happens in absolute monarchies, when the sovereign becomes old the administration of the State becomes slack ; so it happened also in Jodhpur. When Takhatsiṁha had passed his fiftieth year, the feudatory Mīnā tribes began to harry the Goḍwāḍ district, to curb them and to restore peace in those territories the heir-apparent, Mahārājkumār Jasavantsiṁha was sent against them. Some Mīnās were executed and their heads hung in the trees, others fled ; and thus the district was pacified. About this time the question of succession came to the front. The Mahārājā had ten sons, of whom the three eldest were Jasavantsiṁha, Zorāwarsiṁha and Pratāpsiṁha. Although Jasavantsiṁha was the eldest, he was born when his father was merely the ruler of Ahmednagar ; while Zorāwarsiṁha, though second, was born after Takhatsiṁha had become the Mahārājā of Jodhpur. So, on this ground Zorāwarsiṁha claimed the gādi and he was supported by several of the Sardārs. In 1928, he took possession of Nāgor, as its impregnable fort gives its owner the command over all the neighbouring districts. Jasavantsiṁha with an army went to Nāgor to drive away his brother from there. A civil war seemed about to break out. The Mahārājā saw it was high time to intervene, and accompanied by the British Resident he went with an army to Nāgor to drive away Zorāwarsiṁha from there. He pursuaded his second son to come with him to Jodhpur. As Takhatsiṁha was suffering from phthisis, he handed over the administration of the State to his eldest son, Mahārājkumār Jasavantsiṁha, and withdrew from active life. The British Government also thought highly of the Mahārājkumār because of the ability with which he had pacified the Goḍwāḍ district. Jasavantsiṁha was given the title of Yuvarājā and carried on the administration of the State. A year later Takhatsiṁha died in the month of Māgh, 1829.

During his reign, Takhatsiṁha had conferred many benefits on his people. It was customary for the Chārans, the Dholis and the other border tribes to harass the Sardārs by demanding exhorbitant sums from the Jāgirdārs at their weddings. To prevent this system of blackmail, Takhatsiṁha fixed a proportionate amount, varying according to the annual revenue of the Jāgirs to be given to these people at the weddings

of the Sardārs. Sometimes it happened in the Rājput families, that new-born daughters were occasionally killed by their parents as it was often difficult to find for them suitable bridegrooms. To prevent this inhuman practice, the Mahārājā sternly ordered that no daughters should be killed; and this order was carved on stone slabs which are still to be found fixed on the gates of forts and offices in all the districts of the kingdom. When the Rājputānā-Mālwā railway line was laid, Takhatsiṁha gave the land for it free of charge to the Company. Formerly custom duties were levied on all articles passing through the Mārwār territory; but the Mahārājā gave up his custom rights as far as the articles carried on this railway were concerned. In 1922, at a darbār held at Āgrā, an attempt was made to enforce the Arms Act in Rājputānā also. But it was owing to the skill and diplomacy of Takhatsiṁha that this policy was not enforced. On the whole, Mārwār prospered during this reign, although the revenue of the State was small. Takhatsiṁha was a great builder. Many granaries, parks and factories were then constructed. Several schools and hospitals were also opened. Personally he was of a brave and charitable disposition.

40. Mahārājā Jasavantsiṁha II.

The new ruler ascended the gādi in the month of Fālgun, 1929. That year bumper crop was produced and this was regarded by the people as an auspicious augury for the coming reign. In 1930, a civil court, a criminal court and an appeal court were established, and a Legislative Council (Mehakmā Khās) was also set up for the general supervision and administration of the State. In this Council some Sardārs and a few higher officials were appointed members, and Bhaiyā Faizullā Khān was made the chief minister. The new Mahārājā was keen on the spread of education and enlightenment in Mārwār. A high school was established in Jodhpur, and later the Jasavant College was founded in which education up to the B.A. standard is given. A girls' school was also set up. Takhatsiṁha had given a donation of one lakh Rupees towards the foundation of Mayo College at Ajmer. Jasavantsiṁha gave 36,000 Rupees for a boarding-house—to be called the Mārwār Boarding House, and promised to give free of charge all the Makrāṇā marble necessary for the construction of the building. When a Memorial Church was erected at Cawnpore in honour of those slain in the Mutiny, some marble was needed; and the Mahārājā agreed to supply all the quantity required and sent it from his State to Cawnpore at his own expense. This gift

of his was meant to show his gratitude for all that the English had done in 1914.

Jasavantsiṁha was of an extremely liberal disposition, and his chief minister was equally charitable; and so in two years a debt of 20 lakhs was accumulated. A loan of 24 lakhs was also taken from the British Government, and this sum was spent on a pilgrimage to the Ganges river to throw the ashes of the late Mahārājā. In 1932, Lord Northbrooke paid an official visit to the Jodhpur State and he was given a magnificient welcome. All the Jāgirdārs of Mārwār with their retinue were invited. The whole army, with armour on, lined the street for four miles. Next year the Prince of Wales came to Jodhpur, and once more Jasavantsiṁha showed his princely hospitality. The royal visitor with his own hand invested the Mahārājā with the insignia of G.C.S.I. Although Jasavantsiṁha was personally of a charitable nature, it should have been the duty of the minister to see that the expenditure did not exceed the revenue. So the inevitable result followed, debts began to accumulate. Faizullā Khān was dismissed from office, and the work of the ministry was entrusted to Pratāpsiṁha who was then at Jaipur. In 1934, famine occurred in the State and to relieve the hardships of the people, the price of corn was fixed in the kingdom. It was ordered that corn should not be sold at a higher rate than eight seers per Rupee. The order was on the whole well obeyed and thanks to it the people passed the famine year without much difficulty.

Some of the Sardārs had left their estates in anger, and were ravaging the territories of their neighbours. The leader of this band was the Sardār of Lohiyāṇā. An expedition under the command of Pratāpsiṁha was sent against them, and after a few skirmishes, all the rebel Sardārs were punished and once more peace was restored in the kingdom. The British Government seeing that the administration of the State was carried on very efficiently, granted back to Jodhpur the district of Mallānī which had been occupied by the English during the reign of Mānsiṁha. Only the criminal cases of the district were still to be under the control of the Resident.

In 1938, it was decided to lay down railways in the State, and for that purpose Mr. Home was called from England. There had always been boundary disputes between the different villages of Mārwār; and to settle the matter once for all the services of Capt. Lake were lent by the British Government to arbitrate in the matter. The whole kingdom

was surveyed; and for payments in kind, as had hitherto been the custom, payments in cash (bighori) were substituted. To organise the Customs Department Mr. Hewson's services were utilised, but he died shortly after he came to Jodhpur. To perpetuate his memory, the Hewson Hospital was erected. Both Mr. Hewson and Mr. Home devoted all their abilities to their respective duties; and it is because of Mr. Home that Mārwār possesses a net work of railways, and for this boon the people of Jodhpur still bless the memory of Jasavantsiṁha and his descendants.

Owing to the exertions of Mr. Powlett and Pratāpsiṁha, acting of course at the suggestion of the Mahārājā, the whole administration of the State was put on a modern basis. The old regime passed away, and the new era began. New books on law and customs were issued, and the administration was carried on according to the lines laid down in them. Jāgirdārs of the first class were given civil and criminal powers in their estates. The Forest and the Public Works Departments were organised; for the sale of liquor and opium, a previous license was made necessary. Municipal Committees were set up for the purpose of sanitation. The one great reproach often levelled against the fair name of Jodhpur was that it was the haunt of plunderers like the Bhīls, the Mīnās, etc. A special department was established to deal with these freebooters; and many of them gave up their lawless habits, and adopted the peaceful calling of agriculturists. Later, when all the Bhīls and the Mīnās had become respectable citizens, this department was merged into the Police Department.

Tanks were constructed, and wells were dug in the desert portions of the territory. Two regiments of the Imperial Service Corps were formed to serve under the British Government.

Jasavantsiṁha passed away in 1952, after a reign of twenty-three years. He was of such a genial and loving disposition, that it was impossible to become his enemy. The enmity between Mārwār and Mewār was of long standing. But this Mahārājā ended this hereditary ill-feeling between the two premier States of Rajputānā by his charm and tact. The Mahārāṇā of Udaipur visited Jodhpur and stayed there for a month, and Jasavantsiṁha paid a return visit to Udaipur. The newly-established friendship was further strengthened by a marriage alliance between the heir-apparent of Jodhpur and the daughter of the Mahārāṇā. The Mahārājā was very keen on the spread of education

in his dominions. He also established a special Historical Department to study the inscriptions and the historical records of the State.

41. Mahārājā Sardārsiṁha.

Mahārājā Sardārsiṁha, the only son of the late Mahārājā, succeeded his father; but as he was only sixteen years old, a council of regency under the presidentship of Pratāpsiṁha was set up to carry on the administration of the State. Two years later the new ruler assumed the reins of the State in his own hand. Sardārsiṁha began his rule by founding a Female Hospital and a school for the education of the sons of Rājputs. The school is situated at Chopāsni, six miles from Jodhpur. The Mahārājā carried on very efficiently the work of the State, and the British Government gave back to him the jurisdiction of the criminal cases of the Mallānī district, which had hitherto been in the hands of the Resident. Sardārsiṁha gave repeated proofs of his attachment to the British Government by always sending his forces to fight for the cause of the English. In 1954, in the Tirah expedition, a Jodhpur contingent served on the frontier; three years later in the Chinese War, the Jodhpur forces were equally conspicuous.

In 1956, a terrible famine visited Jodhpur, and at that time he spent thirty-six lacs in relieving the distress of his people. He also had some wells dug and tanks constructed. Railway lines were laid all over the country, in the west as far as Sindh, in the north as far as Bhatinḍā, in the north-east as far as Hāñsi-Hissār. In the city stone-paved roads were laid out and a clock-tower was erected, round about which a hundred and fifty shops are to be found, and the place is now known as the Sardār Market. A Registration Department was established and the Police Department was organised. Sardārsiṁha was very keen on military matters and had a course of training at Dehrā-Dun, and was made a member of the Imperial Cadet Corps. He was unrivalled in polo, and this was due to the fine training given to him by his uncle Pratāpsiṁha. The Mahārājā was very fond of foreign travel, and once made an extended tour in England, France, Switzerland and Austria. Owing to his delicate health, Sardārsiṁha used to stay in Pachmari (C.P.), and the supervision of the State was entrusted to Mr. Jennings, the Resident; because Pratāpsiṁha's services could no longer be utilised as he had now become the Mahārājā of Īḍar. Sukhdev Prasād continued to be the minister.

His long stay in Pachmari improved his health considerably, and on

his return, the Mahārājā once more took charge of the administration; and for a time Jodhpur experienced an era of peace and prosperity. But unfortunately Sardārsiṁha passed away in 1967, and was mourned by all his numerous subjects. The late Mahārājā had a very tender heart. Under his reign, the custom of making some grants to all the pardānaśin ladies and children of Mārwār in straitened circumstances was begun, and this charitable practice is continued to this present day. Formally a poll-tax was levied on the lower castes like Ghāñchi, Teli, Kumhār, etc.; but this tax was abolished by this ruler. On the spot where his father was cremated, he erected a magnificent marble temple (thaḍā), which is one of the sights of Jodhpur.

The late Mahārājā left three sons—Sumersiṁha, Umedsiṁha and Ajitsiṁha. Sardārsiṁha was succeeded by his eldest son, Sumersiṁha, in 1967. As the new ruler was thirteen years old, once more a regency council was formed and Mahārājā Pratāpsiṁha became the regent, assisted by five other members. Many changes were made in the personnel of the State. The whole administration was overhauled and reorganised on a better basis. Another welcome change was made. Only those who had gone through a proper course in law were allowed to practise as vakils in the courts of law. The young ruler was sent to England for a proper training and he remained there for two years. On his return home, the Great War broke out. Mahārājā Pratāpsiṁha immediately prepared to go to the front, and Sumersiṁha asked permission of the British Government to accompany his grand-uncle. The permission was granted and with his army he went over to France. After two years' active service, he came back to Jodhpur to arrange for his marriage. Sumersiṁha was married in 1972. As he came of age in 1973, he was entrusted with the administration of the State and Mr. Pestonjī was appointed minister.

42. Mahārājā Sumersiṁha.

About this time electric installation was set up in Jodhpur; and in the fort, in the city and in private houses, electric lights and fans were introduced. A special department was established for the supervision of temples, and when necessary even special grants are made to them. There was no one fixed standard of weight in Mārwār; in some places one seer was equivalent to the weight of 80 Rupees, in others to 60 Rupees. To put an end to this variation, Mr. Śāmbihāri Misser, then revenue member, wanted to introduce everywhere one uniform standard of weight,—one seer to be equivalent to 80 Rupees. But this innovation

brought about many complaints from the people, and they laid their grievances before the minister. The Mahārājā advised the minister to yield to the wishes of the people, and this wise decision increased immensely the popularity of the young sovereign. This little incident shows how much did Sumersiṁha love his subjects. He was fortunate in having in Mr. Pestonjī, a minister who shared with his master love for the people. Unfortunately the minister did not remain long in Jodhpur, as his services were required by the Jām of Jāmnagar who had lent his services to this State. Chhajurām, a Gauḍ Brāhman, was appointed minister. In 1974, plague visited Jodhpur and the people wanted to leave the city and to go out in the country. With his usual generosity and love for his people, the Mahārājā placed Rāikā bāgh—the palace of Jasavantsiṁha,—the military quarters and state buildings at the disposal of his people, where anybody could stay. In that fatal year only one-eighth of the normal population remained in the city, the rest had fled outside. To preserve order and justice in the deserted capital, the Mahārājā sent his cavalry to patrol in Jodhpur. Thanks to these prompt measures, the life and property of the people were saved. Unfortunately for Mārwār, this young ruler died the next year at the early age of twenty-one to the grief of the whole State.

43. Mahārājā Umedsiṁha.

As Sumersiṁha had died without leaving any sons behind him, he was succeeded by his younger brother Umedsiṁha, who was then sixteen years old. Once again there was a minor on the throne of Jodhpur, so for a third time a council of regency consisting of four members was instituted. Mahārājā Pratāpsiṁha became the regent, and his younger brother Zālimsiṁha was made the vice-president of the regency council. The young ruler is at present being educated at Mayo College, Ajmer. Owing to the efficient administration of the regent, the revenue of the State has increased from one crore to a crore and a half, and there is no State in Rājputānā which enjoys such a large revenue. In territorial extent Mārwār comprises 37,000 square miles, it is the largest State in Rājputānā. In numbers the Rāṭhor clan exceeds all the other clans. The family goddess (कुलदेवी) is Nāgaṇechiyā. Once she assumed the form of a hawk (श्येन) to protect the clan, so she is called राठश्येना or राठासन. For this reason in the Rāṭhor flag there is a hawk with the following motto रण बंका राठौर (Rāṭhors, skilled in war).

Mahārājā Pratāpsiṁha is the regent of Jodhpur at present and

has acted so twice in the past. He is the great-uncle of Umedsiṁha, so no account of Jodhpur would be complete without some account of this great man. Mahārājā Pratāpsiṁha was born in 1902. From his very childhood he showed signs of unusual activity and ability. When Mahārājā Jasavantsiṁha ascended the gādi in 1929, he had several Mahomedan favourites around him; and Pratāpsiṁha displeased with their conduct left the Jodhpur State and went away to Jaipur. There he was initiated by Mahārājā Rāmsiṁhajī into administrative and state affairs. When owing to mal-administration debt was increasing in Jodhpur, on Rāmsiṁhajī's advice, Pratāpsiṁha was called back to Mārwār. Order was at once introduced in the State, guilty officers were dismissed and the whole State was placed under his supervision. About the same time Mr. Powlett was appointed Political Agent at Jodhpur, and he helped considerably Pratāpsiṁha in organising the State on Western lines. So for this reason he remained in Jodhpur for twelve years, an unusually long period for a Political Agent. Under the ægis of Mahārājā Pratāpsiṁha, the administration of the State was carried on very efficiently. Dacoits were suppressed. Once Lord Roberts, then Commander-in-Chief, visited Jodhpur, and while out on hunt a wild hog attacked Pratāpsiṁha, and as his horse was wounded he had to alight on the ground. The hog attacked him, and in a hand-to-hand fight that ensued though his thigh was pierced, he stabbed the animal with a hunting-knife. Owing to his bravery and administrative talents the Government of India conferred on him in 1943, the insignia of K.C.S.I. In 1944, on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee, Pratāpsiṁha went to England as the representative of Jasavantsiṁha. Her Majesty was pleased to appoint him as an Honorary Lieut.-Colonel of the British Army and also to make him one of her A.D.C.'s.

Mahārājā Pratāpsiṁha is a great expert in all military matters and in all martial exercises. In polo and peg-sticking, he was in his time regarded as unrivalled. Once more in 1954, on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria, he went over to England as the representative of Sardārsiṁha. In the royal procession, Pratāpsiṁha was on his horse in the full glory of his oriental costume. The *Pall Mall Gazette* stated that Sir Pratāp's dress and horsemanship were unrivalled. He was the cynosure of all eyes. At this time the insignia of G.C.S.I. was conferred on him, and the Oxford University made him an LL.D. In 1956, in the Chinese War, the Mahārājā went with his contingent to

the front, and being highly pleased with his valour, the British Government presented four guns to the State. As the Mahārājā of Īḍar had died without issue, Pratāpsiṁha succeeded the vacant gādi there. King Edward VII made him his A.D.C. and conferred on him a C.B. and later on a G.C.V.O. On the death of Mahārājā Sardārsiṁha, in order that the administration of the State might not go to pieces under the minority of Umedsiṁha, he wished to undertake himself the work of the State. But the difficulty was that being the ruler of Īḍar, he could not administer two States at the same time. To overcome this difficulty, Pratāpsiṁha handed over the control of the Īḍar State to his nephew Daulatsiṁha, and then became the regent of Jodhpur. In 1970, the Great War broke out, and once more Pratāpsiṁha went to the front with his army, and owing to his bravery and experience, he was made the Commander-in-Chief of all the Indian forces in France. He remained at the front up to the conclusion of armistice. On the death of Sumersiṁha, once more he had to take charge of the Jodhpur State. Although he is seventy-six, he preserves all the vitality and the energy of a man of fifty. Jodhpur owes everything to his rule, and under his vigilant rule the prosperity of the State has increased by leaps and bounds. May he live long is the prayer of every true son of Mārwār.[19]

[19] Since this paper was written, Mahārājā Pratāpsiṁha has passed away.

Genealogical table showing the different offshoots of the present ruling family of Mārwār.

- 1. Yaśovigraha.
- ⋮
- 22. Jodhā.
  - 23. Sātal.
    - 24. Sūjā.
      - Bāghā.
        - 25. Gāngā.
          - 26. Māldev.
            - 27. Chandrasena. His descendants are now ruling over the petty State of Bhiṇāya in Ajmer.
            - 30. Udaisiṁha.
              - 29. Sūrajsiṁha.
                - 30. Gajasiṁha.
                  - 31. Jasavantsiṁha.
                    - 32. Ajitsiṁha.
                      - 33. Abhaisiṁha.
                        - 35. Rāmsiṁha.
                      - 36. Bakhatsiṁha.
                        - 37. Bijaisiṁha.
                          - Bhomasiṁha.
                            - 37. Bhīmsiṁha
                          - Gumānsiṁha.
                            - 38. Mānsiṁha.
                              - 39. Takhatsiṁha (adopted son, descended from the Īḍar line).
                                - 40. Jasavantsiṁha II.
                                  - 41. Sardārsiṁha.
                                    - 42. Sumersiṁha.
                                    - 43. Umedsiṁha.
                      - Anantsiṁha, founder of the Rāṭhor principality of Īdar in Mahikānthā, Guzerāt.
              - Rājā Kriṣṇasiṁha, founder of the Kriṣṇgaḍh branch of the Rāṭhor princes, founded Kriṣṇgaḍh in 1666.
              - Dalpat.
                - Mahesdās.
                  - Ratansiṁha, founder of the Ratlām branch of the Rāṭhor rulers founded. Ratlām, circa 1710
                    - Chhatrasāla
                      - Kesarisiṁha.
                        - Mānsiṁha.
                        - Jaisiṁha, founder of the ruling family of Selānā (Mālwā).
                    - Rāmsiṁha, founder of the Rāṭhor ruling family of Sitāmau (Mālwā), circa 1715.
            - Rām, founder of the Āmjherā (in Mālwā) branch of the Rāṭhor princes The estates possessed by this branch were confiscated by the British Government after the Mutiny of 1914.
  - Bīkā, founder of the present Bīkāner line of princes, founded Bīkāner in 1541.
  - Barsiṁha, founder of the Jhavuyā (in Mālwā) branch of the Rāṭhor rulers.

THE *E* AND *O* VOWELS IN GUJARĀTĪ.[1]

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1. The existence in Gujarātī of open *e* and *o* sounds beside the closed has been recognized for a considerable time. Lists of words with open *e* and *o* have been given in the Narmakoś and other dictionaries. The latest lists appear in the Linguistic Survey of India.[2] Here however the open *e* is characterised as being only short, whereas actually there is a long open *e*, just as there is a long open *o*. A further step was taken by Mr. N. B. Divatia,[3] who drew attention to the fact that Gujarātī possesses both long and short open *e* and *o*, as well as short *e* and *o* intermediate in quality between the open and the closed and found in final syllables. These last sounds he called 'ardhavivṛta.'

2. These differences of quality are not usually shown in the Gujarātī script. Mr Divatia's use of the inverted mātrā for the open sounds is perhaps the best way of marking these sounds in the nāgarī or connected alphabets, and is certainly superior to Dr. Tessitori's suggestion of using the double mātrās, which should be reserved for the diphthongs *ai au*. These diphthongs actually exist in Gujarātī (not to speak of other modern Indian languages) in words of the type *bhāī sāv* which are sometimes written and normally pronounced *bhai sau*.

In writing of these sounds and in quoting Gujarātī words below I have made use of the following symbols:—ē ō long close vowels; e *o* short close vowels; ɛ̄ ɔ̄ long open vowels; ɛ ɔ short open vowels.

3. As to the origin of these open sounds, Mr. Divatia pointed out their descent from Old Western Rājasthānī (OWR)[4] *aï aü*, and compared them with the similar sounds of Mārwāḍī. His phonetic account of the development, namely that *aï aü* > *aya ava* > *ay av* > ɛ ɔ̄,[5] and his contention that these groups became the open vowel only

[1] Contributed in February 1920.

[2] Vol. IX, Pt. II, pp. 344–346.

[3] Indian Antiquary 1915, pp. 17–19.

[4] For an account of Old Western Rājasthānī see Dr. Tessitori's articles I.A. 1914–1916.

[5] I.A 1917.

when *a* bore the accent,[6] were rightly called into question by Dr. Tessitori, who pointed out that where in Old Western Rājasthānī *aya ava* are writen for *aĩ aũ* it is a case of writing only, not of pronunciation.[7] There is moreover no phonetic necessity or even justification for the supposition of the stage *aya ava*. The normal course would be *aĩ aũ* > the diphthongs *ai au* > ɛ̄ ɔ̄. Dr. Tessitori however was wrong in proceeding to say that so far from *aĩ aũ* passing through the stage of *aya ava*, OWR *aya ava* became in Gujarātī not ɛ̄ ɔ̄, but ē ō. Dr. Tessitori also went astray in saying that the quality of the vowels in modern Gujarātī must be determined, not by the ear as Mr. Divatia most rightly maintained, but by the spelling of their Old Western Rājasthānī equivalents ![8]

An attempt is made below to account in full for the origin of both ē̆ ō̆ and ɛ̄̆ ɔ̄̆ in Gujarātī, and to clear up some of the points that still remain uncertain after the work of Mr. Divatia and Dr. Tessitori.

4. The tendency towards samprasāraṇa, or the absorption of a short *a* by a preceding *av* or *ay*, was at work early in the history of the Indo-aryan languages, and already in Pāli we find Sanskrit *aya ava* represented by ē ō, which in their subsequent history converge completely with Middle Indian[9] ē ō whether representing Primitive Indian ē ō or *ai au*. It must be noted that there can be little doubt that *aya ava* passed through the stages *ai au*, ɛ̄ ɔ̄ before becoming ē ō.

Samprasāraṇa was continued in the MI period after intervocalic *p*, still maintained in Pāli, had become *v*: e.g. *ōsaraī* (*apasarati*) *ōāsa-* (**apavāsa-*) *ōhattha-* (**apahasta-*).[10] cp. G. *ōt* (*apavṛtti-*) *khōvũ* (*kṣapaṇa-*).

Since however this MI ē ō is represented in Gujarātī by ē ō and

[6] I.A. 1918.

[7] J.A.S. Beng. 1916, Bardic Survey, App. I.

[8] I.A. Sept. 1918. Mr. Divatia summed up his arguments in a paper read before the Oriental Congress at Poona in 1919. I cannot but feel that in part at least the dispute between Mr. Divatia and Dr. Tessitori was due to the use of the nāgarī alphabet which is unsuitable for the discussion of phonetic problems.

[9] I use the term Primitive Indian (PI), or if necessary to distinguish from other Indian languages Primitive Indo-Aryan, to denote that stage of the Indo-Aryan languages before the setting-in of the sound-changes which clearly differentiate Pāli and the Prākrits from Sanskrit. PI corresponds roughly to the stage of the language represented in the Rigveda. Middle Indian (MI) denotes the stage up to the time of the simplification of double consonants, say about 1200 A.D., when the Modern Indian (ModI) begins. Under MI therefore is included Pāli, the Prākrits, Apabhraṁśa.

[10] Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen, § 154.

yet Skt *apa* appears in some Gujarātī words as ɔ̄, we must suppose that *apa* was re-introduced, as a literary loan, at a later period into the spoken language: e.g. *ɔ̄sarvũ* (*apasarati* beside Pkt. *ōsaraī* which would give **ōsarvũ* in Gujarātī); or that under certain circumstances as, e.g. when PI *apa* was followed by two or more consonants, it remained as *ava* through the MI period: e.g. *kaparda-* (R.V. *kapardín-*) Pkt. *kavaḍḍiā* OWR *kaüḍī* G. *kɔ̄ḍī*.

5. There was a similar early tendency towards contraction of two vowels in contact. This is seen in the sandhi of Sanskrit and in the earliest contractions of MI due to the loss of intervocalic *y* or *v*. In later Middle Indian, when through the disappearance of intervocalic stops large numbers of vowels came into contact, this tendency towards contraction seems to have fallen into abeyance for a long while, to reassert itself again in the modern period. Pischel, it is true, quotes a number of examples where vowels of like quality coming into contact in Prakrit have contracted.[11] But for the most part vowels in contact, and particularly the groups *aï aü*, maintained themselves throughout the MI period.

In the PI group *ayū* (where *ū* formed an interior syllable) on the loss of *y aū* contracted to *ō*: Pā. *mōra-* G. *mōra* (*mayūra-*).

Similarly in the PI group *avi* on the loss of *v* (under conditions not yet specified) *aī* contracted to *ē*: Pā. *thēra-* (*sthavira-*).

Otherwise MI *aï aü*, due to the loss of intervocalic stops, were maintained separately till the OWR period.

6. During this period late Middle Indian *ava avã* (< PI *apa ama*) become *aü aũ*, which converge with MI *aü* (< PI *a*+stop+*u*). Later *aï aü*, became the diphthongs *ai au*, which remain in many of the modern languages, but in Gujarātī and Mārwāḍī have become ɛ̄ ɔ̄. In Nepālī these sounds before nasals or when nasalised have developed even further, becoming first *e o*, then *i u*: e.g. N. *kun* (H. *kaun*) N. *khĩcnu* (H. *khaĩcnā*) N. *sũpnu* (H. *saũpnā*).

This same tendency which produced close PI *ē ō* from Aryan *ai au*, and MI close *ē ō* from PI *ai au*, *aya ava*, is still to be seen in the tendency in Gujarātī to make ɛ̄ ɔ̄ more close, and in the failure to distinguish between ɛ̄ ɔ̄ and *ē ō*, particularly in the unaccented syllables. Mr. Divatia, as noted above, calls these sounds 'ardhavivṛta'; and

[11] Pischel, §§ 165-168.

although I have failed to hear the difference myself, I would not contest his view. But in any case, the sounds in question being more like the close than the open, I have notified them, with Mr. Divatia, as *e o*. It should be noticed that this earlier narrowing of the open vowels in absolute finality continues the tendency which formerly narrowed MI final *-ē -ō* to *-i -u*, while *ē* and *ō* were still preserved in the body of the word.

7. The question of the origin of *ɛ̄ ɔ̄* in Gujarātī is further complicated by dialectical differences within Gujarātī itself, and by dialectical forms which have entered the literary language.

(i) In Kathiawar and Surath *ō* is replaced by *ɔ̄*, as e.g. in *sɔ̄n ghɔ̄ḍo sɔ̄tī*.[12]

(ii) In northern Gujarat *ā* is regularly replaced by *ɔ̄* and *ī* by *ē*.[13]

(iii) There seems also to be a variation between *a* and *ɔ*, and between *a* (when followed by original *i* in the next syllable) and *ɛ*, which I have not been able to assign to any particular district. In these cases where dialectical *ɛ ɔ* have entered the literary language in accented syllables they have been lengthened to *ɛ̄ ɔ̄*.

(iv) Lastly, there is variation between *u* and *o* on the one hand, and between *u* and *ɔ* on the other.

I proceed now to discuss the Gujarātī sounds in detail.

8. Both *ē* and *ō*, but particularly the latter, are pronounced more open when followed by *ṇ ḷ ḍ* or *r*. In some cases particularly in unaccented syllables, it is hard to distinguish whether *o* or *ɔ* has been spoken; nevertheless the difference of sound does serve to distinguish difference of meaning in pairs like *mōr* 'peacock'; *mɔ̄r* 'tree-blossom,' *gōḷ* 'round' : *gɔ̄ḷ* 'treacle.'

ē

9. *ē* is a long close vowel in quality like French *é*. It is found only in accented syllables. Before or after *ē s* becomes *ś*

ē is derived from:

(i) PI *ai*, *ē*, *aya* > MI *ē* or *e* before a consonant group.

ai: *kēśuḍā* (*kaiṃśuka-*) *gēru* (*gairikā*) *tēl* (**tailya-*: *taila-*).

ē: *khēt* (*kṣētra-*) *chēḍo* (*chēda-*) *jēṭh* (*jyēṣṭha-*) *dēś* (*dēśā-*) *nēḍo*

[12] My informant is Mr. Desai, of the Ahmedabad District, to whom I am indebted for help.

[13] LSI. IX 2, p. 329.

(*snēha-*) *mēvlo* (*mēgha-*) *śēṭh* (*śrēṣṭhin-*) *pēkhvũ* (*prēkṣatē*) *bhēv* (*bhēda-*).

aya: *dēvũ* (Pā. *dēti* < **dayati*: *dadāti*).

(ii) MI *ē* representing an unexplained early contraction of *aī*. *kēḷ* (Pkt. *kēlī* < **kadilī* ?: Skt. *kadalī*) *hēṭho* (Pkt. *heṭṭha* < **adhiṣṭha-* cp. Skt. *adhastāt*).

(iii) Contraction of a MI group containing *ē*.

(*a*) MI *ēa*: *dēhrũ* < **dēvaharaũ* **dēvagharaka-* (*dēvagṛha-*).

(*b*) MI *ēu*: *bēhu* < **bēuho* (*dvē ubhau*).

(*c*) MI *aē*: *anērũ* (Ap. *aṇṇaēraũ* < **anya-kāria-*) and after this *ghāṇērũ bhalērũ*, etc.

(iv) MI *ē* of unknown origin, but corresponding to *ē* in other Mod I languages: *chēkvũ ṭēkvũ pēṭ vēcvũ hērvũ*.

(v) *ē* of loanwords.

(*a*) Sanskrit tatsamas: *mēgh śēṣ kēś*, etc.

(*b*) English [*ei*]: *jēl* (*jail*) *rēlve* (*railway*).

(*c*) Portuguese *ei*: *rēs* (*reis*).

(vi) In some causatives from verbs containing radical *a*, on the analogy *maḷvũ* (*milati*): *mēḷvũ* (*mēlayati*).

ṭhērvavũ dhērvavũ phērvavũ śērvavũ.

(vii) Dialectically for Gujarātī *ī*: *nēk*=*nīk*, *pēḍhī* (*pīṭha-*), *lēlī* (: *līlũ*), *śēśphul* (: *śīś*), *bhēkh*=*bhīkh*, *vēṇā*=*vīṇā*.

vēḷũ=*vāḷũ* (*vālukā*) is perhaps due to the influence of *rētī* 'sand' ts. *rēṇu* 'dust.'

e

10. *e* is a short vowel slightly more open than the corresponding long. It is almost equivalent to the English [*e*] in *met*. It occurs in both accented and unaccented syllables. Before and after *e s* becomes *ś*.

e is derived from :—

(i) Preaccentual MI *ē*: *jeṭhānī* (: *jēṭh*) *peṭāro* (: *pēṭ*) *śevāḷ* (*śaivāla-*) *vehvāī* (*vaivāhika-*)

(ii) (*a*) Postaccentual MI *-aē -aī* > *ɛ̄* > *ɛ* > *e*[14]: 3rd. sing. pres. *-e* (Pkt. *-aī* Skt. *-ati*), 2nd. sing. pres. *-e* (Ap. *-ahi*), 3rd. plur. pres. *-e* (Ap. *ahĩ*), inst. sing. *-e* (Ap. *-aĩ* Pkt. *-aēṇa*=*aeṁ* Skt. *-akēna*), loc.

[14] As noted above, § 6, this sound is said by Mr. Divatia to be intermediate between *ɛ* and *e*.

sing. *-e* (Ap. *-ahi* Skt. *-asmin* or Pkt. *-aē* Skt. *-akē*), *ne* (Ap. *aṇṇaï* : *anya-*).

(*b*) Postaccentual *a* followed by *i* in the next syllable: *sātem* or *-am* (*saptamī*) *sāpeṇ* or *-aṇ* (*sarpiṇī*) *gōpheṇ* f. or *-aṇ*.

(iii) MI *ē* in unaccented words. This shortening had taken place in OWR where the sound is written *i* (=close *e*) *em kem jem* OWR *ima kima jima*: Ap *eha- keha jeha*; OWR *bi* beside *be* (*dvē*) G **be* (as in *beānī*): here *e* being more open than *ē*, when itself again lengthened, appears as long open *ɛ̄* in G. *bɛ̄*.

(iv) *e* or *i* in loanwords.

(*a*) English [*e*]: *pen* (*pen*) *pensīl* (*pencil*).

(*b*) Arabic and Persian *i*: *eltemās* (A. *iltimās*) *esak* (P. *isak*) *ehsān* (A. *ihsān*) *koses* (P. *kōsis*) *dedār* (P. *didār*) *pherist* (P. *fihrist*) *bemār* (P. *bimār*) *mehr* (P. *mihr*) *lebās* (A. *libās*).

(*c*) English [*i*]: *geṇī* (*guinea*).

(v) Dialectically Gujarātī *i*: *het*=*hit*, *pēḍo* (*piṇḍa-*).

ɛ̄

11 *ɛ̄* is a long open vowel equivalent to French *è*. It is found only in the accented syllable. Before and after *ɛ̄ s* remains unchanged.

It is derived from :—

(i) MI *aï*; *pɛ̄svū* (*pravisati*) *bɛ̄svū* (*upavisati*) *pɛ̄hrvū* (OWR *pahiraï*) *bɛ̄hr* (*badhira-*) *bɛ̄hṇ* (Pkt. *bahiṇī* : Skt. *bhaginī*) *bhɛ̄s* (*mahiṣī*) *chɛ̄* (Pā. *acchati*) *śɛ̄* OWR *saï* for **sāï* Ap. *saāï* Skt. *satāni* under influence of *saū* (Skt. *satam*).

MI *aï*: *pɛ̄ṭhū* (*praviṣṭa-*), *bɛ̄ṭhū* (*upaviṣṭa-*), *pɛ̄hlū* (Ap. *pahillaū*), *ghɛ̄lū* < **gahillaū* (*grathila-*).

MI *aī*: *ghɛ̄rū* (*gabhīra-*).

(ii) MI *aī* of unknown origin where other ModI languages have *ai*: *khɛ̄cvū* (H. *khaīcnā*), *gɛ̄ḍo* (H. *gaiṛā*), *thɛ̄lī* (H. *thailī*), *bɛ̄l* (H. *bail*), *mɛ̄lū* (H. *mailā*), *pɛ̄dal* (H. *paidal*), etc.

(iii) Pkt. *aya* in loanwords either from literary Jaina Prākrit or from a dialect which avoided hiatus between *a a* by *-y-*: *rɛ̄ṇ* (OWR *rayaṇī* Skt. *rajanī*) *vɛ̄ṇ* (OWR *vayaṇa* Skt. *vacana-*) *sɛ̄ṇ* (OWR *sayaṇa* Skt. *svajana-*).

(iv) *ai aya* in loanwords.

(*a*) Sanskrit tatsamas: *vɛ̄r* (*vaira-*) *bhɛ̄rav* (*bhairava-*) *vɛ̄raṇ* (*vairiṇī*); *nɛ̄ṇ* (*nayana-*) *bhɛ̄* (*bhaya-*) *khɛ̄* or *kṣɛ̄* (*kṣaya-*).

(*b*) Arabic and Persian *ai*: *ɛ̄n* (A. *ain*) *ɛ̄ś* (A. *aiś*) *kɛ̄d* (A. *qaid*) *gɛ̄bī* (P. *gaibī*) *phɛ̄slo* (P. *faisala*) *bɛ̄dũ* (A. *baid*) *ɛ̄b* (A. *aib*) *gɛ̄r-* (A. *gair-*) *nɛ̄h* (P. *nai*).

(v) *yā* in tatsamas: *vɛ̄karaṇ* (*vyākaraṇa-*).

(vi) (*a*) MI *ah*: *kɛ̄hvũ* (*kathayati*) *sɛ̄hvũ* (*sahatē*) *vɛ̄hvũ* (*vahati*) *rɛ̄hvũ* (H. *rahnā*) *lɛ̄hr* (*laharī*).

(*b*) *ah* in Arabic and Persian loanwords: *jhɛ̄r* (P. *zahr*) *nɛ̄hr* (A. *nahr*) *śɛ̄hr* (A. *śahr*) *mɛ̄hl* (A. *maḥall*).

(vii) MI *ă̄* followed by *i ē* in the next syllable.

(*a*) MI *ari arē*: *ghɛ̄r* < *ghari* **garhē*, *ghɛ̄rvũ* (**garhati* or **garhayati*: *gr̥hṇāti*)

(*b*) Gujarātī *āri*: *tɛ̄rikh*=*tārikh*.

(*c*) MI *a* followed by *i*: *kɛ̄d*=*kaḍ*, f. (*kaṭi-*) *mɛ̄s*, f. (*maśī*) *hɛ̄ḍ*, f. (*haḍi-* in Divyāvadāna) *khɛ̄ḷ*, f. (M. *khaḷ*) *cɛ̄ḷ*=*caḷ*, f. *pɛ̄r*, f. (N. *pari*) *tɛ̄ḍ*, f. (*taṭa-*) *nɛ̄ḷ*=*naḷ*, f. (*naḷa-*) *sɛ̄r*=*sar*, f.

(viii) Gujarātī *ā* after a palatal: *cɛ̄pvũ*=*cāpvũ*.

ɛ

12. ɛ is the short open vowel corresponding to ɛ̄, and is closer than the English [æ] in *hat*. It is found in both accented and unaccented syllables. Before and after ɛ *s* remains unchanged.

ɛ is derived from:—

(i) Preaccentual Gujarātī ɛ̄: *bɛsāḍvũ* (: *bɛ̄svũ*).

(ii) Preaccentual *yā* in tatsamas: *vɛpār* (*vyāpāra-*).

(iii) *ya* before two consonants in tatsamas: *jɛṣṭikā* (*yaṣṭikā*).

ō

13. *ō* is a long close vowel like the French close *o*. It occurs only in the accented syllable.

ō is derived from:—

(i) PI *ō au ava* > MI *ō*.

ō: *kōṭhī* (*kōṣṭha-*) *kōs* (*krōśa-*) *gōṭhvũ* (*gōṣṭha-*) *gōt* (*gōtra-*) *gōrsī* (*gōrasa-*) *ghō* (*gōdhā*) *chōḍvũ* (*chōṭayati*) *thōḍũ* (*stōka-*) *dōr* (*dōra-*) *dōhvũ* (*dōhayati*) *ghōḍo* (*ghōṭaka-*) *kōhvũ* (*kōthayati*) *cōkhũ* (*cōkṣa-*) *cōḷi* (*cōla-*) *tōḷvũ* (*tōlayati*) *kōī* (*kō'pi*) *bhōī* (*bhōjin-*).

au: *gōrũ* (*gaura-*) *cōr* (*caura-*) *dhōvũ* (*dhauti*) *mōtī* (*mauktikā-*) *pōthī* (**paustaka-*: *pustaka-*) *bhōm* (*bhauma-*) *pōḷī* (**pauli-*: *pulikā*) *kōḍ(h)* (*kauṣṭha-*).

ava: *hōvū* (*bhavati*) *ōs* (*avaśyā*) *ośiyāḷū* (*avaśin-*) *ōchū* (*avacchitā-*) *oḷābo* (*avalamba-*) *kōḷiyo* (*kavala-*).

(ii) PI *apa* > MI *ō*: *ōṭ* (*apavṛtti-*) *khōvū* (*kṣapaṇa-*).

(iii) MI *ō* representing an early contraction of *aū*: *mōr* (Pā. *mōra-* Skt. *mayūra-*).

MI *ō* in G. *bōrḍū* (Pkt. *bōra-* Skt. *badara-*) is unexplained.

(iv) Contraction of a MI group containing *ō*.

(*a*) MI *ōa*: *sōnū* (Pkt. *sōaṇṇa-* Skt. *sauvarṇa-*) *kōhṇī* (*kōph-ani-*).

(*b*) MI *ōi*, where a Gujarātī syllable follows: *jōśī* (*jyotiṣin-*).

(*c*) MI. *aō* when not final: *pōḷ* (*pratōli*).[15]

luṇ (*lavana-*) is perhaps a loanword from a dialect where, as in Nepālī, *ō* before a nasal becomes *u*, e. g. N. *sun* (*sauvarṇa-*) *jun* (*jyōtsnā*).

(v) MI *ō* of unknown origin but corresponding to *ō* in other ModI languages: *chōī ḍōī*.

(vi) *ō* in loanwords.

(*a*) Sanskrit tatsamas: *krōdh* (*krōdha-*) *gōtar* (*gōtra-*), etc.

(*b*) Persian: *g ō* (*gōst*) *jōr* (*zōr*) *tōp* (*tōp*).

(*c*) English [*ou*]: *bōṭ* (*boat*) *nōṭ* (*note*).

(vii) Arabic and Persian *u* in the accented syllable: *tōbro* (P. *tubar*) *bō* (P. *bu*) *sōbat* (A. *suḥbat*).

(viii) In causatives from verbs (*a*) with radical *u*: *jhōḷvū*: *jhulvū*, *ḍōḷvū*: *ḍulvū*, *tōḍvū*: *tuṭvū*, *phōḍvū*: *phuṭvū*, *bhōḷvavū*: *bhulvū*, etc., (*b*) with radical *a*: *ḍhōlvū*: *ḍhalvū*, *thōbhvū* (: *stambh-*).

(ix) Dialectically Gujarātī *u* in the accented syllable: *ōḷakhvū*= **ulakhvū* (*upalakṣatē*) *bhōṭhū*=*bhuṭhū*, perhaps *mōth* (*mustā*).

o

14. *o* is the short close vowel corresponding to long *ō*. It occurs in the accented syllable before two consonants, otherwise only in the unaccented.

o is derived from :—

(i) Preaccentual MI *ō*: *sohāg* (*saubhāgya-*) *ochāḍvū* (*avachādayati*), given as ɔ in L.S.I. but cp. below § 15. ix.

(ii) Postaccentual MI *aō aū* > *ɔ̄* > ɔ > *o*:—3rd sing. imperat. *-o* (*-atu*) 2nd pl. pres. *-o* (Pkt. *-ahō* < **athaḥ*) nom. sing. masc *-o* (Pkt.*-aō* Skt. *-akaḥ*).

[15] Given as *pōḷ* in L.S.I. probably mistakenly for the half-open *ō* before *ḷ*.

It should be noted that final *-aũ* becomes still more closed and results in *-ũ* : neut. sing. *-ũ* (Ap. *-aũ* Skt. *-akam*).

In compounds the accent of the first member was retained. This is shown by the OWR forms, where the second member is weakened, a long vowel or consonant being shortened : e.g. *Rāṭhaüḍa* (*Rāṣṭrakūṭa-*) *Citaüḍa* (*Citrakūṭa-*) *Sīhaüta* (*Siṁha-putra-*) *Kasavaṭī* or *kasaüṭī* (*kasapaṭṭikā*), etc. In these words, then, as with final *-aü* OWR *aü ava* appear as *o* : *Rāṭhoḍ Ciṭoḍ Sīhoṭ Lāhor* (OWR *Lāhaüra* < *lābhapura-*) *kasoṭī dēsoṭo* (OWR *dēsavaṭāü*) *Phaḷodhī* (OWR *Phalavadhī* < **phalavardhikā*) *bāroṭ* (OWR *bāravaṭa*) *karoṭ* (OWR *karavaṭa*). For *Rāṭhɔḍ Citɔḍ* : see § 8.

(iii) *u* in loanwords.

(*a*) Sanskrit tatsamas : *ottam* (*uttama-*) *ottar* (*uttara*).

(*b*) Arabic and Persian *u* before a consonant group or before the accent : *oddho* (A. *uhdah*) *ostād* (P. *ustād*) *bokhār* (A. *bukhār*) *lobān* (A. *lubān*). In the accented syllable before a single consonant *o* is lengthened : see above § 13. viii.

(iv) Dialectically Gujarātī *u*: *okhāṇũ*=*ukhāṇũ* (*upakhyāna-*) *odhār* =*udhār* (*uddhāra-*) *kodāḷo*=*kudāḷo* (*kuddālā-*). In the accented syllable this *o* is lengthened : see above §13. viii.

ɔ

15. ɔ is a long open vowel. The lips are more rounded than for English [ɔ:] in *horse* : it is therefore less distinct from *ō*. It occurs only in the accented syllable.

ɔ is derived from :—

(i) MI *áü* : *nɔliyo* (*nakula-*) *pɔhḷũ* (*pṛthula-*) *bɔhḷũ* (*bahula-*) *lɔḍo* (*lakuṭa-*) *hɔṇ* (*adhunā*) *chɔ* (*acchatu*) *tɔ* (*tataḥ*) *pɔhr* (OWR *pahura* ts from *prahara-*) *bhɔ* (*bhaya- m.* in Lexicographers) *vɔh* (*vaha-*) *sɔ* (OWR *saü* Skt. *śata-*).

cɔbo (*caturvēda-*) is shown by its *b* to be a loanword.

MI *aü* : *cɔth* (*caturthī*) *cɔk* (*catuṣka-*) *pɔṇũ* (*pādaūna-*) *sɔphā* (*śata-puṣpa-*).

(ii) (*a*) PI *apā avā ama* > MI *ava āva* > OWR *aü aü*.

apa : *ɔsarvũ* (*apasarati*) *ɔgaḷvũ* (**apagalati*) *ɔr* (*apara-*) *nɔkhũ* (*anyapakṣa-*) *kɔṇ* (OWR *kaüṇa kavaṇa* Skt. *kō punaḥ*) *kɔḍī* (*kaparda-*).

apā : *ɔro* (*apāra-*).

avā : *gɔkh* (*gavākṣa-*),

ama : *sɔ̃ghū* (*samargha-*) after which also *mɔ̃ghū* for **māghū* (*mahārgha-*) *sɔ̃pvū* (*samarpayati*) *sɔ̃gū* (*samāṅga-*) *sɔ̃dhā* (*samagandha-*).

jɔ̃ḷ (*yamala-*) is a loanword on account of the loss of postaccentual *-m-* . *nɔ̃m* < *naümi* MI *navamī* reformed for **nɔ̃mī* (PI. *navamī*) after *nav* (*nava*).

(*b*) PI *api* > MI *avi* > OWR *aü* : *kɔ̃ṭhū* (*kapittha-*) *kɔ̃lū* (*kapila-*).

(iii) MI *aü* of unknown origin but corresponding to *au* in other Mod I languages : *dɔ̃ḍvū* (H. *dauṛnā*) *cɔ̃ḍū* (H. *cauṛā*) *pɔ̃hcvū* (H. *pahũcnā*) *lɔ̃ḍī* (H. *lauṇḍī*).

(iv) MI *ōā* : *vɔ̃hro* (*vyavahāra-*) unless this is a tatsama.

(v) MI *ōy*, *ōi* + vowel, final-*ōi* > *ɔ̃y* : *kɔ̃yal* < *kōyila-* (*kōkila-*), *sɔ̃yo* < *sōī* + *o* (*saucika-*) after which *sɔ̃y* for *sōī*, *hɔ̃y* < *hōi* (*bhavati*) and *nɔ̃y* < *na hōi*. Words like *bhōī* where *ī* represents MI *-io -iu* remain dissyllabic.

(vi) *au ava* in loanwords.

(*a*) Sanskrit tatsamas : *gɔ̃rav* (*gaurava-*) *dhɔ̃ḷū* (*dhavala-*).

(*b*) Arabic and Persian *au* : *ɔ̃jar* (A. *auzār*) *ɔ̃rat* (A. *aurat*) *tɔ̃jī* (A. *taujīh*) *dɔ̃lat* (P. *daulat*) *nɔ̃kar* (P. *naukar*) *phɔ̃j* (P. *fauj*.) *mɔ̃lvī* (A. *maulawī*) *sɔ̃kh* (A. *sauq*).

(*c*) English [*au*]; *ɔ̃car* (*voucher*).

(vii) Dialectically for Gujarātī

(*a*) *ā* : *chɔ̃l*=*chāl* (*challi*) *phɔ̃m*=*phām* (A. *fahm*) *mɔ̃g*=*māg* (*mārga-*) *sɔ̃t*=*sāt*(*h*) (*sārtha-*) *mɔ̃ṇ*=*māṇ*, *cɔ̃p*=*cāp*, *ɔ̃pṭī* (ts. *āpatti-*) *sɔ̃gan* (P. *sāgand*) *sɔ̃ṭālvū*=*sā̃* - (*sant-*).

(*b*) *a* in accented syllable : *ghɔ̃ṇ*=*ghaṇ* (*ghaṇa-*) *pɔ̃ṇ*=*paṇ*.

(*c*) *ō* : see above § 7. i.

(*d*) *u* in accented syllable : *gɔ̃ḷ* (*guḍa-*) ts *gɔ̃r* (*guru-*.)

ɔ

16. ɔ is the short open vowel corresponding to ɔ̃. It is nearly the same as English [ɔ] in *hot*, but the lips are a little more rounded.

It is derived from :—

(i) Preaccentual MI *aü* : *cɔ-māsū* (*caturmāsa-*) *cɔpāī* (*catuḥpāda-*) and other compounds containing PI *catur-*, *mɔsāḷ* (*māturśālā*) *bhɔjāī* (*bhrāturjāyā*) *mɔvāḷo* (*mṛdu-*).

(ii) Preaccentual *au* in loanwords : ts. *sɔbhāg* (*saubhāgya-*).

(iii) English [ɔ] : *kɔlerā* (*cholera*) *kɔlam* (*column*) *bɔyū* (*buoy*).

(iv) Dialectically :—

(*a*) Gujarātī *u* : ts. *ɔcchav* (*utsava-*), *ɔcarvũ*=*ucarvũ* (*uccarati*) *ɔdhār*=*odhār udhār* (*uddhāra-*) *kɔdāḷo*=*kodāḷo kudāḷo* (*kuddāla-*) *dhɔriyo* (*dhur-*).

(*b*) Gujarātī *a* : *ɔcambo*=*acambo* (H. *acambā*).

In the accented syllable it is lengthened ; see above § 15. viii.

THE ORIGINAL ŚĀKUNTALA.

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It is well known that the text of Kālidāsa's Abhijñānaśākuntala has come down to us in four distinct recensions: the Bengali, the Kāshmīrī, the Devanāgarī, and the Southern. The play was first known to the West and was first published in India in the Bengali recension. Boehtlingk was the first (1842) to publish the Devanāgarī recension on the basis of notes and collations prepared by Brockhaus, Westergaard, and others; and being shorter, it was at once hailed as the truer recension of the play, particularly as it was also adopted by Indian commentators like Kāṭayavema, and above all the learned Rāghavabhaṭṭa. One voice alone—that of Stenzler (*Hallische Literaturzeitung*), 1844—was raised in favour of the Bengali recension; but until the appearance (1870) of Pischel's Inaugural Dissertation entitled *De Kâlidâsae Çâkuntali recensionibus* the cause of the Bengali recension remained almost without a staunch advocate. Weber, who was one of the Judges for the Dissertation in question, raised his powerful voice against Pischel's view, and with that the battle of the wits began and has continued in one form or another to the present day, the important landmarks in it being: Bühler's discovery (1875) in Kāshmir of a recension more or less allied to the Bengali (which was transcribed in Roman characters and published by Burkhard, 1884), and Reverend T. Folkes' publication (1904) of "A complete collection of the various readings of the Madras manuscripts" of the play, rendered necessary by the discovery (1874) of a fourth or South Indian recension of our play, which is more or less allied to the Devanāgarī. Unhappily death has prevented Pischel from having his last say in the controversy in the light of all the fresh evidence, and although a number of Indian as well as European editions of the play take up this question of the original text of the play, to my mind the attempts seem to be more or less of a partisan nature and so lacking in finality. It is of course easy enough to say that a particular

addition or elaboration is the production of a later unpoetic pedant, or that a particular condensing is dictated by stage necessity, or that a specific modification is due to some defect or ignorance in the scribe; but we can accept only that as conclusive where both the internal (subjective) as well as external (objective) tests yield more or less identical results. A mere *a priori* judgment and a refusal to weigh and consider *all* the available evidence is not the way to arrive at scientific conclusions.

In the sequel I intend presenting a few cases where, in spite of the pronounced difference of reading in the several recensions, it has become possible to reach acceptable and probable conclusions. Thus, in the first Act, I choose the following two cases :—

(i) The song of the Naṭī in the Prologue. The MSS. of the Devanāgarī and Southern recensions invariably give the first quarter of the Āryā as—

Isi[Isu, Isīsi] chumbiāiṁ bhamarehiṁ

but no reading satisfies the requirements of the metre. The Bengali MSS. generally render the quarter as—

Khaṇachumbiāiṁ bhamarehiṁ uaa[uaha, suaa, suaaṁ]

the last being the reading of the Kāshmīrian MS. Here too the metrical requirements remain unsatisfied, since it is inconceivable that Kālidāsa should have been detected nodding in composing his favourite Āryā metre. The Sanskrit rendering of the last word in the Bengali recension is given as *subhaga* (which is a synonym for *sukumāra*, the next word), or as *ūhata=tarkayata*, but more correctly by Pischel as a Deśī form for *paśyata*. Now our tendency in a case like this is naturally to avoid the reading with the difficult word (which after all does not remove the metrical defect) and to choose the easier one. But I am convinced that the true reading here lies on the side of the Bengali recension. For if we only assume that *uaa* is a result of dittography for an original *ua* (the singular of *uaa*) the metrical difficulty vanishes altogether, the full line then reading as—

Khaṇachumbiāiṁ bhamarehiṁ ua suumārakesarasihāiṁ.

The second line similarly should be read according to the Bengali recension as—

Avaaṁsaanti sadaaṁ sirīsakusmāiṁ pamadāo

which does away with the awkward necessity of admitting two forms

for the nom. plu. fem.—*pamadā* and *daamāṇāo*, or *pamadāo* and *daamāṇā*—in one and the same sentence. The age and general reliability of the MSS. that actually give or vouch for the reading above adopted also tend to the same conclusion. Thus far what are known as the external proofs. The internal proof is still more conclusive. For, in regard to the sentiment of the song the question to be asked is, "What is the motive for the sympathy of the maidens with the *śirīṣa* blossoms ?" Surely it cannot be the fact of their being kissed by the bees, for, that is their life-purpose. Nor can it be remorse for the pain caused in the act of plucking; for that remains unconnected with the first half. It must therefore be the fact of their being—not gently, but rather fitfully—kissed : kissed only for a moment and then forgotten altogether. Does not the song so interpreted gain a new significance ? For we must not forget that throughout the play the bee *motif* is consistently used to describe the relation of Duṣyanta with Śakuntalā. Compare for instance the stanza *Chalāpāṅgāṁ dṛiṣṭim*, etc., where Duṣyanta envies the bee his lot, or the song *Ahiṇavamahuloluo*, etc., in Act v, or lastly the bee in the picture (in Act vi) whom Duṣyanta administers his dreadful poetic rebuke. The song in the Prologue accordingly suggests the fate of Śakuntalā including her rescue at the hands of her mother and mother's friends. The same Prologue also hints at the fate of the hero including his forgetting an earlier incident and his being put in mind of the same. Compare in this connection the words of the Sūtradhāra—*Ārye, samyag anubodhito 'smi. Asmin kṣaṇe vismṛitaṁ khalu mayā tat.* The Bengali-Kāśmīrī reading as emended above is therefore consistent with the intentions of the poet and satisfies all the canons of textual and higher criticism ; and this goes to prove that it *is* possible to constitute a single unified text of the play even in cases where the manuscripts consistently maintain a difference in reading between the several recensions.

(ii) The next case I take up for consideration is a bit complicated and perhaps unsuited for detailed presentation in an essay like this ; but it is chosen because it brings out a point of view which is somewhat novel, and we must in my opinion learn to appreciate a drama from that point of view primarily. The passage or rather passages to be considered are the several speeches of Śakuntalā and her friends up-to the point where the bee emerges from the water-basin, their number and their order. For purposes of comparison I give first the longer

recension as given by Pischel (using abbreviations very freely and not paying much attention to the exact wording or the correct spelling of the Prākrit)—

नेपथ्ये— इदो इदो पिअसहीओ ।

राजा— अये दक्षिणेन... । एतास्तपस्विकन्यकाः...... । अहो मधुरमासां दर्शनम् । शुद्धान्तदुर्लभमिदं etc. ॥ यावदेतां छायामाश्रित्य... ।

एका— हला सउन्तले तत्तो वि......आलवालपूरणे णिउत्ता ।

शकुन्तला— हला ण केवलं etc. । [इति वृक्षसेचनं नाटयति ।]

प्रियंवदा— सहि सउन्तले । उदअं लम्भिदा.........धम्मो भविस्सदि ।

शकुन्तला— सहि रमणीअं मन्तेसि । [इति भूयो वृक्षसेचनं नाटयति ।]

राजा— कथमियं सा कण्वदुहिता......असाधुदर्शी... । इदं किलाव्याजमनोहरं etc. ॥ भवतु पादपान्तरितः...... ।

शकुन्तला— हला अणसूए अदिपिणद्धेण...... । [अनसूया शिथिलयति ।]

प्रियंवदा— एत्थ दाव पओहर etc. ।

राजा— सम्यगियमाह । इदमुपहितसूक्ष्म etc. ॥ अथवा...न पुनरलंकारश्रियं न पुष्णाति । कुतः । सरसिजमनुविद्धं etc. ॥

शकुन्तला— ...वादेरिदपल्लवङ्गुलीहिं...चूदरुक्खओ । ता जाव णं संभावेमि । [इति तथा करोति ।]

प्रियंवदा— ...इधज्जेव मुहुत्तअं चिट्ठ ।

शकुन्तला— किंणिमित्तं ।

प्रियंवदा— ...लदासणाधो विअ अअं चूदरुक्खओ... ।

शकुन्तला— अदो ज्जेव etc.

राजा— अवितथमाह...... । अधरः किसलयरागः etc. ॥

अनसूया— हला...सअंवरवहू......णोमालिआ ।

शकुन्तला— ...रमणीओ...वदिअरो... । इअं णवकुसुमजोव्वणा...अअं पि... उवभोअक्खमो...... ।

प्रियंवदा— ...जाणासि किंणिमित्तं... ।

अनसूया— ण क्खु...... ।

प्रियंवदा— जधा... अणुरूवं वरं ... ।

शकुन्तला— एस...दे मणोरधो । [इति कलशमावर्जयति ।]

अनसूया— ...इअं...माहवीलदा । इमं विसुमरिदासि ।

शकुन्तला— तदो अत्ताणं पि... । लतामुपेत्यावलोक्य च सहर्षं । अच्छरिअं अच्छरिअं । पिअंवदे पिअं दे णिवेदेमि ।

प्रियंवदा— सहि किं मे पिअं ।

शकुन्तला— असमए क्खु एसा आमूलादो मउलिदा माहवीलता ।

उभे— सत्वरमुपगम्य । सहि सच्चं सच्चं ।

शकुन्तला— सच्चं...... ।

प्रियंवदा— तेण हि पडिच्छिअं......आसण्णुपाणिग्गहणा... ।

शकुन्तला— णं...... अत्तगदो मणोरधो ।

प्रियंवदा— ...सुदं क्खु मए......कण्णाणसूअअं इदं... ।

अनसूया— अदो ज्जेव... ससिणेहा...सिंचदि ।

शकुन्तला— जदो मे बहिणिआ... । [इति कलशमावर्जयति ।]

राजा— अपि नाम कुलपतेः... । असंशयं etc. ॥ तथापि... ।

शकुन्तला— अम्मो णोमालिअं उज्झिअ......मअअरो... ।

It will be easily seen that there are many things in this recension that need explanation. Thus it is inconceivable that at the very sight of the pious maidens of the hermitage Duṣyanta would immediately indulge into sentiments as in the stanza—*śuddhāntadurlabham*, etc. Secondly, what can be the precise point in making the mango-tree invite the heroine? Surely it cannot be merely the subsequent comparison with the creeper. Thirdly, why is the *Mādhavīlatā* introduced at all, and particularly her blossoming out of season? The longer text as Pischel gives it seems therefore to be an utterly unmotivated elaboration of a shorter text. Let us next consider the shorter text as given by Cappeller. In an abbreviated form it runs thus—

नेपथ्ये— इदो ... ।

राजा— अये दक्षिणेन...... । एतास्तपस्वि...... । अहो मधुर...... । शुद्धान्त etc. ॥ यावदिमां...... ।

शकुन्तला— इदो इदो...... ।

अनसूया— हला.........णिउत्ता ।

शकुन्तला— ण केवलं...... ।

राजा— कथमियं सा...... । इदं किलाव्याज etc. ॥ भवतु...... ।

शकुन्तला— ...अदिपिणद्धेण...... ।

अनसूया— तह। [इति शिथिलयति।]

प्रियंवदा— ...पओहर...।

राजा— काममननुरूप......पुष्यति।...मदसिज etc. ॥

शकुन्तला— ...वादेरिदपल्लवङ्गुलीहिं......केसररुक्खओ ..।

प्रियंवदा— एत्थ एव्व...।...लदासणाहो...केसररुक्खओ।

शकुन्तला— अदो क्खु...।

राजा— प्रियमपि तथ्यमाह...। अधरः etc. ॥

अनसूया— ...सअंवरवहू...णोमालिआ। णं विसुमरिदासि।

शकुन्तला— तदा अत्ताणं......। हला...वइअरो......। णवकुसुमजोव्वणा......

उवभोअक्खमो...।

प्रियंवदा—...जाणासि......।

अनसूया— ण क्खु...।

प्रियंवदा— जहा.........अणुरूवं वरं...।

शकुन्तला— एसो णूणं......। [कलशमावर्जयति।]

राजा— अपि नाम......। असंशयं etc. ॥

शकुन्तला— सलिलसेअसंभमादो.........मङ्अरो।

Even this text does not explain our first difficulty, and does not furnish any answer to the second question. The *Mādhavīlatā* incident, however, it conveniently omits altogether. As between these two recensions therefore we have nothing to choose. The Southern recension does not differ much from the Devanāgarī. As a last resource we turn to the Kāshmīri recension, where fortunately most of our doubts are solved. It reads thus—

नेपथ्ये— इदो इदो......।

राजा— अये दक्षिणेन......। एतास्तपस्वि......। अहो मधुर......। यावदेत

छाया......।

अनसूया— हला सउन्तले। तइत्तोवि.........णिउत्ता।

शकुन्तला— सहि ण केवलं......। [वृक्षसेकं निरूपयति।]

उभे— हला सउन्तले। उदअं लम्भिदा......... धम्मो भविस्सदि।

शकुन्तला— ....। [नाट्येन सिञ्चति।]

राजा— [निर्वर्ण्य शकुन्तलाम्।] कथमियं सा कण्वदुहिता। शुद्धान्त etc. ॥ भवतु

पादपान्तरित एव......।

शकुन्तला— एसो वादेरिद.........बउलरुक्खओ।...संभावेमि। [राज्ञः संनिकर्ष-
मागच्छति।]

राजा— [निर्वर्ण्य।] असाधुदर्शी......नियुङ्क्ते। इदं किलाव्याज etc. ॥

शकुन्तला— ......अदिपिणद्धेण ....सिढिलेहि...। [अनसूया शिथिलयति।]

प्रियंवदा— ......पओहर......उवालह।

राजा— काममप्रतिरूपं......न पुष्यति। सरसिज etc. ॥

प्रियवदा— ...एसा...माहवीलदा...विसुमरिदा...।

शकुन्तला— अत्तावि विसुमरिस्सदि। तत्समीपं गच्छति।

प्रियंवदा— चिट्ठ इधय्येव...बउलरुक्खसमीपे।

शकुन्तला— किंति।

प्रियंवदा— ...लदासणाधो......बउलरुक्खो......।

शकुन्तला— ...पिअंवदासि।

राजा— प्रियमपि......। अधरः etc. ॥

अनसूया— ...इअं सअंवरवहू......णोमालिआ।

शकुन्तला— उपगम्यावलोक्य च।...रमणीए काले...वदिअरो...। ...णवकुसुम-
जोव्वणा......उवभोअक्खमो......। पश्यन्ती तिष्ठति।

प्रियंवदा— ...जाणासि ..पेक्खदित्ति।

अनसूया— ण क्खु......।

प्रियंवदा— जधा.........वरं लहेअं ति।

शकुन्तला— एसो......मणोरधो। [कलशमावर्जयति।]

राजा— अपि नाम......। असंशयं etc. ॥ तथापि......।

शकुन्तला— ......णोमालिअं उज्झिअ...मज्जअरो...।

In appreciating the full value of this recension the following facts ought to be clearly noted. Duṣyanta is entering the Āśrama from without while the maidens are stepping into the garden from their Āśrama. Naturally the king and the ladies are at opposite ends of the stage. The king sees the ladies occupied in their task from a distance and the whole scene strikes him as enchantingly beautiful. Consequently in his first speech an idea like that in the stanza—*Śuddhāntadurlabham*, etc., is altogether undignified. On the other hand the idea is quite in place when Duṣyanta knows the heroine and has opportunity afforded him to observe her uncommon charms. This is just how the

text is arranged in the Kāshmiri MS. and this further explains why Duṣyanta is tempted to remain where he was and commit a piece of ungentlemanly eaves-dropping. Then again the three ladies, we must remember, were all this while together; but now the poet wants to give the hero an opportunity of viewing the heroine more closely by making her approach the Bakula tree under the shade of which, on the other side, Duṣyanta was probably standing concealed. Observe in this connection the stage-direction—*Rājñaḥ saṁnikarṣam āgachchhati.* Thus the speech in which the Bakula is said to be inviting Sakuntalā becomes eminently justified. We may add that there is perhaps some point in making Anasūyā loosen the tight *valkala* just in this place and at this juncture and *not* earlier; and in any case, if Duṣyanta is close to the Bakula tree, only then is revealed the full suggestiveness of Śakuntalā being compared to a creeper by its side; and in order just to motivate this adequately, Priyaṁvadā first asks her friend to advance towards the *Mādhavīlatā* and then stops her in the middle. Only thus is the introduction of a second creeper by the side of the *Navamālikā* explicable. That the story of the blossoming of that creeper out of season is a deliberate though skilful interpolation is also proved by the renewed reference to *Mādhavī* in place of *Navamālikā* in the stanza—*Saṁkalpitam prathamam eva*, etc., in Act iv. The same can probably be said of an earlier reference to *aṇahisaṁdhi-garuo dhammo*, but of that I feel less certain. The reference to *Navamālikā* and her union with the mango tree is of course most poetically conceived. Please note in this connection Śakuntalā's ideal of a happy marriage: *yauvana* and *upabhoga.* It is entirely sensuous and it is just from this circumstance that Śakuntalā's subsequent suffering gets its moral or psychological justification.

As this last point is perhaps not likely to be fully appreciated, we take the liberty of dwelling longer upon it. The Prologue has already alluded to *imam eva achira-pravṛittam upabhoga-kṣamaṁ grīṣmartum* as the background for the commencement of the play, and we have seen the heroine using just the word *upabhoga* in describing her aspirations in life. That marriage involves responsibilites; that pleasure can never be made an adequate goal for life; that love is chastened by suffering: these are ideas as yet foreign to this daughter of the nymph Menakā. The Mahābhārata [*Ādiparvan*, Kumth. ed. Chapter 89ff.] introduces Duṣyanta also in the full pride of youth and power and his is also a

purely sensuous ideal: compare, *Vayaṁ tattvānveṣān madhukara hatās tvaṁ khalu kṛti*. Duṣyanta's love-lorn condition in Act ii, and the marriage in Act iii are conducted on the same lower level. The infuriated elephant that breaks upon us towards the end of Act i may be thus said to typify the whole spirit of the Act.

Mere impulsive passion must normally bring suffering in its train. This is just what explains the tragic element in a play like Romeo and Juliet; and this also accounts for the intrusion of the sage Durvāsas, who is always reputed to bring true happiness under the mask of sorrow. Corresponding to the change in their outlook on life that is to be produced in the hero and the heroine by the terrible ordeal of suffering through which they have to pass, Kālidāsa has most artistically introduced a changed background in Act vi and especially Act vii. The comparison can be worked out to the most minute details (compare for instance the descriptions of the gardens and also the sentiment *satāṁ hi saṁdehapadeṣu*, etc., and that in *Ahanyahanyātmana eva*, etc.): but that is hardly necessary for our purpose. We can accordingly conclude that where the merely textual criticism fails, higher criticism can enable us to arrive at a unified text, which may usually lie along the line of the longer text, but which can yet pronounce many a passage in the longer text as spurious. As a drama is meant primarily for the stage, a recension that yields such extraordinary adaptability to the requirements of the stage carries its genuineness almost on the face. And we must not only not ignore the stage point of view but always endeavour to bring it in and give it the greatest possible weight.

(iii) Next I am taking up a case where we have to omit a passage given by all the recensions without exception because of the requirements of higher criticism. The passage is from Act iv where the *suptotthita* disciple announces the arrival of Kaṇva and ascertains *kiyad avaśiṣṭaṁ rajanyā iti*. The verses *Yātyekatostaśikharam* and *Antarhite śaśini* are given by all the four recensions; while after these in the Bengāli, and before these in the Kāshmīri recension, only are given the verses *Karkandhūnām upari* and *Pādanyāsaṁ kṣitidharaguror mūrdhni*. Which of these formed part of the original Śākuntala? Those common to all the recensions, would be our first answer; but the facts probably are otherwise. For it is unthinkable that a sage like Kaṇva would be in bed at a time when there was the rising orb of the sun on one side and the setting orb of the moon on the other, and more, that the pupil

of the sage—after spending another gratuitous five minutes in expressing his sympathy for the fading *Kumudvatī*—would then go to announce *upasthitāṁ homavelām* unto his preceptor, who would *then* prepare himself for the morning fire-worship! Surely the sage knew better than that when to offer oblations into the fire! Then as to the *Kumudvatī* stanza, even though we explain the theme as an involuntary anticipation of the fate of Śakuntalā, by what canons of criticism can we accept a fearfully padded line like—*Duḥkhāni nūnam atimātrasudussahāni* as really coming from Kālidāsa? Neither of these two verses is quoted as his in any of the anthologies. On the other hand the remaining two verses are so quoted, and they—or at any rate the first of them—formed part of the original play, the *penchant* for *alaṁkāra* of latter-day writers being probably responsible for the introduction of the other two, which have become so familiar and which have so successfully driven the true coin out of the market.

(iv) By way of a contrast I now take a case where a reading not given in any of the printed editions of the play has nevertheless to be accepted as genuine. Its existence is vouched for by the Kāshmīri MS. and some three or four Bengali MSS. It occurs in Act v. Śakuntalā has discovered to her utter consternation the loss of the ring; but as becomes the daughter of the dauntless Viśvāmitra, she does not lose heart but tries to awaken the King's slumbering memory by narrating the story of the foster-deer. But that produces no result; on the other hand Gautamī's attempted intercession brings down the King's taunt—

> *Strīṇām aśikṣitapaṭutvam amānuṣīṣu*
> *saṁdṛiśyate kimuta yāḥ pratibodhavatyaḥ;*
> *Prāg antarikṣagamanāt svam apatyajātam*
> *anyair dvijaiḥ parabhṛitāḥ kila poṣayanti.*

We do not know whether the full significance of this verse is correctly understood by all. Kālidāsa has here used his words very judiciously, with the result that they produce on the mind of Śakuntalā an impression altogether unexpected by the King. For she understands in the verse a veiled allusion to and a direct slur upon her mother and the circumstances of her own birth. Note in this connection the words *amānuṣīṣu*, *antarikṣagamanāt*, *dvijaiḥ*, and *parabhṛitāḥ*, which suggest the heavenly *apsaras* Menakā and her going away to heaven abandoning her child to be reared up by the Brāhmana sage Kaṇva—Menakā who in status is a courtesan fed by and feeding upon others. As Duṣyanta

evidently had knowledge of the circumstances of her birth, argues Śakuntalā, and as this knowledge he obtained only in the Garden scene (where, besides, in describing her charms the King had used just the word (*a-*)*mānuṣīṣu*), Śakuntalā thinks herself justified in concluding that Duṣyanta was here telling a deliberate lie. Naturally she gives up her meekness and rates the King soundly. When, however, the King has the face to say—*Bhadre, prathitaṁ Duṣyantacharitam prajāsu ; tathāpi idaṁ na lakṣaye.*—is it conceivable that the daughter of the fiery Viśvāmitra would tamely pocket the insult? The printed editions however make Śakuntalā weep at this stage, *paṭāntena mukham āvṛitya*! In fact however the poet makes Śakuntalā give a reply which does credit to her womanhood. The reply is in Prākrit, and we know how Prākrit passages got mingled and maltreated at the hands of copyists and even Pandits. It runs thus—

Tuhme yyeva pamāṇaṁ jāṇadha dhammatthidiṁ cha loassa ;
Lajjāviṇijjidāo jāṇanti hu kiṁ ṇa mahilāo ?

Freely translated it means: "Think ye then that men alone have the right to pose as judges of truth or to ascertain what is conducive to the welfare of the world ; and that woman—the modest and lowly woman—has no right to know thereof ?" Can the modern champion of women's rights desire anything better? But note again that after this sally Kālidāsa does make Śakuntalā weep in a truly woman's fashion. He has not entirely unsexed or unaryanised her. When some of the very best MSS. vouch for this reading I am loath to father its authorship upon an illiterate or unpoetic interpolator.

It is perhaps needless to multiply instances of which I can cite dozens, and I have purposely abstained from referring to the *śriṅgāric* elaboration in Act iii where I have not been yet able to reach any clear-cut conclusion ; but enough has been given above to prove the possibility of arriving at the true and the original Śākuntala by a rigorous and unprejudiced application of the scientific principles of textual criticism —principles which have been elaborated and successfully tested by the Classical scholars of the West during the last century and more, and which therefore it is waste of labour to seek to doubt or independently deduce. The final text naturally belongs to no particular recension. I have been for some time working at its constitution and I am glad and grateful of this opportunity of giving a foretaste of some of the probable conclusions to the world of scholars.

THE RĀMĀYAṆA AND THE MAHĀBHĀRATA: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY.

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Historic Value of the Epics.

It would need a great scholar and an even greater artist to reconstruct the World which lies fragmentarily scattered in the two Epics of India, and as the present writer does not claim to be either the one or the other, he will not attempt it. All that he may hope to do here is to indicate briefly the lines on which enquiry may be directed to this end by those really capable of undertaking it. But why, one may ask, need anyone take at all the trouble of reconstructing the world of the Indian Epics, if it had no more substantial existence than in the imagination of the poets? Had the main story of these Epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, any counterpart in history? Had they better foundation in fact than the stories, for instance, of "Hamlet" and of "The Merchant of Venice" told by Shakespeare? To these questions, the reply of course is, that a poet even when he is building on old traditions and legends, and beyond question when he is relying entirely on his own creative imagination, must people his stage with beings and frame his background out of institutions and things drawn from the living world around him. The manners and customs of the times in which the poet lived would be caught and become embedded, unconsciously more often than consciously, in his writings with more or less fidelity and amplitude of detail. It is immaterial therefore whether Rāma and Rāvaṇa or Drupada and Duryodhana were real beings or figments of the poet's imagination. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* undoubtedly deal with a state or states of society which in point of fact did once exist. The really difficult question to decide is, whether the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* depict society at the same or different stages of evolution, and if the latter be the truth, which of them represents the earlier stage? Or is the society described in the one, notwithstanding numerous common elements, essentially different from

that delineated in the other? Having regard, too, to the composite authorship, at any rate, of the *Mahābhārata*, may not one expect to find different stages in the evolution of ancient Indian civilisation represented in different portions of that Epic? If this surmise be the correct one, it should be possible by comparing the materials presented by the *Mahābhārata* and tracing them to their sources in still older literature to build up an account of the genetic development of that civilisation from the Vedic to Buddhistic times.

Data bearing on the relative ages of the two Epics and other contrasting characteristics.

Apparently there is here a vast field for scientific research and an almost unlimited one for quasi-, or more strictly perhaps, pseudo-scientific speculation. European savants, for instance, have not hesitated to suggest that the age of the *Rāmāyaṇa* must be later in point of time than the age of the *Mahābhārata* on the grounds, amongst others, that the *Rāmāyaṇa* depicts a civilisation and a culture superior to that described in the *Mahābhārata*.[1] To that Indian scholars consider it a sufficient reply to say that the tradition round which the *Rāmāyaṇa* was built was unquestionably common property when the Mahābhārata came to be written. It would indeed be hypercritical to question this statement.[2] The leading figures in the narrative of the *Rāmāyaṇa* are men, monkeys, bears and *rākṣasas*, whilst those of the *Mahābhārata* are men only, the *rākṣasas* evidently coming in only to enhance the stage effect, the man-like monkeys and bears having disappeared completely. On the other hand, gods and other denizens of the upper and nether worlds (*apsarās*, *gandharvas*, *yakṣas*, *brahmarṣis*, *nāgas*, etc.) flit in and out of the scenes of the *Mahābhārata* with embarrassing ease and frequency, and the human actors on the stage also gain admittance into those regions, upon invitation sometimes, but not rarely also by accident, whereas Rāma, in spite of his divinity, remains of the earth, earthy throughout. Wonder-working weapons and accoutrements of warriors abound in the *Mahābhārata*, though they are by no means unknown in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The *Mahābhārata* literally revels in absurd and impos-

[1] This reason, given in some English text-books, is more intelligible than any given by Weber in his *History of Indian Literature*, pp. 191–194.

[2] The force of this very obvious circumstance is, I am glad to note, fully appreciated by Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 306.

sible incidents. In fact, poetical licence which is kept within more or less fair limits in the *Rāmāyaṇa* passes all bounds in the *Mahābhārata*. The poet of the *Rāmāyaṇa* no doubt does not fail to endow his monkeys and *rākṣasas* with fabulous powers, but Hanumān on the Ṛshyamukha hills and apparently also the superior *rākṣasas* of Laṅkā are able to speak classical Sanskrit correctly according to grammar and are steeped besides in Sanskrit culture.[3] The poetry of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is without question superior to that of the *Mahābhārata* and is redolent of the forest. The poet of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is more completely *en rapport* with Nature than the poets of the *Mahābhārata*. The impression left on the reader—it may be an impression only—is that there are more kings, more states, more cities, more places of pilgrimage and more civic life generally in the country of the *Mahābhārata* whilst there are more woods and forests, and more unbeaten tracks generally and more intimate communion with Nature in the land of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The men and women of the *Rāmāyaṇa* are on the whole gentler and more humane, less passionate and more companionable than those of the *Mahābhārata*.

Grounds for supposing that the Mahābhārata represents a later epoch than the Rāmayaṇa, and, owing to foreign irruptions, a more barbaric stage of Indo-Aryan Culture.

What do all these indications, and others too numerous to set out in detail, point to? The society of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is, within its geographical limits, more settled than that of the *Mahābhārata*, and within those limits there is less of strife. But the civilisation of the *Mahābhārata*, such as it is, is geographically wider-spread. There are, as already stated, fewer unbeaten tracks in it than in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. There seems to be no reason for doubting that there was in fact a kernel of truth within the plot of each Epic, though no doubt in neither has the poet hesitated to adapt and embellish his theme, as all poets must, to suit his special purposes: and indeed no pretence is made in either Epic to disguise the fact that this was being done. Without doubt, the events which form the basis of the plot of the *Rāmāyaṇa* were of a date much anterior to those upon which the *Mahābhārata*

[3] *R., Kiṣk.*, iii. 28–29; *Sund.*, iv. 13, xxx. 18. The references to the text of the Epics as given in this paper are to those published by the Bangabasi Press, Calcutta.

was founded. But the crucial question is, was the *Rāmāyaṇa* composed before or after the *Mahābhārata*, or were they composed at substantially the same time? Or, as a third possibility, was one composed so long after the other that they must refer to different stages of social development? My own surmise is that both Epics represent developments of the same Indo-Aryan culture, but at different places and in widely differing environments. The *Rāmāyaṇa* must have been written long before the events of the *Mahābhārata*. Otherwise, the absence of any allusion in the *Rāmāyaṇa* to Hastināpura, Dvāravatī and the many other principalities which figure prominently in the *Mahābhārata* would be inexplicable. A long interval of time must have elapsed to permit of the spread of Aryan civilisation over the greatly enlarged area which came to be called *Bhāratavarṣa* in the time of the *Mahābhārata*. But there must, in the meanwhile, have been tremendous upheavals, due evidently to repeated foreign irruptions. The civilisation of the *Mahābhārata* appears to bear to that of the *Rāmāyaṇa* a relation somewhat similar to that borne by the civilisation of the Holy Roman Empire to the Roman. If the *Rāmāyaṇa* represents the classic epoch of pre-Buddhistic Indian culture, the *Mahābhārata* represents its subsequently supervening barbarian epoch.[4] Mlecchas, Yavanas, Śakas, Hūṇas, Cīnas and others possessing cultures of types which are uncompromisingly non-Aryan inhabit different parts of the country and it is found impossible to lump them up together with the Niṣādas and Caṇḍālas, who had a place at least on the outskirts of the Aryan fold, or to account for their existence by some ingenious theory of *varṇa-saṅkara*, or descent from a mixture, in various proportions, of the four original castes, which were created by Brahmā out of his body.[5] They live too

[4] Cf. *M.*, *Śānti*, ccvii. 42–45.

[5] It is a characteristic of the Indo-Aryan intellect (and one that leads it into innumerable absurdities) not to leave a single fact which came within its ken, without an explanation or an attempt at one, and sometimes more than one. In the *Anuśāsana-parva* of the *Mahābhārata*, it is solemnly affirmed that the Śakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Drāviḍas, Kalindas, Pulindas, Uśinaras, Kolisarpas, Mahiṣakas, Lāṭas Poundras, Kannaśiras, Saunḍikas, Daradas, Darbas, Cholas, Śabaras, Barbaras and Kirātas were Kṣatriyas who had ceased to be such through want of association with Brāhmaṇas (*Anuśāsana-parva*, xxxiii and xxxv; Cf *Manu*, X, v. 44). The fact appears to have been that they refused to accept the place which Brāhmaṇa culture was prepared to concede to them and defied the Brāhmaṇa dispensation. In the *Karṇaparva*, Karṇa gives a less prejudiced account of these Barbarians. "The *Mlecchas* and *Yavanas*," he says, were men of culture (*sarvajña*) and powerful people, who observed *dharmas* of their own invention

in such close proximity that it is impossible by any feat of poetical licence to endow them, as the poet of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was able to endow Hanumān and the Rakṣasa chiefs, with expert knowledge of Sanskrit grammar and with Sanskrit culture. The civilisation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is more purely Aryan than that of the *Mahābhārata*. There is a distinct strain of barbarism in all that appertains to the latter. Mark the difference in the methods respectively employed for the winning of their brides by the Princes of the Kośalas and the Kuru Chieftains. The birth of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana, the reputed author of the *Mahābhārata*, of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu, the marriages of Śāntanu and Satyavatī, of Draupadī with her five husbands, of Arjuna with his cousin Subhadrā, the leadership in the councils and the wars of Duryodhana of the professional charioteer's son, Karṇa, are symptoms showing that the civilisation was, from the purely Aryan point of view, a good deal "out of joint." Mleccha, Yavana and non-Ksattriya princes are respected and even favoured in Duryodhana's court. The Kuru princes apparently even learn foreign languages, for Vidura, for greater secrecy, affects to communicate to Yudhiṣṭhira his suspicions concerning Duryodhana's plans to kill the Pāṇḍavas by setting fire to their residence at Bāraṇavaṭ, in some foreign language.[6] The civilisation no doubt is still Aryan, but it is shot through and through with barbarism.[7]

The culture of the Epics pre-Buddhistic.

I would not venture to fix the dates of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* taken either separately or together, even in a rough manner. So free, however, are both Epics from any Buddhistic strain that it may be safely assumed that they register the civilisation of an age anterior to that of the Buddha (Gautama) of Kapilavastu or at any rate of an age in which Buddhism had as yet made little headway as a rival system of culture. The single reference to "Atheists of the Buddhistic persuasion" in Rāma's exhortation to Jābāli[8] is obviously not to this Buddha. These two chapters of the *Ayodhyā*

(*sva-saṅjña-niyata*, as opposed evidently to the scriptural *dharma* of the Indo-Aryans). *M. Karṇa*, xlv. 35.

[6] *M.*, *Ādi*, cxlv. 20.

[7] The conclusions above recorded however do not prevent me from recognising that many of the older legends incorporated in the *Mahābhārata* embody material of older date than the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

[8] *R.*, *Ayodh.*, cviii, cix.

Kāṇḍa, moreover, to my mind, bear unmistakable internal evidence tending to show that the whole episode of Jābāli must be a later interpolation.

The material side of this culture and enquiries relevant thereto.

The civilisation of the age of the Epics like all civilisation, had a material as well as a moral side. It is in no spirit of flippancy that I put the questions: What did these people, Aryans and others, eat and drink? Whether they were fond of wine or were as a rule abstainers? How did they build their houses and of what material? What did they wear? What were the special costumes favoured by the Brāhmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas and the rest, both men and women? How did they satisfy their economic wants and necessities? What arts and crafts were pursued in their towns and villages? What were their notions of the luxuries of life? How did they amuse themselves?

The moral side of this culture and enquiries relevant thereto.

On the moral side, one would like to know what value this civilisation placed on men's souls, meaning by men not the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas alone (those joint, and as regards the rest, exclusive possessors of political and social power) but also those belonging to the other castes and orders, who at the date of the *Mahābhārata* were so numerous that the time-honoured classification[9] of the people into the four occupational castes broke down and the grotesque theory of *Varṇasaṅkara* was propounded to explain their origin.[10] What facilities, or otherwise, did it offer to the lower orders to rise in the scale of culture? Were there educational institutions of any sort for any of the classes, and if so what and for whom? What were the relations between the classes *inter se*, and of the individuals to the class to which they belonged, and the relations of each class and the individuals composing it to the State? Were all the castes bodies corporate, and if not all, which of them? What was the Aryan state? What in the state

[9] Speaking subject to correction, I find it impossible to hold that this classification ever corresponded completely to the actually existing caste-organisations. It was a classification by scholars and in the main notional and not descriptive. Their could never have been, for instance, a single Vaiśya caste, and that the Śudras ever had any distinct communal organisation is unthinkable. But the Brāhmāṇas and Kṣatriyas certainly appear to have been classes by themselves, though apparently unincorporated.

[10] *M., Anuśā.*, xlviii.

was the position of the King? How was the Aryan state organised and to what end? What were the relations between state and state? Was there any ruling idea which governed these relations? Was there anything in pre-Buddhistic India which corresponded in any degree to that Imperialism and Internationalism of which we hear so much in these days?

In what sense was Indo-Aryan culture spiritualistic? How many participated in the Brahmanic summum bonum of holy life?

We hear it repeatedly affirmed by Indians and foreigners alike that this Indian culture was deeply spiritualistic. Religion was without doubt the dominating motive in the life of the Brāhmaṇas who unquestionably constituted a class by themselves. Similar, too, was the case with the Kṣatriyas, and since all the three *āśramas* except *brahmacarya* had been open to them from the beginning,[11] and later on they had been admitted to the *brahmacarya āśrama* also, they too had the possibilities of a religious life open to them, though their preoccupation with their specific *dharma*, viz, war and administration, must have in the case of most of them proved too absorbing to permit of their pursuing the holy life. But what about the rest— the *prākṛtas*— the common herd? What was their *dharma*? The Epics tell us abundantly what *dharma* was sedulously preached to them. The Ṛshis knew better than to prescribe the attainment of the Brahmanic *summum bonum* of holy life as the common goal to be pursued by Brāhmaṇas and non-Brāhmaṇas alike. Who did in fact pursue it?

(*i*) *Amongst the Brāhmaṇas.*

So long as religion was a matter mainly of Vedic rites and ritual, it was of course the Brāhmaṇas. But Indo-Aryan religion had long ceased to be a mere matter of rites and ritual. It had developed, in the *Vedānta* i.e. the (*Upaniṣads*), a philosophy of religion which, though ostensibly subordinated to the traditional ritualism, really transcended it. The *Vedas* with the *Vedānta* must have proved far too strong intellectual meat for any but the most intellectual, and the conditions of extreme self-denial under which the goal of spiritual life had to be pursued must have greatly reduced the number of men, even amongst the Brāhmaṇas,

[11] *M.*, *Śānti*, lxi. 2, lxii, lxiii.

who could practise to the full the *Varṇadharma* prescribed for them. Those who could not, found more congenial occupation in service under the King as *Rāja-purohitas* (royal chaplains),[12] *Amātyas* (ministers),[13] *Sabhāsadas* (councillors),[14] or they engaged in what constituted the learned professions of those days e.g. physicians, surgeons, prefects of towns, astronomers and village priests.[15] A Brāhmaṇa was indeed free, for the sake of a livelihood, to follow the occupations of a Kṣatriyas or even of a Vaiśya.[16]

(*ii*) *Amongst the Kshatriyas.*

The principal function of the King and the Kṣatriya warriors under his command was to protect the population from foreign aggression and maintain and even compel them to observe their respective *Varṇadharmas.*[17] A Kṣatriya was in no circumstances to follow the occupation of a Vaiśya (which was to produce wealth without limit by fair means under the aegis of the King), nor could he take to mendicancy like Brāhmaṇas.[18] In return for the services performed by him for the community as a whole, the King had authority under the law to appropriate a sixth portion of the wealth of everyone except of those Brāhmaṇas who strictly observed their *Varṇadharma*,[19] out of which he was to maintain virtuous Brāhmaṇas who were too proud to beg (by grants to them of annuities),[20] his ministers and other officers and his army of warriors,[21] and spend the residue in giving alms and performing *yajñas.*[22] As I have already stated, all the *āśramadharmas* except, at first, *brahmacarya*, and later on that also,[23] could be practised by a Kṣatriya, who was thus entitled to study the *Vedas* and the *Vedānta* and to follow the spiritual life, if he so desired, but the pre-occupations of his special *dharma* must have left him little leisure or inclination to do so. When, at the conclusion of the war of Kurukṣetra, Yudhiṣṭhira, being deeply affected by the extermination of his relations and other Kṣatriyas, and the lamentations of their womenfolk, desired to retire into the forest and adopt *sannyāsa*, Kṣatriyas and Brāhmaṇas alike (including great Ṛṣis) prevailed upon

[12] *M.*, *Śānti*, lxxii. [13] *M.*, *Śānti*, lxxxv. [14] *M.*, *Śānti*, lxxxiii.
[15] *M.*, *Śānti*, lxxvi. [16] *M.*, *Śānti*, lxxviii. 2, ccxciv. 3.
[17] *M.*, *Śānti*, lx, lxiii, lxv, lxix. 76–77, cxlii. 28.
[18] *M.*, *Śānti*, cxxx, 23. [19] *M.*, *Śānti*, lxix, 25, lxxvi.
[20] *M.*, *Śānti*, clxv. 14, 17; *Anuśā.*, lix, lx. [21] *M.*, *Sabhā*, v.
[22] *M.*, *Anuśā.*, lxi. [23] *M.*, *Śānti*, ccxcvi. 25–27.

him to assume charge of the Empire,[24] and earn untold religious merit by practising the *rājadharma*, which since it maintained and established all the other *dharmas* was declared to be superior to all the other *dharmas*.[25] He was reminded that by practising the *rājadharma*, the King became entitled, according to the *Śāstras*, to a fourth share of the religious merit acquired by all orders of his subjects, and that a like share in the sins which they, the subjects, incurred by deviating from the paths of *dharma* through the failure of the King to exercise his *daṇḍa* (governance) similarly enured to the King.[26]

(*iii*) *Amongst the Vaiśyas and Śudras.*

Though neither Brāhmaṇa nor Kṣhatriya was absolutely precluded from engaging in the pursuit of wealth, that according to the *Śāstras* was the special *dharma* of the Vaiśyas.[27] It was degrading for a Vaiśya to perform menial services, that being the special *dharma* of the Śūdra. It was indeed the wealth of the Vaiśyas which provided the economic support to the whole elaborate structure of "Spiritual Life" which is alleged to have been the dominating motive of Indo-Aryan culture.[28] The Vaiśyas appeared for a long time to have had no right to study the *Vedas* and perform *yajñas*. But to keep wealth eternally under the heels was an impossibility even in the golden age of Indo-Aryan culture. Hence like the Kṣatriyas they too in course of time became entitled to enter all the *āśramas* (*brahmacarya* included), and thus towards the end (and perhaps at the date of the war of Kurukṣetra) the *Vedas* with the *Vedānta* ceased to be a ..'.d book to them. But the Śūdras do not appear at any stage of this cu.. .. to have acquired this right.[29] The story told of the Śūdramuni Śambuka in the *Uttara-kāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*[30] and the Śūdramuni-Saṁvāda related in the tenth chapter of the *Anuśāsanaparva* of the *Mahābhārata* are highly significant in this context. For a Śūdra to perform *tapasyā* was treated by Rāma as a capital offence and was summarily punished by him as such. But in the *Sānti* and *Anuśāsana-parvas*, it is repeatedly stated that the *bhaikṣya* or *ṣannyasa dharma* was open even to a Śūdra and to women, who, to whatever order they might have belonged, were like the Śūdras precluded from participating

24 *M.*, *Sānti*, vii-xxiii. 25 *M.*, *Sānti*, lxiv. 26 *M.*, *Sānti*, lxvi, lxvv, 6-8.
27 *M.*, *Vir.*, 6; *Sānti*, lx 21. 28 *M.*, *Vir.*, 1, 6.
29 *M.*, *Sānti*, lxi-lxiii, ccxcvi. 25-27. 30 *R.*, *Uttara*, lxxxviii-lxxxix.

in the Vedic *Saṅskāras*.[31] There is a passage in the *Śāntiparva*, which says that a Vaiśya or a Śūdra might practise *sannyasa dharma*, but not without previous sanction obtained from the King.[32] Thus, while adoption by members of the higher orders, of the occupations of the lower, was viewed with disapprobation but tolerated (being expiable by suitable *prāyascittas*), a similar adoption of the Brāhmaṇa's *dharma* by the Kṣatriya was discouraged, and the adoption of the Brāhmaṇa's *dharma* by Vaiśyas and Śūdras restrained and in the earlier stages, in the case of the Śūdras at any rate, punished as a capital offence. It is stated in the *Śāntiparva*, that all *varṇas* (including Vaiśyas and Śūdras) might and should take up arms for the preservation of the Brāhmaṇas,[33] and it is expressly related in the *Karṇaparva* that warriors of Vaiśya and Śūdra extraction (not to speak of Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas) participated in the battles of Kurukshetra.[34]

Moral and material suppression of the Śudras.

However, the cruelest restraint imposed on the Śūdra was that which prevented him from gaining wealth, which he could not do for himself except with the sanction of the King and unless the object was to spend it on religious ceremonies which of course would have to be performed by Brāhmaṇas and would be attended by donations of *dakṣiṇās* to Brāhmaṇas.[35] Whatever wealth a Śūdra earned beyond what might be necessary for the bare maintenance of himself and his dependents passed to his employers; although the Śūdras as a class, at the period neither of the *Rāmāyaṇa* or of the *Mahābhārata*, appear to have been slaves. The Śūdra might satisfy the cravings of his soul by listening to the *Purāṇas*,[36] but the Brāhmaṇa who initiated a Śūdra in the esoteric doctrines of the Vedas and Upaniṣads incurred sin for which he expiated by being reborn in a lower order.[37] In the age of the epics, teaching (*adhyāpana*) was, of course, a monopoly of the Brāhmaṇas.[38] Neither a Kṣatriya nor a Vaiśya nor a Śūdra was able, by the practice of *tapasyā*, to attain Brāhmaṇahood, at least in that existence. The exceptional instances of Viśvāmitra and Vītahavya, who though Kṣatriyas attained Brāhmaṇahood in the same existence, are explained in the *Anuśāsanaparva* as having been due

31 *M.*, *Śānti*, cccxv. 14, cccxxxix. 34, cccxliii. 15. 32 *M.*, *Śānti*, lxiii. 12–15.
33 *M.*, *Śānti*, lxxviii. 27. 34 *M.*, *Karṇa*, xlvii. 18. 35 *M.*, *Śānti*, lx. 27–28.
36 *M.*, *Śānti*, lxiii. 12. 37 *M.*, *Anuśā.*, x. 38 *M.*, *Vir.*, l, 5.

to the special favour of the Brāhmaṇas.[39] The utmost concession that the leaders of Indo-Aryan culture in the age of the Epics was prepared to make was to admit that by leading the life of a *tāpasa* or *sannyāsin* in one existence, a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya or a Śūdra qualified himself for re-incarnation as a Brāhmaṇa in the next.[40]

Common dharma of all Vārṇas.

The four denominations of castes affiliated within the Aryan fold did not, as I have previously stated, exhaust the whole population. Of the *dharma* prescribed for others, I shall speak later on. The epics speak of a general (or *sārva-varṇika*) *dharma* of all *varṇas* which was: to forswear anger, hatred, jealousy and cruelty, to be forgiving, to give every one his due, to speak the truth, to offer oblations to ancestors, to procreate issue on the body of one's lawfully wedded wife, to honour one's parents and to maintain one's dependants.[41]

Indo-Aryan culture aimed at the holy life for the few at the expense of the many.

The sum and substance of all this is that Indo-Aryan culture in its golden age was spiritual in this sense, that it was calculated to provide facilities to a very few to attain the holy life at the expense of the vast majority of the population.[42] So far as the latter were concerned, it was, not a culture of spiritual advancement, but rather of spiritual suppression.[43] As will be shown later on, so far as the Kṣatriyas were concerned, it put a premium upon the practice of war for mutual extermination and despoliation.[44] So far as the Vaiśyas were concerned, the ideal was grossly materialistic. As for the Śūdras, they were ruthlessly held down to forced physical and moral servitude. The Indo-Aryan culture was a spiritual hydraulic press, with this difference that the pressure was applied on the wider

[39] *M.*, *Anuśā.*, xxvii–xxx.

[40] *M.*, *Anuśā.*, cxliii. 8, 50-53.

[41] *M.*, *Śānti*, lx. 7-12. Much of what is stated in the *Mahābhārata* about *Varṇāśrama-dharma* are commonplaces of the *Dharmaśāstras*. But they appear in the *Mahābhārata* in a more or less concrete setting and are thus more suitable subjects for historical treatment than the collections of abstract propositions found in the *Saṁhitās*.

[42] *M.*, *Śānti*, lxv, particularly v. 9.

[43] *M.*, *Śānti*, lxiii, particularly v. 9–10.

[44] *M.*, *Śānti*, lxv. 4, xcvi. 20–24, xcvii–xcviii.

in order to procure an elevation at the narrower end.[45] I am not sure this will not be found to be the history of culture at all times all over the world.[46] But nowhere apparently was it practised with

[45] The sketch given above shows beyond doubt that there was a very gradual amelioration of the condition of the lower orders. The solvents which softened the rigidity of the *Varṇāśrama* hierarchy were, first, the *Vedānta* (*Upaniṣads*) which, placing *Jñāna* above *Yajña*, at once made it possible for the Ksatriyas (amongst whom according to Deussen and others, the Vedāntas originated) to enter into the spiritual aristocracy without the necessity of an intimate acquaintance with Vedic ceremonials, which in the beginning was apparently denied to the Kṣatriyas. The Brāhmaṇas compromised with the Kṣatriyas by according scriptural authority to the *Vedānta* and admitting Kṣatriyas to the study of the Vedas but tried to exclude the other orders from the spiritual world of *Jñāna*, subordinating the *Vedānta* to the Vedas and making the whole thing esoteric exclusively amongst the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas. But the Vaiśyas necessarily got in after they became participators in the study of the Vedas and Vedic *saṁskāras*. The solvent which secured the much more qualified admission of the Śūdras was the *Sāṅkhya* philosophy and the cults which grew round it, which condemned the killing of animals to satisfy the Gods in whose divinity they did not believe and decried the observance of the unmeaning ceremonials of the Vedas as the one road to *Mokṣa* (see *M.*, *Śānti*, ccxxxix, ccxl, cclxiv). Only qualified approval was accorded to the *Varṇāśramadharma* as providing convenient but by no means essential stages on the way towards *Mokṣa* (*M.*, *Śānti*, ccxliv. 3). The Brāhmaṇas compromised with the *Sāṅkhya* philosophy just as they did with the *Vedānta* and conceded that Śūdras (and even women) had access to *sannāyasā dharma* (*M.*, *Śānti*, ccxcv. 14, ccxxxix. 34, ccxliii. 15) but that their attainment thereby of equal status with the Brāhmaṇas was postponed till their next reincarnation (*M.*, *Anuśā.*, cxliii. 50–53). There were however radicals even amongst Brāhmaṇas and to Yājñavalkya the *Śānti-parva* attributes the following revolutionary doctrine nowhere else repeated in the *Mahābhārata*: "All *Varṇas*," he said, "are derived from Brahmā. Therefore all Varṇas can be counted as Brāhmaṇas and all *Varṇas* invoke Brāhman" (*M.*, *Śānti*, ccviii. 89. Note also that as the Upanishads occasionally send Brāhmaṇas to learn the true doctrines of religion to Kṣatriyas, so in the *Mahābhārata*, Brāhmaṇas sometimes go to Vaṇikas (*M.*, *Śānti*, cclxi) and even to Vyādhas and in one case to a woman (*M.*, *Vana*, ccv), for the same purpose. The practical philosopher of the Mahābhārata was Vidura, the son of a Brāhmaṇa father by a Śūdra mother. Buddhism challenged the whole doctrine of caste supremacy and the subjection of women, but the *Purāṇas* replied by boldly affirming that the Śūdra attained the salvation, which the twice-born won only through the laborious processes of *karma*, *yajña* and *tapasyā*, by whole-heartedly serving his twice-born patron, and the same goal was confidently held out to be the portion of the woman who effaced herself in the service of her husband (see *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, part vi, ch. 2).

[46] Thus of Athenian culture, Pericles boasted: "We aim at a life beautiful without extravagance and contemplative without unmanliness; wealth in our eyes is a thing not for ostentation but for reasonable use, and it is not the acknowledgment of poverty we think disgraceful, but the want of endeavour to avoid it." But, as I have pointed out elsewhere (*Comparative Administrative Law*, pp. 27-28), "the beautiful life at which the State aimed did not exist for the large slave population who toiled for the

the cold calculating purpose one finds exemplified in the *Varṇāśrama-dharma.* I do not say that even so this culture was not in its time and place a great and even necessary civilising agency. But one ought not for that reason to shut one's eyes to its more sinister elements, if only to demonstrate its utter incompatibility with modern requirements, specially when one hears so much said to-day of the absolute superiority of this culture, and the duty is dinned into every Indian's ears, in season and out of season, by Indians and Foreigners alike, to revive once more and restore to India this ancient culture in its pristine purity and efficacy.

The Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya partnership in moral and political ascendancy.

The Indo-Aryan culture of the Epics, I repeat, was grievously one-sided. As it stands confessed in the pages of the Epics, it aimed at maintaining the moral ascendancy of an intellectual class (the Brāhmaṇas) with the aid of the strong arm of the Kṣatriyas. "The Brāhmaṇa preserved society from invisible and the Kṣatriya from visible dangers." [47] Since the latter was the *sine qua non* of all ordered existence and Brāhmaṇism could not flourish except within the "Peace" of a King who would enforce *Varṇāśrama-dharma* in all its stringency, Rājadharma was superior to all other dharmas.[48] But the King must remember that the Brāhmaṇa was created first; and could he not render all the efforts of the King barren of fruits by imprecations made a hundred-fold more efficacious by *tapasya*? [49] "The Kṣatriyas must therefore reserve the best of what they got for the benefit of the Brāhmaṇas.[50] The Brāhmaṇas were the brains as the Kṣatriyas were the arms of the pre-Buddhistic Aryan State.[51] The nature of the partnership between the two orders is pithily expressed in the following amongst

citizens on the estates; nor, since the City at the date of the speech was an Empire City, was it for participation by the citizens of the allied cities. The 'life beautiful' was made possible by the labour of slaves more numerous than citizens and by tributes exacted from the allies." Culture, it seems, has ever been parasitic and has never as yet been broad-based.

[47] *M., S'ānti,* lxxiv. 2.

[48] *M., S'ānti,* lvi. 3 lxiii. 24–30, lxiv. 5.

[49] *M., S'ānti,* lxiii. 7, lxxiii 30, *Anuśā.,* xxxiii, *S'ānti,* cccxlii.

[50] *M., S'ānti,* lxxiii, particularly v. 81, and lxxiv.

[51] *M., Anuśā.,* xxxiii–xxxv.

many maxims that lie scattered throughout the *Mahābhārata*. "Let the Brāhmaṇa continually offer oblations (*udaka*) and the Kṣatriya be ever ready with his weapons, and the world is theirs." [52]

Other-worldliness of Indo-Aryan culture, not singular. The doctrine of expiation its concomitant.

But it is said, the "spirituality" of Indo-Aryan culture lay in its other-wordliness. The Brāhmaṇa himself believed and had persuaded the other orders to believe that the soul of man (and not of men only but of all sentient beings) was immortal, that it passed from body to body, its location at any stage being determined by the merits and demerits acquired by it in its previous incarnations. But this other-worldliness was by no means the exclusive property of the Indo-Aryan. It dominated equally the European Christian of the Middle Ages. Curiously enough, the doctrine of expiation serves in both systems to rid the doer of the consequences of his acts on the way.[53] The Kṣatriya expiated his sins by dying on the battle-field, [54] and Duryodhana, for all his iniquities, was led into Heaven by chanting *Gandharvas* and *Apsaras*.[55] The thief expiated his sin on the block or transferred it to the King's shoulders, if the latter unjustly let him off.[56] So in the Middle Ages of Europe, the heretic was humanely burned in order that by atoning for his false opinion on the stake, he might find the gates of Heaven, which ordinarily opened only to the true believer, not unceremoniously shut on his face.

Indo-Aryan culture one of severe all-round discipline. The position of the Indo-Aryan King a difficult one, requiring high qualities of character.

The Brāhmaṇic culture was undoubtedly a culture of severe all-round discipline, lighter on the Brāhmaṇa so far as the political sanction was concerned,[57] but severe enough as regards even him in other respects.[58] The Aryan King who sought to discharge his duties conscientiously did not by any means have an easy time of it. The Indo-Aryan conception of a community without a King was not unlike the

[52] *M.*, *S'ānti*, lxxiv. 22, also *Vana*, xxvi.
[53] *M.*, *Sānti*, lxviii. 9.
[54] *M.*, *Sānti*, xcviii. 45–48
[55] *M.*, *Salya*, lxii. 52-56.
[56] *M.*, *Sānti*, lxxxviii. 18–20, *Ādi*, ccxiii. 1.
[57] *M.*, *Sānti*, lvi. 22, 31; lxv.
[58] *M.*, *Sānti*, lxxvi-lxxvii, etc.

Hobbesian. "As in water, the bigger fish eat up the smaller, so if there be no King, the more powerful begin to eat up the weaker subjects."[59] It could not antecedently have been an easy task to maintain the complicated *Varṇāśrama-dharma* amongst a people naturally so inclined. Besides, as will be explained in another place, the Aryan King had no lack of external enemies. The success of the *Varṇāśrama* scheme of polity depended thus entirely on the personal vigilance and industry of the King. The King was in fact, as in theory, the pivot of this society.[60] What, if a King proved a failure? Cast him out, unhesitatingly said the Indo-Aryan lawgiver. "If the King is incapable of protecting his subjects, if he obtains revenue by oppressive means, if he has no far-sighted counsellor, let the subjects unite and destroy that cruel, virtue-destroying abomination of a King."[61] "The King who having undertaken the task of governance shows indifference in its discharge should by all means be destroyed like a rabid dog."[62] On the other hand, when a community has been left without a ruler, "let the subjects go forth in a body and welcome" the first powerful person who offers to establish *Varṇāśrama-dharma*, and instal him[63]—and this even though he might be a Śūdra.[64]

Need of self-discipline, not however amounting to self-abnegation.

The personal factor was therefore all-important. The successful Indo-Aryan King had need, as indeed he is repeatedly adjured, to be the master of his senses and faculties: "Conquer yourself and then proceed to conquer your enemies."[65] "You cannot dispense justice in anger, nor if you are overcome by avarice, nor if blinded by prejudice."[66] The ideal King must be a perfect embodiment of everwatchful and sustained self-discipline.[67]

Diversions of Princes in Epic India.

But he had no need, on that account to be an ascetic. "To speak courteously, to overcome indolence and avarice, to subdue the senses, and to enjoy things that are fit to be enjoyed,"[68] are amongst the in-

[59] *M.*, *Sānti*, lxvii. 16; lxviii. 8, 10-21.
[60] *R.*, *Ayodh.*, xiv. 54-55; lxvii. 9-36.
[61] *M.*, *Anuśā.*, lxi. 32.
[62] *M.*, *Anuśā.*, lxi. 33, *Sānti*, xcii. 9.
[63] *M.*, *Sānti*, lxvii. 7.
[64] *M.*, *Sānti*, lxxviii. 35-40.
[65] *M.*, *Sānti*, lxix. 4.
[66] *M.*, *Sabhā*, v. 91.
[67] *M.*, *Sānti*, cxviii. 17-23.
[68] *M.*, *Sānti*, lvii. 19-22.

dispensables enjoined upon the King. Thus the King was expected to patronise the arts and sciences, and although a Kṣatriya had, first and foremost, to be a warrior, he was free to cultivate the gentler accomplishments. Yudhiṣṭhira could play a game of dice when occasion required, and though he was no match for Śakuni and in consequence lost an empire, he did make his mark in it in the Court of Virāṭa, during the *ajñātavāsa* of the Pāṇḍavas.[69] Bhīma appropriately became the Court *chef*,[70] and Arjuna who had been taught music and dancing by the Gandharva King Citrasena found ready employment as a teacher of those arts to the royal princesses, one of whom was destined later on to be his son's wife.[71] Nakula and Sahadeva took charge respectively of the King's horses[72] and horned cattle[73], the latter (the better to preserve his *incognito*) having previously learned the *patois* of the cowherds, whilst ex-empress Draupadī proved an expert lady's maid to Queen Sudeṣṇā, in spite of all the latter's nervous fears on the score of the extreme attractiveness of the fascinating stranger, who alone and unattended and meanly clad traversed the streets of the capital in search of service and could scarcely persuade her royal mistress that she really was what she pretended to be.[74] The Kṣatriya warriors had to be, one may suppose, expert charioteers, but Kṛṣṇa, Śalya, Uttara and the mythical Nala appear to have done even better than professionals.

These tastes, however, might be carried too far, as both Yudhiṣṭhira and Nala found to their cost. Nor, as we have seen, was self-abnegation in Kings commended when pushed to extreme limits. Not only was Yudhiṣṭhira not suffered, as he anxiously desired, to abandon the world to become a *sannyāsī*, he was roundly accused by his brothers and his wife of being unmanly for entertaining this wish.[75] Vedavyāsa tells him: "God has created you for work and work you must. You have no right to renounce the world,"[76] and Bhīṣma takes him to task for his mildness (*mṛdutā*) which made him suffer in point of prestige in the eyes of his subjects.[77]

[69] *M.*, *Vir.*, vii. [70] *M.*, *Vir.*, viii. [71] *M.*, *Vir.*, xi. [72] *M.*, *Vir.*, xii.
[73] *M.*, *Vir.*, x. [74] *M.*, *Vir.*, ix. [75] *M.*, *Śānti*, viii-xiv.
[76] *M.*, *Śānti*, xxvii. 34.
[77] *M.*, *Śānti*, lxxv. 19. In the whole range of poetical literature, it is difficult to find two more pathetic figures than Yudhiṣṭhira and Sītā. As the whole burden of the plot of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story falls on poor, helpless, submissive Sītā, so does that of the *Mahābhārata* press with its whole weight on the unworldly-minded Yudhiṣṭhira. Each in his and her way was tenderness itself, but the spirit in neither ever failed to respond

Bhāratavarṣa of the Epics a conglomeration of small independent States.

As I have stated, the external features of the world of the *Rāmāyaṇa* were not quite the same as those of the world of the *Mahābhārata* and, as previously outlined, the composition of the population differed materially, in the two epochs. The world, however, as depicted at both the epochs was composed of a vast number of independent States, each consisting of one or more cities, rural areas and forest tracts, the last inhabited by persons who had renounced the world and who were, equally with others, subjects of the King and entitled to his protection.

The Indo-Aryan State. An unconstitutional personal Monarch governing through a personally supervised bureaucracy.

The Chief Town where the King resided had to be strongly fortified; and the Treasury, the Army, the Royal Court and the Judicial Tribunal were located there.[78] Other cities and the outlying areas were governed from the capital through a hierarchy of Royal Agents. In the ideal State pictured by Bhīṣma in the *Śāntiparva*,[79] there were Governors of single villages, above them Governors of groups of ten villages and above them again in succession Governors of a hundred and a thousand villages. Each lower denomination of Governor handed over his surplus revenue to the Governor placed immediately above him. A Governor of a thousand villages might have his seat in a tributary town (*Śākhānagara*) and appropriate the receipts thereof as his own remuneration. The work of these Governors had to be ceaselessly watched and supervised by Ministers and Inspectors. At the head-quarters there was a body of Ministers, of whom four were Brāhmaṇas, eight Kṣatriyas, twenty-one wealthy Vaiśyas, three chaste and modest Śūdras and one an accomplished Sūta—all of course nominated by the King. None of these should be less than fifty years of age. Of these, eight—viz. the four Brāhmaṇas, three Kṣatriyas and the one Sūta—constituted the King's Advisory Cabinet and assisted him in framing ordinances.[80] The making of laws proper was beyond the competence of the King and Cabinet alike. The Prime Minister shared

to the seemingly crushing demands of duty at each successive call made upon it. The poets, it seems, had not the heart to see them die the death of mortals, and surely as poetical creations, so heroic and yet so pathetic, they are deathless.

[78] *M.*, *Śānti*, lxxxvi. [79] *M.*, *Śānti*, lxxxvii [80] *M.*, *Śānti*, lxxxv.

in the innermost counsel of the King, but his functions too were advisory, to warn but not to command.[31] Besides the Cabinet just mentioned, there was a larger *sābhā*, the members of which had to be modest, truthful, straightforward, possessed of self-control and who were, above all, good speakers.[32] But all these various parts of the structure were as loose stones laid one above or by the side of the other without any cement. This last was supplied by the personality of the King, who set them working and co-ordinated their efforts, and who kept constant watch upon them by personal vigilance or through spies, for a King might not trust implicitly even his own son,[33] not to speak of Ministers. The King, in short, was an unconstitutional sovereign and the instrument of his rule a highly centralised bureaucracy.[34]

No trace of self-government in the Indo-Aryan State.

Neither the *Rāmāyaṇa* nor the *Mahābhārata* discloses the existence of a single institution possessing an appreciable measure of autonomy or self-rule. That of course does not prove that gilds and other associations did not exist in Aryan India. But the evidence furnished by the Epics militates against any assumption that such associations, if any existed, had the slightest influence on the determinations of the King in the domain of politics.[35] To protect the subjects from thieves,

[31] *M.*, *Sānti*, lxxvii, lxxxiii. [32] *M.*, *Sānti*, lxxxiii.

[33] *M.*, *Sānti*, xxxv. 33; lxix. 8-9.

[34] As in the case of *Varṇāśrama-dharma*, what is stated in the *Mahābhārata* of *Rājadharma* is to a large extent made up of the commonplaces of the *Saṁhitās* (see footnote 41 above). But here again the account of the *Mahābhārata* is more concrete and therefore more suitable for historical treatment than the compilation of abstract propositions in the *Saṁhitās*.

[35] *Gilds and Associations in India.* There are in the *Mahābhārata* casual references to *sreṇies* and *gaṇas* which have been sought to be identified with "gilds" and "local corporations." They no doubt were associations of men within the Indo-Aryan State, but the importance assigned in the same passages to *sreṇimukhyas* and *gaṇamukhyas* leads one to suspect that these associations themselves were monarchically or at least aristocratically organised, and were not "communities" in the proper sense. The tendency all the world over and at all times has been for the State-organisation to reproduce itself in the smaller associations, and Aryan India could hardly have been an exception to this rule. The Indo-Aryan government, from the evidence furnished by the Epics, the *Dharmaśāstras* and the *Dharma-saṁhitās*, appears to have been a centralised monarchy. This form of government is however hardly anywhere the earliest form of government to be met with in any politically organised community. It seems invariably to have been preceded by scattered self-governing tribal associations grouped round chiefs who led more than they governed. As in other parts of the world, the Indo-Aryan mon-

cheats and robbers within his jurisdiction and to assess the taxes payable by traders and craftsmen after careful computation of their incomes and outgoings, their working expenses and the requirements of themselves and their families were amongst the bounden duties of the King. The King was advised to recover taxes from the subjects in a variety of ways, but so as not to exhaust them.[36] The King must not kill the goose that laid the golden eggs, and therefore had to see that the Vaiśyas came to no harm. "It should not be difficult", says the *Mahābhārata*, "to please the Vaiśyas, and nothing is more praiseworthy."[37] The share of the subjects' wealth which a King could take as taxes was fixed by law, "but it was no sin when the treasury was empty to take money from them unlawfully and oppressively;" and the sin thereby incurred was capable of expiation after the stress was over.[38] In normal times, however, the King was counselled to draw his revenues from his subjects "after the manner of the leech, unperceived".[39]

archy imposed itself in the first instance upon tribal groups so constituted, and its general tendency, here as elsewhere, was no doubt to progressively displace the self-rule of the original tribal organisations. But this tendency does not appear to have been pushed in Hindu-India to its extreme logical limits—to the destruction, namely, of all self-existing associations—a result which was successfully attained in the later stages of the Roman Empire and in the post-Feudal Monarchies of Continental Europe. So far from this being the case, within the limits imposed by the *Varnāśrama-dharma*, Indo-Aryan polity appears to have been one of great tolerance and almost absolute *laissez faire*. Having regard to the heterogeneous materials upon which it had to work, the *Varnāśrama-dharma* would have been still-born if it had not known how to let a great many things well alone. Gilds and associations, governed in their internal relations by customary rules emanating from within themselves, thus survived and were tolerated but only because and in so far as they did not interfere with *Varṇāśrama-dharma*. It would, in this view, be a great mistake to regard these gilds and associations as parts of the *Varṇāśrama* polity and as being organically connected with it. They lived on, in fact, where they did, in spite of *Varṇāśrama-dharma* and not on account of it. In later ages, in India as in other countries, these and other associations amongst the people sprang into fresh life or declined in proportion as the central authority was contracted or expanded. The problem of reconciling local autonomy with central control is indeed a very modern one, and still awaits satisfactory solution.

I ought to add here that having examined ch. cvii of the *Śāntiparva* of this *Mahābhārata* from every possible point of view, I am still unable to discover any trace of republican institutions in any of its verses or in all of them taken together.

[36] *M.*, *Śānti*, lxxxvii. 12–16.

[37] *M.*, *Śānti*, lxxxvii. 40.

[38] *M.*, *Śānti*, cxxx. 12–17, 26.

[39] *M.*, *Śānti*, lxxxviii. 5–8.

Relation between the King and his subjects was personal.

It was, on the other hand, the duty of the subjects to give their all into the treasury to save the king. This was because, it was said, the King's power rested on his treasury, upon the King's power depended *dharma*, and if *dharma* was not maintained, there would be anarchy and the subjects would be ruined.[90] It was equally unwise for the Rājā to be oppressive without necessity. The King who so acted acquired ill-fame in this life and was damned in the next. On the other hand, if the King was a respecter of persons, bountiful and courteous, men would come to regard his misfortunes as their own, and would risk their lives to repel them.[91] Apart therefore from the religious sanction, the foundation of righteous conduct on the part of the King and of loyalty on the part of the subjects was enlightened self-interest.

One need not be surprised therefore at the exaggerated importance attached in the Epics to the penal sanction (*daṇḍa*) in the maintenance of *dharma* and the occasional glorification of royal power (*bala*), it being placed even above *dharma*. "If", says Bhīṣma, "*daṇḍa* had not flourished in this world, people would have oppressed each other. It is through being protected by *daṇḍa*, that the subjects exalt the King, therefore *daṇḍa* is superior to all. It is *daṇḍa* which makes men pursue the path of virtue. It is *daṇḍa* which incarnated as Kṣatriya and remaining ever wakeful preserves the subjects".[92] *Bala* is superior even to *dharma*, for *dharma* rests on *bala*.[93]

The King not a national King and his subjects not a nation.

The relation between the King and his subjects was thus entirely personal. The King was not a national King and his subjects were not a nation. They were merely so many Brāhmaṇas Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, Śūdras and others living within the jurisdiction (*adhikāra*) of this or that King. A King could stake his kingdom (even as he could himself, his brothers and his wife) on the issue of a game of dice. Whether it was Yudhiṣṭhira or Duryodhana who won, what did it matter to the subjects, if the treatment they received from either was the same? On the eve of Dhṛtarāṣṭra's retirement into the forest, the

[90] *M.*, *Śānti*, cxxx. 31–35.
[91] *M.*, *Śānti*, xcii. 16–17.
[92] *M.*, *Śānti*, cxxi, 34–40.
[93] *M.*, *Śānti*, cxxxiv. 6.

assembled subjects declared: "Your son, Mahārājā Duryodhana, had looked after the kingdom in the same manner as in former times did Mahārajā Śāntanu, your father Vicitravīrya and Mahātmā Pāṇḍu. We suffered not the slightest harm from Duryodhana."[94] As to Duryodhana having dealt unfairly towards his cousins and grossly maltreated their wife and his being the cause of the destruction of his kindred and other warriors and the exhaustion of the royal treasure in an iniquitous war, that was not *their* concern.

Indo-Aryan society of the Epics, like modern society atomistic and individualistic and in the bulk materialistic.

Society in its composition was, so far as the Epics show, atomistic and thoroughly individualistic (in the sense of being self-interested). There is, as I have already said no trace in the Epics of a communal life of any sort having any influence on the methods of government. The Brāhmaṇas, really so called, each looked forward to attaining his own personal salvation without being in other people's way. Even the *āśramas* of the Ṛṣis were organised on monarchic lines.[95] The Kṣatriyas, like the "comitatus" of Germanic chiefs, were the servants of the King, apt like them, unless carefully handled to get out of hand, but constituting in essence, for all that, the personal retinue of the King.[96] The Vaiśyas were human cattle (the metaphor is not mine) who were to be treated with kindness and consideration on account of the sustenance that could, with a certain amount of tact, be extracted out of

[94] *M.*, *Āśvame.*, x. 19-20.

[95] *R.*, *Ayodh.*, cxvi. 4.

[96] *M.*, *Śānti*, cvii. I have excluded from my consideration the *Harivaṁśa* which I do not think can be regarded as an integral part of the *Mahābhārata* or even contemporaneous with it. I consider it, however, only right to state here that the description of Indo-Aryan polity given above may not apply in all particulars to the Yādava league which appears, at the time of the Kurukṣetra war, to have grown out of the coalescence of a number of independent fighting clans thrown together by pressure of external aggression and welded into one at this period by the genius of Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa himself appears to have fully appreciated the inherent weakness of the Yādava league and preferred to it the benevolent autocracies of the Middle East, and was mainly instrumental in establishing the hegemony of Yudhiṣṭhira. Before the *Rājasūya* of Yudhiṣṭhira, he secured the willing submission of the Yādavas to Yudhiṣhṭhira (*M.*, *Sabhā*, xxxii). See in this connection *Śānti*, lxxxi, which is extremely instructive. It is worthy of note that according to the *Mahābhāratā* (*Śānti*, cccxxxix. 99-101) and the *Purāṇas*, the destruction of the Kṣatryas at Kurukṣetra and of the Yādavas at Dvārakā was deliberately procured by Kṛṣṇa, for the relief, of an oppressed world. Why? Was it for the establishment of a monarchy after his own heart?

them.[97] The revenue they paid was *quid pro quo* for the protection they enjoyed. The Śūdra was hardly any better than a slave, though if he was virtuous he was to be respected, and was to be treated with kindness and consideration in any case.[98] But as previously stated, he must not accumulate wealth, lest, as the *Mahābhārata* is careful to explain, he might through it obtain ascendancy over members of the superior orders.[99] Whatever surplus out of his earnings remained after meeting the necessary charges of maintaining his family went to his master.[100] In a society so constituted, patriotism must have been a sentiment unknown to King and subjects alike. There could be no principle of life and growth within such a society. It was not an organism. It worked, as all bureaucratic machines must work, by impulse imparted to it from without.[101] This is one of the secrets of the striking "modernity," of the characters of the great Epics (as compared, for instance, with those of Homer), notwithstanding the seemingly archaic back-ground against which they move. Modern society too is atomistic and individualistic, and until very recently, the only conceivable bond which could keep the social fabric from dissolution into its component monads was the power of the King or of a class which had possessed itself of that power. Society has no doubt in recent times begun dreaming of a new communal life which it fondly names "democracy"—a word borrowed from the political philosophy of the Greeks, amongst whom it appears to have been something more than a dream. Some modern nations have even persuaded themselves that by the special favour of Providence or owing to the native genius of their race, "democracy" with them is, and for long centuries has been, a reality, so that democracy is for them only, whilst autocratic governance is the eternally ordained destiny of the rest of mankind. But this, it is easy to demonstrate, is a grotesque illusion. The modern man has obtained a completer mastery, based on knowledge, over the forces of nature, and is without doubt less superstitious, if at the same time

[97] *M.*, *Śānti*, lxxi. 16-17; lxxxiv.

[98] *M.*, *Śānti*, ccxciii, ccxcvi.

[99] *M.*, *Śānti*, lx., 30. Cf. *Manu*, x. 129.

[100] *M.*, *Śānti*, lx. 36-37.

[101] I wish it to be distinctly understood that I am here stating a fact and not passing a moral judgment. The *Varṇāśrama* polity, I say, was not a community, but a school, almost a laboratory to manufacture citizens of the right kinds, according to a number of patterns, but all parts of a well-conceived scheme, thought out *ab extra* by men who were *in* it, but not *of* it. As a school it was, as I show later on (notwithstanding serious drawbacks), in several respects, a great success. See note 108 below.

more supercilious. But he is by no means as yet a better man individually or in association than the Indo-Aryan.

But Indo-Aryan culture more human than the modern.

But society in the days of the Great Epics was unquestionably inspired by a larger humanitarianism than is to be met with in the modern world. No animal was to be killed except as offering to the Gods, and to the Kṣatriyas only (who, by the way, were great meat-aters) was grudgingly conceded the privilege of killing animals by way of sport and eating undedicated meat.[102] But even the Gods, it was frequently stated, preferred vegetable to animal sacrifice,[103] and Vedic texts enjoining the sacrifice of animals (*aja* or goat) were sought to be explained by tricks of fanciful etymology as really meaning not sacrifice of animals but of plants.[104] *Mṛgayā* (hunting) is repeatedly reprobated in the *Mahābhārata* (never in the *Rāmāyaṇa*). The cow, in particular, was made immune by being raised to the rank of a divinity and *ahiṁsā* and *anṛśaṃsatā* towards men and animals alike were inculcated in all sorts of contexts and in all varieties of languages.[105] Not to speak of the *Gītā*,[106] the modern man, whatever his station in life, can extract from the Epics, whole codes of injunctions for regulating his daily acts and thoughts and be all the better for such regulation, and Western civilization has yet to evolve a scheme for ordering individual lives at all approaching in intrinsic grandeur that of the four *āśramas*, with its "series of gradually intensifying ascetic stages through which a man more and more purified from all earthly attachment should become fitted for his 'home.'" There is much in the Epics that is childish, even grotesque, but these sink into insignificance by the side of the vast mass of precepts of benevolence, kindliness and forbearance, which must have been an integral part of the life of the population towards the end of the epoch.[107]

102 *M.*, *Anuśā.*, cxvi, 14–19.

103 *M.*, *Śānti*, cclxiv, cccxxxvi, 11–12.

104 *M.*, *Śānti*, cccxxxvii, 3–4.

105 *M.*, *Anuśā.*, lxxviii-lxxxiii; cxii-cxiv.

106 I cannot, I confess, regard the *Gītā* nor even a great deal of the *Śānti* and *Anuśāsana Parvas*, as integral portions of the *Mahābhārata*, though all these must have been written before the Buddhistic upheaval and must represent a later period of the age of the Epics.

107 The almost universally prevalent belief, previously alluded to, that the mode of one's life in any particular existence was determined by merits and demerits acquired in previous incarnations must have operated as a powerful incentive to habitual right con-

The "Good Life" of the age of the Epics due to Brāhmanic discipline imposed from without.

But, as I have said, the "good life," of which the Epics furnish such abundant evidence, did not evolve in this society from within. It was imparted from outside. What was the external impetus that brought it into being? It was from first to last Brāhmanic culture or rather Brahmanic discipline. There were, as I have said before, numerous small States, but the culture that dominated them was one. How it originated and how it spread until it covered the whole continent from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and even passed beyond must, if all its secrets should ever be unfolded, form a highly instructive and engrossing chapter of human history.[109]

The *Varṇāśrama-dharma* which was of the essence of this culture appears, in the longer perspective from which we are able to view

duct and patient endurance under trying misfortunes. See Deussen, *Philosophy of the Upanishads*, pp. 314, and 367.

[109] I have in the body of the article refrained from speculating on the origin of the *Varṇāśrama-dharma*. It had, of course, according to the *Mahābhārata*, a divine origin. If to-day we must refuse to accept this explanation as conclusive of the question, we can with still less justification assume it to be the deliberate invention of a scheming individual or class. Its basic elements must, to my mind, have developed before the division of the people into a hierarchy of castes could have proceeded very far. The beginning of *Varṇāśrama-dharma* is to be sought in a form of polity which grew up naturally amongst the Aryan invaders, at that time consisting of tribes of warriors amongst whom certain priestly families enjoyed a sort of pre-eminence not on the ground of birth and colour, but because they were specially conversant with the sacred hymns and rituals which, according to a belief shared by all primitive people, were of prime importance in securing the health and well-being of the community in all its relations, natural as well as supra-natural. It is clear from the Vedic literature itself, that the ideas which formed the ground-work of Indo-Aryan polity and philosophy developed within a number of priestly schools amongst whom, however, there was a constant interchange of thoughts and marked agreement in fundamentals, due in the main no doubt to the possession of a common scripture. The task of organising Indo Aryan society in consonance with traditional ideas and beliefs thus fell early into the hands of associated bodies of leisured experts. The necessity of incorporating the Vaiśyas and Śudras into the Indo-Aryan polity must have put the political capacity of these experts to the severest strain. But they apparently rose equal to the task. But the resulting polity, in view of its heterogeneous composition and the complex political, social and economic environment in which it came to be placed, could not but be artificial. This artificial character of Indo Aryan polity grew with the growth in complexity of the society, until a point was reached when breakdown was inevitable from want of real adjustment. See also footnote 153 below. As to the probable origin of castes, see footnote 164, below.

it to-day, narrow, rigid, selfish and bigoted. It is certainly out of date in these days of rapid communication and unrestricted international competition.

It tamed the Kṣatriyas.

But that in its time it was a great civilising agency, it would be folly to doubt or deny. It tamed the turbulent, fighting, meat-eating, wine-drinking Kṣatriya and converted him from being the natural enemy into the willing and effective instrument of a civilisation which made for humanity as no civilisation originating in Europe ever succeeded in doing in the same degree. The Brāhmaṇas succeeded in India where the Church apparently failed in Europe.

Secret of Brāhmaṇa ascendency over Kṣatriyas.

The *Varṇāśrama-dharma* could succeed only by maintaining Brāhmaṇa ascendency. This ascendency, so far as the Kṣatriyas were concerned, was maintained not by force, nor entirely by fraud, but in the main by force of example, aided no doubt by an abundant employment of the psychology of advertisement, the value of which the Brāhmaṇa thoroughly understood. The Epics never tire of preaching the superiority and divinity of the Brāhmaṇas. They take rank with the cow above the lesser gods.[109] The Brāhmaṇas were specially favoured by the law. But the legal and social privileges of the Brāhmaṇa were purchased in the main by unparalleled self-abnegation in regard to things material. He had to condemn himself to perpetual poverty and mendicancy, in order to conquer the high intellectual and moral pedestal from which he ruled and which the other *Vārṇas* appear on the whole to have willingly conceded to him.[110]

Brāhmanic culture originally a proselytising culture, and Ṛṣis advance guards of this culture in Non-Aryan land.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* furnishes interesting evidence of the proselytising methods of the Brahmana, for Brahmanic culture in the beginning was

[109] *M., Anuśā.*, cli–cliii.

[110] It is not necessary to subscribe to all the charges levelled against Brahmanism by the sceptical school of *Cārvāka*, for the view that a certain element of charlatanism went to make up the practices by means of which the Brāhmaṇas made good their position as authorised intermediaries between the gods and men. It is obvious however that this position could not be maintained for any length of time by charlatanism alone; and the holiness of the Brāhmaṇas in the age of the Epics was, as a whole, far from assumed.

unquestionably a proselytising culture. The Aryan States were surrounded by a belt of forests inhabited by man-eating *rākṣasas*. It is to these forests that the Ṛṣis chose to betake themselves for completing the final stages of their penances. Naturally they interfered with the aboriginal denizens of the forests and the latter interfered with them. Complaints of maltreatment were duly conveyed to the Rājā, whose bounden duty it was to secure the safety of the Brāhmaṇa hermits. This ended in the clearing of the jungles of the savages and a progressive enlargement of the Aryan "pale." Those of the aborigines who acquiesced in the new regime became *Niṣādas* and *Cāṇḍālas* and were thus absorbed within the folds of Aryanism, though no doubt they were assigned a very low place in the *Varṇāśrama* scheme.[111]

Brahmanic culture one, though States many. Unity maintained by travelling Ṛṣis and universally resorted to tīrthasthānas.

It was the Ṛṣis too who carried about and kept alive Brāhmaṇic culture within the "pale," irrespective of political boundaries. The whole Aryan land was studded over with *tīrthasthānas* (places of pilgrimage), and travelling from *tīrtha* to *tīrtha*, visiting Kings on the way and holding religious conferences with learned men of their courts, were parts of the preparation of the *tāpas* on the way to *mokṣa*.[112] The Ṛṣis in fact did not belong to any particular State; they were honoured and respected by all, and received visits from all parts of the country and from all classes of people. All denominations of men were encouraged to visit the *tīrthasthānas*, whereby, they were assured, they could cast off their burdens of accumulated sins, and acquire religious merit of great efficacy more easily and expeditiously than by *dharma* and *prāyaścitta* laboriously performed at home.[113]

Varṇāśrama-dharma, essence of this culture.

It was thus that unity of culture was maintained, notwithstanding the innumerable fragments into which the land and society were politically divided. As will be presently seen, the relations between King and King were invariably the reverse of friendly. But each King in his place, thirsting eternally to conquer, and if possible exterminate

[111] *R., Ādi*, xix; *Araṇya*, i and vi.
[112] *M., Śānti*, cccxx, cccxxv.
[113] *M., Anuśā.*, xxv; *Vana*, lxxxii–xc.

his neighbours or win Indraloka by death on the battlefield,[114] was still an instrument of the self-same culture represented by the *Varṇāśrama-dharma*.

Indo-Aryan Imperialism.

That this unity of culture should often seek to embody itself in a Universal State is what might be expected. To extend his hegemony over the Aryan world was the goal of ambition of every powerful King, and its establishment was signalised by the performance of the *Rājasūya* or the *Aśwamedha Yajña*.

Bhāratavarṣa of the Epics compared to Italy in the Middle Ages. Indian Nītiśāstras comparable with Machiavelli's Prince, but superior to it.

The nearest historical parallel to the inter-State relations of Kings to Kings in Epic India that occurs to me is that found in the Italy of Machiavelli; and it is no mere coincidence that in the *Śāntiparva* of the *Mahābhārata*, there should be precepts addressed to Princes which for worldly wisdom and cynicism would cast entirely into the shade the whole body of doctrines lovingly garnered by the shrewdly observant Florentine in his *Prince*. A Prince owed no sort of obligation to his brother Princes, for to him every one of his neighbours was a potential enemy.[115] A Prince therefore, whenever he felt himself to be sufficiently powerful, must try by stratagem if possible (and failing stratagem, by force) to appropriate the land and the treasure of his neighbour. To rob a neighbouring Prince of his treasure, so far from being regarded as a sin, was a specially commended Kṣatriya virtue.[116] To his neighbour's subjects, the King was advised to say: "Let me be your King; I shall protect you most effectively and you in return shall pay me taxes and swear allegiance to me." If they submitted, well and good; if not, they had to be subdued by force.[117] There were of course certain rules of the game to be observed even by Kings towards Kings,[118] but they need never have placed serious obstacles in the way of a powerful Prince straining after suzerainty. "Let him be kind *after* conquest. All sins incurred in conquest are atoned for by righteous

114 *M.*, *Śānti*, xcvii.

115 *M.*, *Śānti*, lxv. 4; lxix. 19–29.

116 *M.*, *Śānti*, xciv. 6; xcvi. 20.

117 *M.*, *Śānti*, xcv. 2–3.

118 *M.*, *Śānti*, xcv. 13–23.

governance after conquest."[119] "Forswearing anger, desire and pride, the King shall hourly seek out the weak points of the enemy."[120] "As a fowler decoys birds to death by imitating their notes, so too shall the King appearing to his enemy as his well-wisher circumvent his subjugation or destruction."[121] "When the enemies are numerous it is not safe to attack them all at once. You must avoid doing that even when you have the power. But according to circumstances, by means of treaty (*sāma*), subsidy (*dāna*), intrigue (*bheda*), or force (*daṇḍa*), subdue them in detail, and then fall upon the few remaining with all your might."[122] One of the most effective methods of weakening an enemy Prince is to deplete his treasury; therefore "encourage him to spend money in expensive *yajñas* by which means you weaken him and please the Brāhmaṇas"[123]—two birds killed with one stone. "Of three things let no residue be left: debt, fire and enemy."[124] "When you feel disposed to strike another let the castigation be always accompanied by kind words."[125] "It is a wise man's part to shed tears and express sorrow even when you proceed to cut off a man's head."[126] "The King should always raise hopes in the hearts of suitors by promises, but repeatedly put off their fulfilment, always however taking care to cite cogent reasons therefor."[127] "The wise man should be far-seeing as a vulture, immovable as a crane, wide-awake as a dog, fierce as a lion and sharp-witted as a crow."[128] "Try by every means to make others trust you, but never put your trust in others."[129] "Be firm or pliant according to circumstance, for often pliancy will succeed where firmness will fail."[130] It will indeed be no exaggeration to say that from the *Śāntiparva* alone it may be possible to compile a text-book for rulers, twice as substantial as Machiavelli's *Prince* and as many times more full of cynical wisdom.

The reason of this superiority is that what appears in the *Prince* as the observations of a single person had time to develop into a science in Epic India. The condition of things which gives birth to this kind of literature had lasted for such a long time in Ancient

119 *M.*, *Śānti*, xcvii. 4-9.
120 *M.*, *Śānti*, ciii. 23.
121 *M.*, *Śānti*, ciii. 10-11.
122 *M.*, *Śānti*, ciii. 36-39.
123 *M.*, *Śānti*, ciii. 18-20.
124 *M.*, *Śānti*, cxl. 58.
125 *M.*, *Śānti*, cxl. 54.
126 *M.*, *Śānti*, cii. 34.
127 *M.*, *Śānti*, cxl. 32.
128 *M.*, *Śānti*, cxl. 62.
129 *M.*, *Śānti*, cxxxviii. 195.
130 *M.*, *Śānti*, cxl. 55-56.

India, that it was possible to develop and systematise the ideas gathered by different observers into a science. The account of the origin of *Nītiśāstra* given in the 59th chapter of the *Śāntiparva* is, of course, mythical, but it at least demonstrates that the science took a long time to develop and was also developed with care; and because it was developed in schools and not in the brains of an individual politician, much the larger portion of the Indo-Aryan *Nītiśāstra* bears but little resemblance to what may be found in the *Prince*, being unlike it inspired often by the loftiest moral idealism.

Weak point of Indo-Aryan Imperialism. It aimed at Feudal suzerainty rather than empire.

It appears thus that extension of territory and power by fair means or otherwise was enjoined upon every Prince. But the circumstances of the times did not favour the growth and consolidation of territorial empires in the modern sense, and the invariable issue of imperialistic ambition in an Indo-Aryan Prince was the conversion of all but his closest neighbours into feudal tributaries, and that only for the time being. Conquering Princes were indeed advised wherever practicable to establish the son or other heir of an enemy who had been vanquished and killed on the vacant throne as a tributary.[131] This, indeed, was the weak point of pre-Buddhistic Aryan imperialism. The hegemony of which every ambitious Aryan King dreamed and which he ruthlessly pursued was necessarily short-lived.[132]

Imperial significance of the Rājasūya yajña.

The attainment of hegemony was signalised, as already indicated by the institution of the appropriate *yajña*. It was the world-con-

[131] Thus after Kurukṣetra Vedavyāsa tells Yudhiṣṭhira, "Now by the strength of your arms, you after vanquishing your enemies have, like Indra, become undisputed master of the Earth and the Oceans. Therefore, visit the countries of the rulers who have fallen in battle and give their brothers, sons and grandsons their respective kingdoms, preserve their issue if still in the womb, and by pleasing the subjects betake to governing the world according to *dharma*. Give the kingdoms of those who have left no sons to their daughters. Women are by nature fond of enjoying the good things of this world. Therefore, once they are established in the possession of Royal estate, they will give up sorrowing." (*Śānti*, xxviii. 42–45.)

[132] The fact that the conquered rulers or in case they were killed their family were not dispossessed, explains the readiness with which weaker princes made their submission to the more powerful. It also explains why these campaigns of so-called

queror alone who would be justified in instituting the *Rājasūya*. "He who is the worshipped of all and is the lord of the Earth, he alone is fit to perform *Rājasūya*."[153]

The Rājasūya of Yudhiṣṭhira.

Yudhiṣṭhira, after he had consolidated his rule at Indraprastha, being advised to perform this *yajña*, took counsel with Kṛṣṇa who pointed out to him that King Jarāsandha of Magadha having subdued all rivals had established himself as the sole ruler of an undivided world. Many Kings, amongst them that powerful King of the Yavanas, Bhagadatta, had accepted him as suzerain. His own people, powerful though they were, had fled their kingdom in Northern India and betaken themselves to Dvārāvatī on the sea coast, which they had found it prudent so to fortify that even women could fight from behind the ramparts. He warned him that so long as Jarāsandha was alive, it was impossible for Yudhiṣṭhira to perform this *yajña*.[154] Jarāsandha had first to be removed, and removed he was, partly by stratagem, and his son established on his throne as a tributary King. But even then Yudhiṣṭhira did not feel justified in undertaking this *yajña*. His four brothers led out armies in all directions, Arjuna to the north, Bhīma to the east, Sahadeva to the south and Nakula to the west, and the Kings all round were made to submit by force or persuasion, the conditions including attendance by the Kings with rich presents at the *yajña*.[155] Not all kings, it appears, responded to the appeal of force only. As is well-known, this *yajña* of Yudhiṣṭhira did not pass off very smoothly. Śiśupāla fell out with Kṛṣṇa, greatly resenting the special honour paid to the latter, and declared: "We did not pay tribute to Kaunteya from fear or avarice, nor were we induced to do so by cajolery. It was because we found him intent upon practising *dharma* and well-versed in imperial governance that we became his tributaries. But he has failed to do us suitable honour."[156] These *yajñas* on a large scale, like the Olympic games of Greece, provided unique opportunities for the gathering together of all the leading Kṣatriyas and Brāhmaṇas of Āryāvarta. But it did create

conquest (*digvijaya*), unless complicated by a family feud, seldom took on the character of a fight to the finish.

153 *M.*, *Sabhā*, xiii. 47.

154 *M.*, *Sabhā*, xiv.

155 *M.*, *Sabhā*, xxi-xxxii.

156 *M.*, *Sabhā*, xxxvii. 19-20.

bad blood among the more powerful.[137] When Rāma confided to his brothers his plan of holding this *yajña*, the kind-hearted ascetic prince Bharata dissuaded him because it would provoke feelings of enmity and the desire to conquer amongst the powerful Princes of the world, which would inevitably end in a cruel war of extermination. So although Rāma's superiority over the other Kings was unquestioned, let him, he advised, rather perform the humaner Aśvamedha and save the world from the evils of war. Rāma accepted Bharata's suggestion.[138] It is clear from the *Mahābhārata* itself that when Yudhiṣṭhira lost his empire to Duryodhana over a game of dice, though he was advised that it would be quite in accordance with Kṣatriya *dharma* to re-conquer what he had lost by force of arms, he desisted from trying issues immediately for one reason, amongst others, that there was so much soreness of feeling left in the minds of Kings by the *Rājasūya*, that it would be difficult for Yudhiṣṭhira to collect a sufficient following, and the very much larger army which Duryodhana was able to gather round him at Kurukṣetra was as much owing to his superior diplomacy and tact as to the legacy of jealousy and hatred left by the *Rājasūya* in the hands of its designers.[139] The experiment was not repeated after the Kurukṣetra though the issue of the battle was more decisive than the campaigns of conquest which preceded the *Rājasūya*. Yudhiṣṭhira performed the milder *Aśvamedha*, the ostensible object of which was to rid the king of his sins. Yet as the principal part of the ceremony consisted in a challenge that the King through whose territory the sacrificial horse passed must either give it and its escort free passage or be forced by battle to do so, the issue in either case being his acceptance of an invitation to

137 *M.*, *Sabhā*, xii. 30.

138 *R.*, *Uttara*, xcvi.

139 *M.*, *Vana*, xxxvi. The *Vaiṣṇava-yajña* of Duryodhana. After the banishment of the Pāṇḍavas following on Yudhiṣṭhira's unlucky game of dice with Śakuni, Karṇa, in order to emulate the victories of the Pāṇḍavas, undertook by himself to secure the submission of the world to Duryodhana. His plan of conquest having been attended with complete success, Duryodhana mooted the idea of holding a *Rājasūya yajña*, but was persuaded instead to perform the *Vaiṣṇava-yajña*. "Let the kings who have become your tributaries," Duryodhana was told, "persuade you, out of gold given by them, to fashion a golden plough and give you leave to drive it across the *yajña* field, and a great *yajña* attended by the distribution of immense quantities of eatables be performed thereon." "This *yajña*," he was assured "was equal to the *Rājasūya*." *M.*, *Vana*, ccliv.

attend at the ceremony of sacrifice, it was indirectly symbolical also of acceptance of vassalage.[140]

Use of the Imperialistic idea by Rāma to justify the killing of Bāli.

An instructive reference to this Indo-Aryan version of Imperialism will be found in Rāma's elaborate defence of his assassination of Bāli. If the killing of the Śūdra *tāpasa* Śambuka, described in the *Uttara-kāṇḍa*, be left out of account on the ground of its being an ill-executed graft upon the main story, the removal by Rāma of Bāli is about the darkest blot on his otherwise beautiful character, for his somewhat belated abandonment of Sītā might admit of arguments both favourable and unfavourable, regard being had to the position a King in his age had to maintain in the eyes of his subjects. When Rāma approaches the fallen warrior, Bāli addresses him words which in point of logic appear to be absolutely crushing. "I knew you to be a virtuous prince. But you have proved yourself to be one of those who practise virtue in public in order the better to be able to commit crimes in secret. You never suffered any indignity at my hand, and I have committed no offence in your kingdom or city. The jungles that are my possession could not have excited your cupidity, because they contain neither cultivated fields, nor gold, nor silver. By killing me and thereby establishing friendship with Sugrīva, you hoped to secure an ally who would help you to recover Sītā. But even there you acted foolishly in not seeking rather my alliance. Had you asked me, I could have brought Sītā from the uttermost ends of the earth and Rāvaṇa himself into the bargain alive and with a halter round his neck." The argument of Bāli would have silenced any one but an Imperialist. But Rāma for the nonce was an Imperialist. "The mountains, the woods and the forests," said the Prince grandiloquently, "and in fact the whole earth are within the peace (*adhikāra*) of the Īkṣvāku Kings. They are entitled to punish or do favour to men, beasts and birds of all places. The truth-loving, straight-forward and virtuous Bharata is the Imperial Master of this earth. Nobody in his *adhikāra* can with impunity violate the *dharma*. I and other Princes are going about the world under his orders for the purpose of spreading *dharma* (*dharma-santana*). Under the directions of our Imperial Master and remaining ourselves in the path of *dharma*, we punish those who violate the regulations of *dharma*

140 *M.*, *Aśvame.*, lxxii–lxxxviii.

according to law. You are not fulfilling the *dharma* of a King, therefore you deserve punishment. I found you guilty of a capital crime, viz: seduction of your younger brother's wife; and I have passed on you the capital sentence according to law. Your sin would have been mine if, knowing your guilt, I, instead of executing on you the proper sentence, had condoned your offence." It, of course, did not matter—it hardly ever does—that according to their own law—non-Aryan law—seduction of a younger brother's wife might not have been a capital crime. The "White man" had his "burden" even in the Tretāyuga. Moreover one does not assassinate a culprit in order to punish him. But the Imperialist was not to be silenced by such a plea. Do Kings kill game after notice? And Bāli, a monkey, was good enough game for a Kṣatriya Prince. Says the poet: "When Rāma had said this, Bāli who was well-versed in the mysteries of *dharma* was overcome by contrition and held his tongue."[141] But this elaborate sophistry failed to convince future generations, as is testified by, amongst others, Arjuna who was at least equally well-grounded in the knowledge of *dharma*.[142]

Enemies of the Brahmaṇa culture within the gate.

I have suggested before that the Ṛṣis retiring into forests constituted the advance guard of Indo-Aryan culture, much as the Christian missionaries in recent times have acted as the advance guards of European culture. The arms of the Kṣatriya followed to complete the Aryanisation. Some of the Kṣatriyas apparently entered into the spirit of the game more thoroughly than others, but some did not prove altogether tractable. Traditions of by-gone wars of extermination, between Kṣatriyas and Brāhmaṇas, reverberate through the Epics.[143] Brāhmaṇa culture called for willing Kṣatriya champions to crush enemies within the gate as well as without, even in the age of the *Mahābhārata*, when surviving all shocks, it appears to have finally established itself as the last word in Indo-Aryan culture.

Kṛṣṇa the champion of Brāhmaṇa culture in the Mahābhārata.

The great champion of Brahmanic culture in the *Mahābhārata* is not Yudhiṣṭhira or any of the other Pāṇḍavas, but Kṛṣṇa. Duryo-

141 *R.*, *Kiṣki.*, xvii—xviii. 142 *M.*, *Droṇa*, cxcv. 35.

143 *M.*, *S'ānti*, xlix; *Aśvame.*, xxix; *Anuśā.*, cliii; *S'ānti*, lxix. 93—94, *Hariv.*, v.

dhana (whose rule, as we have already seen, was according to the testimony of the people themselves as benevolent as that of Śāntanu himself) coquetted with the Rākṣasa Ṛṣi Cārvāka [144] and had numerous Rākṣasa and Mleccha friends who came and loyally fought for him on the field of Kurukṣetra.[145] Duryodhana having done all this and raised a Sūta's son to the peerage [146] appears to have run counter to the ultimate purposes of Brahmanic culture, though otherwise the methods of his government did not differ materially from those of Yudhiṣṭhira.[147] The poet does indeed try to make out that Duryodhana and his brothers were incarnations of the Asuras, just as the Pāṇḍavas are in the same way sought to be made out as incarnations of the Gods. As a theological effort, this attempt to convert the battle of the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas into one between the Gods and the Demons [148] seems to me to possess but little worth, for many reputed incarnations of the Gods are found arrayed on Duryodhana's side, Karṇa, Bhīṣma and others, and Vikarṇa, a brother of Duryodhana and a leading Dhārtarāshṭra, was unquestionably the *preux chevalier* of the joust.[149]

Historical interpretation of the war of Kurukṣetra.

But the attempt is not wholly without a meaning. Kṛṣṇa favoured Yudhiṣṭhira apparently because he appeared to him to be the one Prince who by inclination and training and also by reason of his unparalleled moral prestige was best fitted to win the Empire and establish the *Varṇāśrama-dharma* on a secure imperialistic footing. The large influx of barbarians and their absolute prevalence in some places which had been brought into intimate political relationship with the Indo-Aryan States (as for instance Prāgjyotiṣa and Kāmboja) constituted a serious menace to the *Varṇāśrama-dharma*, particularly as there were Princes who (from our modern point of view, not unreasonably) seemed inclined to compromise with these anti-Aryan forces. No one saw through the game which was being played on the arena of Bhāratavarṣa more clearly than Kṛṣṇa and, so far as he himself was concerned, he played his part in it with consummate skill. This champion of Brahmanism was himself always able to rise superior to the narrow injunctions of Brāhmaṇa morality whenever the larger interests of

[144] *M.*, *S'ānti*, xxxviii.
[145] *M.*, *Udyoga*, xix, cxcvii.
[146] *M.*, *Ādi*, cxxxvi.
[147] *M.*, *Vana*, cclvi. 27—28.
[148] *M.*, *Ādi*, lxiv—lxvii.
[149] *M.*, *Sabhā*, lxviii.

Brahmanism as an institution seemed to be in danger. He fought his enemies where necessary with their own weapons of circumvention and deceit. Too narrowly examined, his methods often seem dangerously near justifying the means by the end.[150]

Amongst the most powerful supporters of the Pāṇḍava cause in the battles of Kurukṣetra was Ghaṭotkaca Bhīma's son by a Rākṣasī and himself by appearance and breeding a Rākṣasa. He performed prodigies of valour on behalf of the Pāṇḍavas in Kurukṣetra and there were times when the latter were saved from defeat by this Rākṣasa placing himself in the breach. His last and most glorious battle was with Karṇa. But when tidings of his death at the hand of Karṇa are brought to Kṛṣṇa, the latter literally dances with joy! This strange behaviour calls for an explanation and this is what is offered: "This last fight of Ghaṭotkaca with Karṇa," Kṛṣṇa declares, "was specially contrived by him to serve two purposes." Karṇa had in reserve a weapon of great potency which by divine dispensation was bound to be fatal to whomsoever it might be aimed at. It had been reserved by Karṇa for the destruction of Arjuna. As Yudhiṣṭhira could not win the war without Arjuna and Arjuna had to be saved, Karṇa had to be provoked into spending this weapon upon somebody else, who should be warrior enough to need a lot of killing. So Ghaṭotkaca is put forward at Kṛṣṇa's instance as Karṇa's target. But this was only half the explanation. There were other warriors who might have served the purpose just as well. But Kṛṣṇa indeed did not desire that Ghaṭotkaca should live. "This Rākṣasa," Kṛṣṇa said, "was the enemy of Brāhmaṇas (*Brāhmaṇa-vidveṣin*), a destroyer of *yajñas* and *dharma* (*yajña-dveshin* and *dharmasya loptā*), and wicked (*pāpātmā*). If Karṇa had not put him out of the way, it would have been necessary for himself, Kṛṣṇa, later on to destroy him with his own hand. Jarāsandha and Śiśupāla's deaths had been compassed by him for a similar reason."[151] The Brāhmaṇa rule had to be re-established on a firmer and securer foundation by destroying Duryodhana and installing Yudhiṣṭhira in his place. So behind the personal squabbles of Duryodhana and Bhīma, behind the meannesses and vacillations of Dhṛtarāṣṭra which the righteous counsel of Vidura hardly sufficed to counteract, behind the

[150] See in this connection Duryodhana's catalogue of charges against Kṛṣṇa in *M.*, *Śalya*, lxi.

[151] *M.*, *Droṇa*, clxxviii – clxxix.

unnameable insults and indignities heaped in public upon Draupadī, behind all these lurked a struggle between orthodoxy and dissent, between the conservative and the radical.[152] For the moment, the conservative and the orthodox, the *Sanātana-varṇāśrama-dharma* prevailed. But revolt and revolution were already looming on the horizon.[153] With that, however, I am not concerned in the present discussion.

Unequal prevalence of Indo-Aryan culture over Bhāratavarsha : The testimonies of Karṇa and Śalya.

That the Aryan culture, though one, did not prevail in equal degree everywhere, even within the Aryan "pale," is brought out distinctly in the exchange of compliments which passed between Śālya and Karṇa on the assumption by the latter of the office of *Senāpati* of the Kauravas and the grudging acceptance by Śalya, at the earnest solicitation of Duryodhana, of the humbler office of Karṇa's charioteer. Śalya, it will be remembered, was the brother of Mādrī, the mother of the two youngest Pāṇḍavas, but he had been tricked by Duryodhana into joining his forces with those of Duryodhana against his own nephews.[154] But having joined him, he loyally fought for

[152] Cf. *Srimad Bhāgavata.*, Part I, Ch. viii.

[153] The *Mahābhārata* (*Vana*, clxxxviii), and the *Purāṇas* (which came after it) abound in balsful predictions of the impending *Kaliyuga* and in places go into details concerning the cataclysmic lapses from *dharma* which people would exhibit in that degenerate age. The modern reader will of course be perfectly justified in assuming that these passages were written not before but after the inception of the *Kaliyuga*. The advent of *Kaliyuga* really stands for the complete breakdown under its own weight of the *Varṇāśrama-dharma.* What is repeatedly stated to be the distinguishing mark of the *Kaliyuga* is that the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas would abandon their specific *dharmas*, the Brāhmaṇas in particular taking to the occupations of the Śūdras, whilst the latter would adopt the *ācāras* of the Brāhmaṇas and that all *Vārṇas* alike would make wealth their principal pursuit. There is no doubt that the breakdown of the *Vārṇāśrama-dharma* which ushers in the dreaded *Kaliyuga* had the immediate effect of letting in a wave of agnosticism and materialism, in the midst of which people who would not submit to the current dared to look for no securer haven of refuge than the very slippery one offered by Buddhism. Buddhism provided no remedy, hardly even a palliative, for a malady in the body-politic which really consisted in a total want of adjustment (moral, economic and social) between the new realities of Indo-Aryan life and the antiquated theory by which it was sought to be regulated and directed. In so far as it tended to loosen all traditional ties, at the same time that it failed to provide effective substitutes, Buddhism had a pronouncedly anarchistic trend.

[154] *M.*, *Udyoga*, viii.

him and succeeded Karṇa in the command,[155] and with his fall, the battle of Kurukṣetra virtually came to an end. Karṇa was to meet Arjuna. Kṛṣṇa was Arjuna's charioteer. Karṇa needed a princely charioteer like Kṛṣṇa to match Arjuna and his choice fell upon Śalya. At first Śalya demurred. He would not admit that Karṇa was the better warrior. But granting that he was, he, Śalya, was a Royal Prince, throned and annointed as such. Was he to serve as a charioteer to this upstart son of a professional chanter? Were not the Sūtas, the menial servants of Kṣatriyas? Ultimately however he was prevailed upon by Duryodhana to accept the degrading office, but expressly on one condition, viz: that he was to have absolute liberty to speak his mind freely to Karṇa.[156]

It was not long before Śalya exercised this privilege. Karṇa was a greater warrior even than Arjuna, a loyal servant, a model husband and father, kind-hearted and bounteous, but he was ill-bred and overweeningly boastful.[157] He called loudly to be shown where Arjuna was and offered untold riches—the fruits of his yet to be won victory—to whoever should tell him where Arjuna was.[158] Śalya was not slow to warn him that it was too early yet to count the chickens since the eggs had not been hatched, and added with unpardonable malice that he could not believe that a jackal like Karṇa would succeed in killing two lions like Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa.[159] Karṇa was justifiably angry, and ill-bred as he was, fell to abusing Śalya and everything that concerned him.[160] But for the squabble thus brought about (or imagined by the poet—it does not matter which) some very valuable chapters in the *Mahābhārata* on contemporary ethnography would never have been written.

"You Śalya," said Karṇa, "are the King of the Madrakas and as such share to the extent of one-sixth (?) in the merits and iniquities of your people, assuming you do your duty by them as a King, which however you never do and therefore participate only in the iniquities." "The Madrakas, Sauvīras and Saindhavas," he said, "are Mlecchas and their practices are to the last degree unholy and their country is accursed. Their men and women eat and drink and associate in promiscuity. The Gāndhārakas are just as bad and the people who inhabit the coun-

155 *M., Śalya*, vi-vii.
156 *M., Karṇa*, xxxi-xxxv.
157 See the last chapter of the *Bhīṣmaparva*.
158 *M., Karṇa*, xxxviii.
159 *M., Karṇa*, xxxix.
160 *M., Karṇa*, xl, xliv.

tries of the Āraṭṭas, the Vāhīkas, Prasthal, Khas and Bosati are no better." The gravamen of Karna's charges against these people appears to me to have been that they ate prohibited food and their women were, according to approved Aryan standards, immodest and that in general their practices, of both men and women, were outlandish. Apparently the people of the Pañcanada (the Punjab) observed other customs than those approved by the Indo-Aryans of the Middle East or, what is more probable, followed them but indifferently. Their Kings were Aryans, or else Dhṛtarāṣṭra could not have wedded a Gāndhāra Princess (and Gāndhārī was Indo-Aryan to her finger-tips), nor Pāṇḍu a daughter of the King of the Madrakas. But their subjects, if originally Aryans, had apparently failed to keep pace with those of the Kuru and Pāñcāla Princes.[161] It is stated that among the Āraṭṭas, sister's sons and not sons became heirs, and to Karṇa, this perversion of the law of succession appeared to be due to one reason and one only, that their women were so unchaste that nobody could be sure as to who might be his son. To us, of course, with our better knowledge of anthropology, this merely shows that the Āraṭṭa tribes were matriarchally organised. "The good men amongst the Kurus," Karṇa goes on, "amongst the Pāñcālas, the Śālvas, the Matsyas, the Naimiṣas, the Kośalas, the Kāṣapauṇḍras, the Kāliṅgas, the Māgadhas and the Cedīs know all about *dharma* and act accordingly. In fact even the wicked amongst them are not unacquainted with the mysteries of the true faith, and the old men of Northern Aṅga and Magadha follow approved customs though without appreciating their religious motives. But the people of the East behave like Śūdras, those of Dākṣiṇātya are enemies of *dharma*, the Vāhikas are thieves and the Saurāṣṭras half-breeds." Elsewhere we find it stated that the people of Vaṅga and Prāgyotisha were Mlecchas.[162] So much for the practices of the various tribes inhabiting the Aryan "pale." Karṇa leaves us in no doubt also as to their relative intellectual capacity. "The Māgadhas," he says, "do not stand in need of being spoken to, since signs suffice for their comprehension (*iṅgitajña*). The Kośalas understand what they see, the Kauravas and

[161] Upon data furnished by the *Vedas* and the *Brāhmaṇas*, it appears to be conclusively established that the Vedic rituals and practices had been developed in the country of the Kuru-Pāñcālas. See Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 174, 207, 213–214. The conclusion, if corroboration is needed, is amply borne out by Karṇa.

[162] *M., Droṇa*, xcii, etc.

Pāñchālas before the words have been half-spoken, and the Śālvas not unless the whole thing has been spoken out. The Śibis are like the hill-people, extremely stupid. The Mlecchas and Yavanas, though cultured (*sarvajña*) and very powerful, still observe *dharmas* of their own invention (*sva-saṁjñā-niyata*, as opposed evidently to the scriptural *dharma* of the Indo-Aryans), and as for the rest, they learn *dharma* if taught, the Vāhikas not unless they are castigated, but the Mādrakas are beyond both castigation and instruction." Śalya was evidently amused by this outburst; but he replied with becoming gravity and self-restraint: "You will find Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras (i.e. *Varṇāśrama-dharma*) and chaste women everywhere. Everywhere men speak with ridicule of other men, and everywhere you meet with men who give free reins to their passions. It is easy, Karṇa, to discuss other people's faults, whilst you overlook your own. Even when you have come to know your own, you forget them. Everywhere, Kings remaining in the path of their *dharma* are restraining the wicked. You will find virtuous people in every country. It is absurd to affirm that all the people of a country are wicked. In many places, many people have, by the purity of their character, surpassed even the Gods." [163]

The dharma of the non-Aryans and of others partially Aryanised.

I have previously stated that the Aryan culture was a proselytising culture. The following from the *Śāntiparva* will probably place the matter beyond doubt: Māndhātā asks Indra, "How are the Yavanas, Kirātas, Cīnas, Śabaras, Barbaras, Śakas, Tuṅgaras, Kaṅkas, Palhavas, Candras, Mādrakas, Pauṇḍras, Pulindas, Rāmaṭhas, Kāmbojas, as also Vaiśyas and Śūdras and others who have descended from the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas, to follow *dharma*, and how should we (the Aryan Kings) make those Dasyus follow the *dharma*?" Indra replies, "Mahārāja it is the duty of the Kings by all means to see that the Dasyus serve their parents, their preceptors and the King, *that they carry out the injunctions of the Vedas*, that they offer oblations to their ancestors, that they dig wells, provide sleeping and other requisites to Brāhmaṇas, forswear cruelty and hatred, observe the truth, maintain their families, refrain from quarrelling, be chaste in conduct, pursue their own betterment and give the *dakṣiṇās* of all *yajñas* to Brāhmaṇas," and so on. "Whatever has been laid down

[163] *M., Karṇa*, xlv.

previously as the *dharma* for other people, (*sārvajanika-dharma?*) even Dasyus must fulfil that *dharma*." [184] The Dasyus too appear to have increasingly felt the spell of the Brahmanic culture, and many were content to accept quite a low place in the *varṇadharma* scheme provided they secured admission into the Aryan fold. In chapter cxxxiii of the *Śāntiparva*, the right attitude of the Aryan King towards the Dasyus is indicated. It is pointed out that Dasyus, when kind-hearted, protect innumerable people. They are greatly averse to killing people who are unwarlike, to ingratitude, to robbing Brāhmaṇas of their little all, to depriving people of everything they possess, to stealing girls and seducing married women. This shows that many of the non-Aryan tribes were quite civilised and the King is advised not to dispossess the Dasyus but to subdue them. The Dasyus had besides other uses. "On occasions requiring exceptional efforts, it is possible to get countless soldiers from amongst the Dasyus." [185] Chapter

[184] *M., S'ānti*, lxv. 13-22. This is cited as an old legend and appears to date from a time when the Vaiśyas and Śūdras had not yet been completely affiliated as inferior Aryan castes; they were still regarded as Dasyus. Is there not ground for supposing that the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas were, in the main, a race of pastoral nomads who, like the Semetic conquerors of Sumer and Akkad, imposed themselves upon a more settled and less warlike agricultural and industrial population consisting of a higher order (who subsequently became the Vaiśyas) served in their turn by a caste of Śūdra helots? The aborigines whom the Aryan patriarchs met on the plains of the Punjab appear to have been all that is conveyed by the term Dasyus in the Ṛigveda, but in the valleys of the Ganges and the Yamunā, they must have had to deal with people possessing a culture on some points superior to their own. The conquered Vaiśyas must have been as exclusive as the conquering Aryans to make the barrier of castes as impassable as it came to be. Or, it may be, that the Aryan conquerors found the conquered people already divided into an unmixable ruling and a servile class, much as were the population of Sparta and Carthage, and adapted the institution to their own purposes. This last supposition will commend itself to those who cannot persuade themselves that an institution so retrogade as the Indian caste could have originated among a tribe of "the Lord's elect," the Aryans, without the corrupting example of some baser people. The cult of Śiva, with its accompaniment of phallus-worship must, all scholars agree, be non-Aryan, though Śiva figures in the Vedic hymns as Rudra. Why not attribute the origin of castes also to non-Aryans?

[185] The word *Dasyu* is used in the *Mahābhārata* in its older sense of "non-Aryan" as well as in its modern sense of "robbers" in different contexts. But the text appears to have been altered by compilers and annotators who had lost sight of the older meaning, so as to make texts in which the word was used in the order sense bear a meaning consistent with its later sense. Chapter cxxxiii of the *Śāntiparva* an instance in point. In Chapter clxviii, the same people are indifferently described as Mleccha, Kirāta or Dasyu.

cxxxv of the *Śāntiparva* speaks of a Dasyu who "habitually practised Kṣatriya *dharma*, was wise, averse to cruelty, respectful towards Brāhmaṇas and others placed above him, very powerful and a most skilful hunter." This man, being installed by the Dasyus as their chief, is said to have acquired *siddhi*, by doing good to the good and dissuading the Dasyus from evil. Chapter clxviii speaks of a Mleccha country in the North where there were no Brāhmaṇas. A Brāhmana beggar, Gautama, is there hospitably received by a wealthy Dasyu who "understood the differences between the *Varṇas*, was respectful towards Brāhmaṇas, true to his promises and very charitable." Brahmanic culture had apparently cast its spell even outside the Aryan "pale."

Origin of Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas wrapped in mystery.

But who originally were the Brāhmaṇas and who again were the Kṣatriyas? The only answers the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* give to these questions is that the Brāhmaṇas were created out of Brahmā's mouth, whilst the Kṣatriyas sprang out of his arms. Their origin therefore, so far as the Epics go, lies shrouded in mystery. What they came to be, we know. The Brāhmaṇas individually were colossal thinkers, the Kṣatriyas unrivalled administrators and fighters. We find the ideal administrator in Rāma and Yudhiṣṭhira; the ideal warrior not in Karṇa, nor in Arjuna, but in Abhimanyu.

Position of women in the age of the Epics.

There is no lack of material relevant to this topic in the Epics, but the result of their consideration as a whole is to leave the student in a state of considerable perplexity. I think, I shall not be wrong in saying that the position of women in India during this epoch *in theory* did not differ materially from that outlined in the *Mānava Dharma-Śāstra*.[166] Like the Śūdras, women of whatever caste could not study the Vedas nor participate in the Vedic *Saṁskāras*,[167] but, as in the case of Śūdras, kindness towards women was sedulously preached and practised.[168] From no point of view and for no purpose, however, were women recognised as the equals of men. And yet those of them who

[166] Chs. xxxviii—xliii., of the *Anuśāsanaparva* which constitute a sustained libel on women should not be regarded as typical.

[167] *M., Śānti*, clxv. 21.

[168] *M., Anuśā.*, xlvi.

did not belong to the servile and venal classes (*dásīs* and *gaṇikās*) were habitually accorded a measure of freedom and respect which would have been envied by their Western sisters in the best days of Feudal chivalry. It is impossible to affirm that the commanding position held in their households by Kauśalyā, Satyavatī, Gāndhārī and Kuntī and the deep regard entertained for Sītā by Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumān were purely fortuitous and were not in any measure due to the environments surrounding them. The fact appears to have been that the practices of men in their dealings with women within their own orders had outstripped theory and indeed left it far behind.[169] But there were in Indo-Aryan society facts more stubborn than theories, which the Indo-Aryan woman could neither get over nor conquer. In a society where the possession of numerous wives was a matter of pride for a man· the position of women generally could not have been socially very high. The Indo-Aryan man was under no obligation whatever to be faithful to his wife or wives. The obligation of chastity bound the weaker sex only. A man, it seems, had the free use of the bodies of his wife and of her *dāsis.*[170] Fidelity to a single wife was no doubt viewed with approval, but it was so rare that the Ṛṣis did not find it worth their while to appraise its merits in terms of benefits to be enjoyed in the higher worlds. The man who made a special virtue of practising chastity in this world would presumably not need to be recompensed in the next in the manner provided by the *Anuśāsanaparva* (cvi–cvii) for those who had performed special penances in the way of fasting. What use indeed would a soul with such a *Saṁskāra* have for *Apsarases* and *Devāṅganās* in the world beyond? And is not the use made, by poets, theologians and moralists alike, of the *Apsarases* in itself eloquent of the position women generally occupied in the social scale in the age of the Epics? I do not complain against the *Svargalokas* being peopled

[169] Or is it possible that the position of women worsened under the *Varṇāśrama-dharma*, but that practice never came near being as bad as the theory? I strongly suspect this to have been the case. The *Varnāśrama-dharma* must at many points have remained an unrealised ideal, more than is disclosed in the Epics and the *Dharmaśāstras.* "Do not" says the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (Part. III, ch. xi.), "practise a *dharma* which is painful or is hated by the people."

[170] Not apparently, if the latter did not consent (see *Ādiparva*, cxvii, and *Sabhāparva*, lxxi). Cohabitation with another's wife was condemned no doubt because it was an infringement of the *husband's* rights. But, significantly enough, to be attached to a childless wife was viewed as equally sinful, the measure of the sin being in either case that incurred by robbing a Brāhmaṇa's wealth, (*M., Anuśā.*, cxxix. 2).

by females as well as males. But the *Apsarases* ever ready to receive and minister to the physical needs of every newcomer do not improve these abodes of bliss artistically or otherwise. The descriptions of water-carnivals in the *Mahābhārata* leave an impression the reverse of agreeable.[171] The extreme pathos of the *Strīvilāpa-parvādhyāya* in the *Mahābhārata* is marred for the modern reader by the haunting suggestion of women's inferiority conveyed in every line of Gāndhārī's heart-breaking lament. All honour therefore to Daśaratha's sons for constancy to their single spouses. In this they appear to have followed the *dharma* of the Prākṛtas rather than of Princes—for I would like to believe that in Indo-Aryan society (as in all societies) the position of women among the lower orders was higher than in the households of royal princes.

In this connection should be noted the oft-repeated and curiously sounding maxim: "A woman, a jewel and water are always pure."[172] I have seen it cited as indicative of the chivalrous regard of the Indo-Aryan man for his women! It really signifies, if it signifies anything at all, the contrary. It simply means that a man belonging to one of the higher orders was not degraded by associating with a woman of a lower order. Women who were not slaves were not indeed regarded as chattels. But that there were women slaves and much traffic in women is beyond question. No present or offering of tribute by King to King seemed to be complete unless it included *dāsīs* decked with jewels, and often whole hosts of them were presented.[173] Mahārājā Bhagīratha attained *mokṣa* by, amongst other meritorious acts, gifts of countless cows, horses, she-mules and *maidens* decked with gold to Brāhmaṇas.[174] What could these maidens be but girls bought and sold as slaves for money?[175] Having in view the position of

[171] *M.*, *Ādi*, ccxxii.

[172] *M.*, *Śānti* clxv. 32.

[173] *M.*, *Sabhā*, l, li, etc.

[174] *M.*, *Droṇa*, lviii and *Śānti*, xxix.

[175] I do not admit that the position of women in India in the age of the Epics was lower than amongst the Greeks and the Romans. The position of women who constitute the *dramatis personae* of the two Epics is decidedly superior to that assigned to women in the Greek dramas. The position of women in general in relation to men in neither continent could really begin improving in the sense of attaining equality of status with men until the disappearance of slavery and traffic in girls. It is perhaps necessary to add that nowhere in the world has yet woman become the equal of man except *in theory* only and this she never will be *in fact* in any society which has failed to eliminate prostitution in every shape and form. The *gaṇikās* were a recognised institution in the Indo-Aryan polity. *M.*, *Udyoga* lxxxviii, cxcvii. 19. *Hariv.*

subordination to which women were in general relegated in the pre-Buddhistic Indo-Aryan Society. I confess I draw a great deal of secret satisfaction from the fact that the heroine of the *Mahābhārata*, Draupadī, by sheer force of character, always held her own and in the end had her way in every matter. The brave woman in the *Mahābhārata* is not however Draupadī, but Gāndhārī, and in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Sumitrā, though she speaks only twice.[176] But womanhood in the higher orders is perhaps more truly represented by the helpless Sītā than by these stronger-minded women.[177]

Viṣṇu P. xxix. 9. But modern societies, more hypocritical, seek to keep it in the back ground. It is in most modern societies a hidden sore which festers and poisons the body politic the more it is sought to be put out of sight. The dominating male being selfish and the women, the minister of his pleasure for money, poor, it is not difficult to see which way the remedy lies.

[176] *R.*, *Ayodh.*, xl, xliv.

[177] *The Sāvitri idyll.* What, it may be enquired, about Sāvitrī? The story of Sāvitrī and Satyavān as told in the *Mahābhārata* is a perfect literary gem, and must have been composed by one who combined in himself the qualities of a great poet, a greater Upaniṣad scholar and a master of Classical Sanskrit. The story is woven with marvellous skill round an old legend and might have been written yesterday or the day before without abating a jot from the sense, sentiment and expression of a single passage. It stands quite apart from the rest of the *Mahābhārata* and does not depend for its effect upon local or contemporary colouring. Sāvitrī as drawn in the *Mahābhārata* is not a woman, but an ideal. Not only had she no original in history, there never was a woman like her anywhere at any time. It would, I think, be a sacrilege to try to view her through the perspective of history. See *M.*, *Vana*, ccxcii-ccxcviii.

DECLINE OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA AND ITS CAUSES.

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The main causes of the decline can be distinguished as external and internal. As to *external causes* we are to enquire how far religious persecution is responsible for the decline of the Buddhist faith. On this point scholars are scarcely agreed. There are many authentic records giving evidence of persecutions of the Buddhist but so great a Buddhist scholar as Prof. Rhys Davids finds reasons to doubt [1] if their motive was precisely religious. Nay, he even goes so far as to doubt if any credence can be given to the accounts of persecutions excepting those which relate to Mihiragula.

In the *Divyāvadāna*,[2] Pushyamitra is the first Hindu king who is represented as a persecutor of Buddhism. This tradition cannot easily be put aside and shelved as a pure invention of the Buddhist monks or a piece of sectarian misrepresentation. That there is a truth behind this tradition would appear to receive confirmation from other circumstantial evidence which is based upon indubitable historical facts.

According to the Purāṇas,[3] Puṣyamitra was at first the commander-in-chief of Bṛhadratha, the last Maurya king. It is not known whether Bṛhadratha was a staunch supporter of Buddhism like his illustrious predecessor, king Asoka. Puṣyamitra put an end to the remnants of the great Mauryas and laid the foundation of the Suṅga supremacy. He was either a Brāhmaṇa by birth or an orthodox supporter of the Brahmanical cause as may be surmised from the names of his ancestors all of which appear to be Brahmanical, e.g. Sampadi, Bṛhaspati, Vṛṣasena, and Puṣyadharmā,[4] Tāranāth, the Tibetan his-

[1] *J.P.T.S.*, 1896, pp. 87–92.

[2] *Divyāvadāna*, Ed. Cowell.

[3] Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 31:
Puṣyamitras tu senānir uddhṛtya sa Bṛhadratham, kārayiṣyati vai rājyam.

[4] *Divyāvadāna.*
Sampadeḥ Bṛhaspati putro, Bṛhaspateḥ Vṛṣaseno, Vṛṣasenasya Puṣyadharmā, Puṣyadharmaṇaḥ Puṣyamitraḥ.

torian, distinctly calls him a Brāhmaṇa king.[5] The performance of the *aśvamedha* sacrifice by Puṣyamitra, as is recorded by Kālidāsa[6] is another bit of evidence which corroborates the Tibetan account. All these go to prove that a staunch supporter of Brahmanism as he was his attitude towards Buddhism could hardly be friendly. According to the *Divyāvadāna* account and Tārānāth's history his attitude towards Buddhism was not only unfriendly but positively hostile. Above all, the Japanese Buddhist scholar Mr. R. Kimura[7] informs us that Puṣyamitra has been always placed first in the list of religious persecutors by the ancient Chinese and Japanese scholars.

In face of this evidence, supplied by records, Buddhistic as well as Brahmanic, confirming each other, how can the historian be bold enough to say regardless of the motives and consequences that Puṣyamitra was not guilty of persecution ?

However, the main question remains to be answered whether the motive was political or religious. This depends upon the answer to the question whether the *aśvamedha* sacrifice is political or religious. The answer we can suggest is that it is both. Puṣyamitra came to usurp the throne of Magadha when religion was not only intermingled with morality but also with politics.

Several centuries passed without any persecution. Under the Kushān kings Buddhism gained the status of a State religion. The imperial Guptas, though they styled themselves *paramabhāgavatas* were not religious fanatics. They never indulged in doing wrong to the Buddhists. Religion enjoyed as complete a toleration as during the administration of the Mauryas and other earlier kings. If tradition is to be relied upon to some extent, some of the Guptas[8] even went so far as to patronise the Buddhists and if the " Balāditya Rājā " of Yüan Chwang's account can be identified with Narasiṁhagupta Balāditya we

[5] " Brahmanenkönig Puschjamitra," Tārānāth (translated by Schiefner, p. 81).

[6] *Mālavikāgnimitraṁ*, Act. V.

[7] " Shifting of the Centre of Indian Buddhism." *Calcutta University Journal of Letters*, Vol. I, p. 19. Chinese translation of *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, Vol. 25.

[8] Cf. The discussion about the patron of Vasubandhu in conclusion of which Dr. V. A. Smith says, " I therefore conclude that Samudragupta received Vasubandhu, the Buddhist author and patriarch, at court, either as a minister or as an intimate counsellor, with the sanction and approval of his father Chandragupta I. and, further that Samudragupta, although officially a Brahmanical Hindu, studied Buddhism in his youth with interest and partiality." *Early History of India* (3rd ed.), p. 334.

have to say that one of the imperial Guptas founded the greatest Buddhist University at Nālanda.[9]

But circumstances changed towards the beginning of the 6th century A.D. The Hūṇa king Mihiragula appeared on the scene with his mission of persecution. This king, as Yüan Chwang records, "became dissatisfied at the conduct of the Buddhists whom he asked to provide him with a teacher capable of teaching *śāstras* and who provided him with only a monk of low origin and rank."[10] He then began to persecute the Buddhists and slaughtered so many men that the "waters of the Sveti was red with blood." According to another Chinese account of Wang-puh[11] he killed the twenty-fourth patriarch Siṁha. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the Kashmirian Chronicle, also attests the inhuman oppression of the Buddhists by him. That his motive was religious in these acts of oppression is clear from the very statement of Yüan Chwang that "he caused the demolition of 1600 *topes* and monasteries and put to death nine *koṭis* of lay adherents of Buddhism."[12] None could have ventured any conclusion on this statement, had it not been corroborated from other sources.

The *Rājatarangiṇī* lucidly puts forward the fact that it was Brāhmaṇas who enjoyed favour from him. It states that the Hūna Emperor "took to piety for the sake of collecting religious merits. Brahmaṇas from Gandhāra accepted *agvaharas* from him."[13] Elsewhere the Kashmirian chronicle distinctly attributes to him the foundation of a shrine of Śiva called *Mihireśvara* at Srīnagarī, modern Srinagar. Further, almost all the coins of Mihiragula, hitherto discovered, bear the Śaiva legend *Srī Mihirakulaḥ, jayatu Vṛṣaḥ.*[14] This legend quite unambiguously points out that Mihiragula was a Śaiva by religion.

That he had leanings towards sun-worship is also evident from the symbols of an eight-rayed sun on some of his coins. Kalhana in his chronicle also states that the king invaded Ceylon and brought for his queen the *Yamushadeva* cloth "stamped with an image of the sun" which he liked very much.[15] If there is any truth in this statement it is that he had a leaning towards sun-worship. The very first part of

[9] Watters, *Yüan Chwang*, Vol II, p. 164ff.

[10] Watters, *Yüan Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 288ff.

[11] *J.P.T.S.*

[12] Watters, *Yüan Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 288.

[13] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, translated by Dr. A. Stein.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

his name, *Mihira*, which is a name of the sun, is not inconsistent with this. Thus it appears that the king was a professed Sun-worshipper and a Śiva-worshipper throughout his life. Thus being the patron of alien religions and anti-Buddhistic in his attitude it was not at all inconsistent, on his part to begin a campaign of persecution as Yüan Chwang wants to have us believe.

Indirect evidence also supports us. "In Fahien's time Buddhism was still flourishing and there were 500 Saṅghārāms on the Swat river whereas in Hi'uen Tsiang's time all the convents were ruined and desolate, which shows that Mihiragula's persecution during which Siṁha was killed must have taken place after that period."[16] Fa-hien came to India towards the beginning of the 5th century A.D. and Yüan Chwang came towards the first quarter of the 7th century. Such a complete desolation as is spoken of in Yüan Chwang's account could hardly have taken place in the course of only two centuries. Besides, the Chinese accounts tell us that a large number of Indian monks came to China towards the beginning of the 6th century A.D., i.e. towards the time when the Hūna king was ruling in Kashmir. Does it not indicate that something was wrong in the motherland of these newly arrived priests? At least the opinion of such a Chinese scholar as Mr. Edkins,[17] who has ransacked the whole of Chinese literature, supports this conclusion. It will therefore be absurd to assert that Mihiragula was a headstrong king like Muhammad Toghlak, the reputed man-hunter, and that his devastation were due to motives other than religious, as Prof. Rhys Davids contends.

The last controversy centres round the king Śaśāṅka, the king of Ka-lo-na-su-fa-la-na (Karṇa-Suvarṇa ?) in Bengal. A true historical account of this king is still wanting. But so far it is definitely settled that he was an elder contemporary of king Harṣavardhana and was one of his strong antagonists. The accusation has been categorically brought against him by Yüan Chwang in his records that this fanatic ruler caused the stone with the foot-prints of Buddha to be thrown into the Ganges and uprooted the Bodhi-tree at Bodh Gaya.[18] Besides, "by

[16] *J.P.T.S.* [17] *Chinese Buddhism*, by Rev. Joseph Edkins, p. 99:

"At the beginning of the sixth century, the number of Indians in China was upwards of three thousand. . . . The decline of Buddhism in its motherland drove many of the Hindoos to the north of the Himalayas. They came as refugees from Brahmanical persecution." [18] Watters, *Yüan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 92.

his extermination of Buddhism the groups of brethren were all broken up."

These events took place only a few years before the arrival of Yüan Chwang and there cannot but be a kernel of truth in these statements even allowing sufficient room for exaggeration due to Buddhistic bias and predilection. Numismatic evidence also comes to our help. On his coins we have a representation of Śiva reclining on his bull. Again if Dr. Bühler [19] is right in his identification of Śaśānka with Narendrāditya of several other coins and in his attribution of these coins, which bear the symbols of *Nandidhvaja* to Śaśānka there is no room left for doubting that the Bengal king was a devout Śaiva and that consequently the tradition is not inconsistent in attributing acts of oppression of the Buddhists to him.

Lastly, Dr. V. A. Smith [20] maintains that the greatest of the religious persecutors were the Musalmans. It cannot be really denied that whereever they went, they went with the sword in hand. They tried their utmost to extirpate the religions of the alien nations and their attempts mostly met with success. The history of India tells the same tale. Buddhism, already weak on account of its internal degeneration, could not stand against this unexpected inundation and the last remnants of the followers of that universal religion were completely washed away by the Islamic flood. The Musalman persecutions dealt the death-blow to the religion. The furious massacres perpetrated in many places by them were more efficacious than orthodox Hindu persecutions and had a great deal to do with the disappearance of Buddhism in several provinces. Dr. Vincent A. Smith illustrates it thus [21]—"The fort of Bihar was seized by a party of only two hundred horsemen, who boldy rushed the postern gate and gained possession of the place. Great quantities of plunder were obtained, and the slaughter of the shaven-headed Brāhmaṇas, that is to say the Buddhist monks, was so thoroughly completed, that when the victor sought for some one capable of explaining the contents of the books in libraries of the monasteries, not a single living man could be found who was able to read them." Thus, "Buddhism as an organised religion in Bihar, its last abode in Upper India, south of the Himālaya, was destroyed once and for all by the sword of a single Musalman adventurer."

[19] Cf. Allan *Gupta Coins*, Introduction.

[20] *Early History of India* (3rd ed.), p. 404.

[21] Ibid., loc. cit.

It is to be admitted, however, that even before the arrival of the Musalmans, the religion was already in its decay otherwise it could have made a stand against this persecution. There were occasional Hindu persecutions even before this time but these could not do any very great harm. It must be noted that there was no regularity in these persecutions and whereas Protestantism in Europe could make a stand against such a strong and systematic persecution as the Spanish Inquisition it cannot be believed that these occasional persecutions were solely responsible for the disappearance of Buddhism in India. But what is certain is that these periodically recurring active persecutions were indications of the gradual loss of State patronage. These indicate a change from favour to disfavour. In Northern India the attitude of the kings towards Buddhism gradually changed. After the death of Aśoka no other king appeared who was as sincere and zealous a patron of Buddhism as he was. His grandson Samprati was a sworn Jaina. The Suṅga and Kāṇva kings were professedly hostile in their attitude towards the faith and patronised the Brahmanical religion quite ardently. The Kushān king Kaniṣka certainly did much for Buddhism but this was obviously from political motives. Buddhism was in the ascendant and it was necessary to embrace that religion and to patronise it for getting support from the Indian people. Sober history testifies to the fact that he worshipped a medley of gods. Some of his successors might have favoured the faith, but Vāsudeva certainly was a Bhāgavata by religion as his name suggests. The Śaka rulers of Mathurā were devout Jainas. Of the Gupta kings the majority were *paramabhāgavataṣ*. Though they were not fanatics and persecutors of Buddhism yet most of them cared little for the religion of Gautama Buddha. Harṣavardhana himself a great patron of the faith distributed his devotions among the three deities of the family :—Śiva, the Sun and Buddha.[22] His successors on the throne of Kanauj—the Gurjaras—probably professed the Brahmanical religion ; at least history does not point out any other faith. The Pāla kings of Bengal, who are said to have greatly favoured Buddhism, had in fact strong leanings towards Hinduism. The Pāla inscriptions contain references to the land grants made to Brhāmaṇas and to the respect shown to Brāhmaṇa Ministers. Dharmapāla, one of the earliest of these

[22] Ibid., p. 345.

kings, even enjoins in his copper-plate grant [23] in the fashion of a devout Hindu king.—

bahubhir Vasudhā dattā rājabhis Sagarādibhiḥ
yasya yasya yadā bhūmi tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ
ṣaṣṭi-varṣa-sahasrāṇi svarge modati bhūmidaḥ.

Does this not indicate that Buddhism was not so high in the estimation even of its royal patrons, not to speak of hostile kings, as it was in the days of Aśoka?

Such are a few of the external causes which contributed to the downfall of the religion. But as we have already remarked these cannot be solely responsible for the decline of the faith. And here Prof. Rhys Davids is right in maintaining that one must "seek elsewhere for the causes of the decline of the Buddhist faith." [24] These causes are, in his opinion, partly "the changes that took place in the faith itself" and partly "the changes that took place in the intellectual standard of the people." Thus we come to another aspect of the question which involves the consideration of the *internal causes* of the decline.

Of these internal causes degeneration is of the foremost importance. The signs of this degeneration are manifest in the later phases of the faith. What we come to know from the records of Yüan Chwang leads us to believe that the faith had lost its pristine purity. Gods of the Brahmanic pantheon are gradually being incorporated and what can be called a Buddhistic pantheon—an element wholly inconsistent with the teachings of Gautama Buddha—is in the course of formation. The Buddhism taught at the Nālanda University distinctly bears two different stamps. The Buddhism prevalent there is of two aspects [25]—theorised and popularised—one for the learned and the other for the uncultured mass. This popular phase itself evidences the internal degeneration. This aspect of the faith is more Brāhmanic than Buddhistic and therefore, shows how Buddhism is losing ground before the rival faiths. Within a century or two the Tāntrik schools like Mantrayāna and Sahajayāna, which are mostly of a degraded type, were founded.[26] They

[23] Khalimpur Copperlate of Dharmâpâla. See *Gaṇḍalekhamâlâ* (Bengali Edition, p. 17).

[24] *Buddhist India*, p. 319-20.

[25] Mr. R. Kimura, "The shifting of the centre of Indian Buddhism," *Journal of Letters of the University of Calcutta*, Vol I, p. 40.

[26] MM. H. P. Shastri in the introduction to Mr. N. N. Vasu's *Modern Buddhism*.

represent the last phases of Buddhism, so to say, as an individual entity in the history of Indian religions.

Besides, Śaṅkarācārya, who flourished towards the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century A.D., and visited many places in Northern India, is said to have witnessed the grossest and the most inhuman practices of the Tāntrik Buddhists on several occasions.

Bhavabhūti records[27] in great detail how Kāmandaki, a Buddhist nun, who is expected to be absolutely unattached to worldly affairs and utterly indifferent towards anything mundane, contrived the marriage between Mālatī and Mādhava. Does it not indicate a degrading laxity in the Buddhist church of that time? This certainly bears testimony to a time when there was free and unobstructed license in the church itself and it was thought quite proper for a nun to come down to society to deal with affairs outside the permitted scope of her activities. Bhavabhūti flourished in the 8th century A.D. We may therefore be far from wrong in maintaining that the decline of Buddhism had already begun at a time subsequent to the departure of Yüan Chwang, when the Nālanda University was in its decaying days, when Śaṅkarācārya began his *digvijaya* and when Bhavabhūti wrote, i.e. in the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. This is not inconsistent with what we know from other sources.

Śilāditya Harṣavardhana was certainly one of the greatest patrons of Buddhism. But yet sober history bears testimony to the fact that even he worshipped the Sun and the God Śiva.[28] Thus when we analyse the faith professed by him it becomes clear to us that it was a mixture of both Hinduism and Buddhism. Buddhism had lost its original purity by that time.

An examination of the Pāla records, as we have indicated above points to the same conclusion. They were professedly Buddhist and patrons of Buddhism but yet they had deep respect for the Paurāṇic religions.

We are, therefore, on safe ground to maintain that the internal degeneration in the faith became manifest from the 7th century A.D. The decline commenced from that time and continued until the final disappearance of the faith from Indian soil.

The question now comes to this, how this degeneration came about?

[27] *Mālatī-mādhavam.*

[28] V. A. Smith, *Early History of India* (3rd ed.).

What are the positive causes that precipitated this inward change of the faith from regeneration to degeneration? It could not have come about in a day. It cannot but be the outcome of a slow but continuous process of retrogressive movement. Let us now consider the causes which contributed to the inward decay.

(1) *Inefficient church organisation.* During the lifetime of Buddha his religion did not spread far beyond the limits of the Middle Country. The influence of his inspiring personality was more effective than even the best management in keeping good order in the church. No attempts were therefore made to arrange for good organisation of the church in the future. After the passing away of the Lord the religion spread far beyond the narrow limits of the Middle Country. But there was no supreme head to organise the multitudinous churches and it was possibly deemed sacrilegious to select one, as Buddha had distinctly advised his chief disciples: "Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Hold fast to the Truth as a lamp. Hold fast as a refuge to the Truth."[19]

On account of this want of a Supreme Head different communities in different places remained independent of each other with different heads. The local necessities and individual predilections led them to interpret the original doctrines of Buddha in diverse ways.[20] Hence difference in interpretation arose and the original meanings of doctrinal things became ultimately distorted.

We also meet with the conversion of insincere men to Buddhism now and then.[21] These men had no religious tendency at all but entered the church in order to pass their lives in comfort without the molestation of poverty and self-support. These men could not but create a circle of their own in the Buddhist doctrines in explaining them in their own ways

[19] Rhys Davids, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 182.

[20] I am indebted to my Professor, Dr. B. M. Barua, for this suggestion.

[21] Cf. SBE., vol. xiii, p. 172; p 192; pp. 196-7. There was a class of people who had entered the Buddhist community, being urged neither by any religious feeling nor by any deep sense of respect to the founder of the religion. They entered it simply for the maintenance of their livelihood, or for the recovery from diseases or exemption from fighting. These people had faith neither in Buddha nor in Dhamma. How could it be possible for them to have any deep regard for the religion of Gautama Buddha? This uncompromising element of the Buddhist order became the ultimate cause of the future dissension in the church and of its splitting up into a large number of schools—This division in the church rendered any centralization quite impossible—any unity was lost for ever—and consequently it resulted in the downfall.

so that these might not come in the way of their own comforts. A suitable analogy of this can be found in some of the degenerate sects of modern Vaiṣṇavas of which the leaders would like to teach their followers that service to the *guru*, the spiritual preceptor is the only way to salvation—no question about the worth of that preceptor. We cannot logically doubt that such insincere men, of whose intrusion into the church we are quite sure, contributed, at least partially, to the downfall of the faith.

(2). The introduction of notions and rites by foreign nations who adopted or favoured the Buddhist faith, but never completely renounced their old beliefs and habits.[22] It is an open truth that many kings of foreign nationalities who ruled Indian kingdoms from time to time patronised the Buddhist faith as ardently as Asoka. The Greek king Menander, the Kuṣān king Kaniṣka and several of his successors were of this sort. About kings outside India we are not concerned here. These foreign rulers could not certainly do away with their predilections. They could not embrace the faith with open hearts. The stamp of their former religion could not be completely effaced. Thus when they became converts to Buddhism they could not accept Buddhism as it was in its original stage. They made additions and alterations and made the faith to suit their own requirements. The works of the Graeco-Buddhists amply testify to this. The images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas produced by the Gāndhāra school of artists are only Greek images with Buddhistic touches. It becomes evident from it that the Indo-Greeks though converted to the Buddhist faith could not be Buddhists at heart. They remained essentially Greeks though they were formally converts to Buddhism. The result was that the Greek ideas and conceptions began to be assimilated to the Indian religion quite unconsciously. The same phenomenon occurs with the Kuṣāns. Sober history bears testimony to the fact that though Kaniṣka was a staunch patron of Buddhism he professed the Iranian religion at the same time.[23] His coins are of varied types and the deities depicted on them show that he had respect for a "strange medley of the gods worshipped by Greeks, Persians and Indians." One other thing also should be noted here. These foreign rulers professed Indian religions only from political motives. They would

[22] Dr. B. M. Barua, *Prolegomena to a History of Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 15. He points out the views of Hackmann and Rhys Davids.

[23] *Early History of India* (3rd ed.), p. 265.

do anything and everything for gaining the Indian people to their side. The Indian peoples were essentially religious and they could be won over only through religion. Any superior physical force was quite futile in its attempts to win the hearts of these conservative peoples. Thus the attempts of Alexander the Great and his immediate successors to hellenize India proved to be hopeless tasks. The result was, as the poet beautiully puts[34] it :

> The East bowed low before the blast
> In patient, deep disdain ;
> She let the legions thunder past,
> And plunged in thought again.

But as soon as these Greeks came nearer to the Indians and as soon as kings like Menander showed their fondness for learning Buddhist philosophy from such Indian Bhikṣus as Nāgasena and as soon as Greek ambassadors like Heliodorus[35] began to erect *Garuḍa* pillars in honour of *Devadeva Vāsudeva* the Indians had no longer any "deep disdain." They drew themselves nearer to their foreign friends.

Thus it appears to us that the foreign kings got themselves Indianised only to win their Indian subjects to their side in this prudent way and thus only to serve their political purposes. But may it be noted also that the result was quite the contrary. In their attempts to gain the Indian people in this way to their side, the foreigners ran the risk of being completely Indianised and in course of time they were unconsciously assimilated to the Indian population. This was fatal to the interests of Indian religions and especially Buddhism, which was professed by the majority of the foreign people. With this ethical change religious ideas and conceptions of the foreigners along with the deities worshipped by them were incorporated into Buddhism.

3. Buddhism, again, was through and through pessimistic. The cardinal teachings of the great master,—*sarvaṁ duḥkhaṁ, sarvaṁ anityaṁ, sarvaṁ anātmyaṁ* "All is suffering, all is impermanent all is non-soul,"—contributed to the loss of inner vitality in Buddhism. The doctrine, that life on earth is an unmixed evil and that redemption cannot be achieved within a day or two but after the completion of a whole cycle of existences, is a doctrine which can well suit a thoroughly pessimistic philosopher whose mentality is of a higher standard. His thoughts are far-reaching and he can push himself

[34] Ibid., p. 113, ftn.

[35] Besnagar Pillar Inscription.

towards final redemption steadily, however distant it may be. But that proves to be a hopeless task on the part of an ordinary man. He cannot but work with hopes to be realised in this life. He cannot but be optimistic more or less whatever religion he may profess. Therefore an idealistic religion like Buddhism cannot get a permanent hold on his mind in all its details. The religion undergoes a change at his hands and elements like optimism and theism which suit the requirements of the mass are added to a religion which had no room for these in its pure and original stage. Similar is the case with Buddhism. At the hands of the people new elements, which were originally foreign to the religion and are quite inconsistent with the main teachings of Gautama Buddha, were included in it. The result was that the religion took a new shape and what is called the "popularized Buddhism of the Nālanda period" was ushered in. The Buddhism which is professed in Nepal even in modern times furnishes another very appropriate illustration. The principles on which it is based go against what Buddhism originally was. "Interesting as it is," says Dr. B. M. Barua,[56] "the history of the four schools of Buddhist philosophy in Nepal conclusively proves that the demands for deity were a world-wide phenomenon."

4. "*Failure to furnish the conception of a deity.*"[57] The inclination of the mass is towards a supreme deity unto whom they can surrender themselves completely in the hope of a speedy attainment of salvation. This was one of the requirements of the mass even in those days. "Buddhism miserably failed to satisfy this demand for a deity so imperiously made!"[58] With the growth of Mahāyānism attempts were made to meet this want by the inclusion of the cult of Bhakti and the Bodhisattva idea. But this fell short of the mark and consequently Buddhism began to lose ground before the growing influence of Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and other Paurāṇic religions. In Vaiṣṇavism, which probably attained its culmination in the Gupta period, there were the doctrine of Bhakti and the conception of a supreme deity worked out in their full developments. The doctrine of Bhakti and the conception of a supreme deity, who incarnates Himself for the redemption of the people from their distress and the religion from decline, are the two distinct factors in almost all the popular religions of the world. Buddhism tried to "take away from the nation that eternal God to which

[56] Barua, *Prolegomena*, p. 18. [57] Ibid., p. 16.

[58] Ibid., p. 16 (Frazer's suggestion in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*).

every one, man or woman clings so fondly. And the result was that Buddhism in India had to die a natural death."[39] The Paurāṇic religions came to the forefront and the people embraced these theistic religions with open hearts. The theistic Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism won at last a complete victory over the atheistic Buddhism.

The same phenomenon occurred not only in Northern India but in Southern India also. "The historical manuals of South India," says Dr. B. M. Barna,[40] "throw some light on the precise nature of the movement which was going on in the country since Bhaṭṭa Kumarila, and which resulted ultimately in the complete victory of Theism or Deism over the varying forms of Atheism." There was also a consequent decline in the Buddhistic philosophy for "such philosophies, as those of Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja, which afforded a rational ground for the theistic faith, flourished, while others fell gradually into obscurity."

It might well be asked that if this defective feature of Buddhism contributed to its downfall in India how could its spread and popularity in China be possible in spite of that inherent defect. None can deny that even in modern times Buddhism is more popular in China than the indigenous religions of the land, viz., the religions of Lao-tzu and Kungfu-tzu or Confucius. Yet it is impossible to say that the Chinese Buddhism has preserved all those original features of the religion of Gautama Buddha which existed in the faith 2500 years ago in the land of its birth. Those original features have been much distorted. The popularity of the faith in China is simply due to the sympathetic attitude, which it entertained, towards the indigenous religions of the land. Buddhism, after its introduction in China, did not hesitate to borrow either from Tao-ism or from Confucianism. Regarding the intimate relation of Buddhism and Taoism, Prof. Giles says[41]: "Each religion began early to borrow from the other. In words of the philosopher Chu Hsi, of the twelfth century,—'Buddhism stole the best features of Taoism. Taoism stole the worst features of Buddhism. It is as though one took a jewel from the other and the loser recouped the loss with a stone.' . . . . *Nowadays it takes an expert to distinguish between the temples and priests of the two religions* and members of both hierarchies are often simultaneously summoned by persons needing religious consolation or ceremonial of any kind."[42]

[39] Swāmi Vivekānanda in Chicago address.
[40] Barua, *Prolegomena*, p. 17.
[41] Giles, *Ancient Religions of China*, p. 63.
[42] Ibid., p. 63-64.

In accepting the religion of Śākyamuni, the Chinese people, generally, did not renounce their former beliefs and practices but rather incorporated them into their new faith. Rev. Joseph Edkins has fully illustrated [43] how these foreign beliefs were slowly assimilated to Buddhism in China. Regarding the inclusion of ancestor-worship into Buddhism he says: "The sentiment of compassion for the neglected dead and of ancestors is ingeniously made by Buddhism into an instrument for promoting its own influence among the people. . . . . . Buddhism found village processions of a religious character already existing in the country and accepted them so far as seemed fitting." Besides in China, Buddhism created a perfect hierarchy of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas which fulfilled the want of deities quite well.

Thus it becomes clear that Buddhism in China received quite a new shape and did not at all fail to meet the requirements of the Chinese people. This is why that faith still exists in that country and is so popular.

Thus we have succeeded in putting forward some of the most probable causes which made the inward decay of the faith possible. But these are not all. When these inherent defects had rendered the faith weak and when it had become ripe for downfall, at that critical juncture the religious campaigns of Kumārila and Śaṅkara were begun. These thoroughly anti-Buddhistic campaigns dealt another blow which helped the downfall more than any other influence. It has been argued from time to time that these two religious teachers carried on severe persecutions. Colebrooke and Wilson [44] the two great pioneers of Sanskrit studies supported this view strongly on the authority of the *Śaṅkara digvijaya*. Another great exponent of this view Rev. Wilkins maintained, as Prof. Rhys Davids points out [45]: "The disciples of Buddha were so ruthlessly persecuted that all were either slain, exiled or made to change their faith. There is scarcely a case on record where a religious persecution was so successfully carried out as that by which Buddhism was driven out of India." We cannot, however, believe in the truth of this statement literally. Kumārila and Śaṅkara were only religious teachers and great thinkers and nothing else. As such they

[43] Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 99.

[44] Colebrooke, *Essays*, 1, p. 323; Wilson, *Sanskrit Dictionary*, p. xix. Dr. B. M. Barua, *Prolegomena*, p. 13.

[45] J.P.T.S., 1876, pp. 108-110.

must have condemned acts of violence and it appears rather inconsistent with the vocations of their lives that they preached this act of inhuman violence to their royal patrons. Sober history, again, does not furnish us with the names of any royal patrons, of these two philosopher teachers, who could carry out any persecutional campaign to a great extent. As far as Śaṅkara is concerned we are on safe grounds; but as regards the association of Kumārila with his great patron, King Sudhanvan, no definite information is still forthcoming. South Indian history has not as yet furnished us with the name of such a king who is said to have carried persecution of the Buddhists so vigorously.

What appears to be the truth is that these religious teachers tried their best to win the Buddhists over to their side and to Hinduise them again. Buddhism was already on its decline. The internal decay had begun. A contemporary work [46] furnishes evidence to the impious and licentious acts of the Tāntrik Buddhist. It was therefore very natural on the part of Śaṅkara and Kumārila to make attempts to bring about a reformation—strictly speaking a rejuvenation of the religious ideas of the Indian people. Buddhism was going to die a natural death and it was necessary to sow new seeds in the minds of men. Kumārila and Śaṅkara only tried their best in sowing these new seeds and their attempts were successful to some extent at least. The people were long in need of a theistic religion which could provide them with a supreme deity unto whom they could surrender themselves. As soon as Kumārila and Śaṅkara came forward with their new mission the people began to return to Hinduism in numbers. It may be noted, however, that the means, advocated by these two teachers were completely innocent. They tried to win the people over only by argument and masterly expositions of philosophical and ethical doctrines in correct ways. They put forward their thesis in quite a clear and unambiguous manner and severely criticised the inherent defects and weaknesses of Buddhism which were manifest in the later phases of the faith. Thus Śaṅkara supplied a rational and theistic basis to his philosophy and condemned the *Śūnyavāda* of the Buddhists. "The very discovery of the philosophy of Śaṅkara," remarks Dr. B. M. Barua,[47] "lay in the refutation of the dialectical scepticism of Mādhyamika philosophy."

We can therefore be far from wrong in maintaining that the

[46] *Śaṅkaradigvijaya.* [47] *Prolegomena*, p. 20.

campaigns of Kumārila and Śaṅkara were not of violence but rather of non-violence. These consisted in reconciliation and not in the application of physical force. These campaigns of reconciliation facilitated the assimilation of Buddhism to Hinduism.

This assimilation—a "gradual almost insensible assimilation of Buddhism to Hinduism"[48]—is above all the most important cause of the disappearance of the faith from India. External influences like the campaigns of Kumārila and Śaṅkara and the internal decay rendered the existence of Buddhism by itself utterly impossible. It became gradually absorbed into Hinduism. A tendency towards this absorption is manifest even in the Buddhism of the 7th and 8th centuries A.D., when such great patrons of the faith as Harṣavardhana had a leaning towards the gods of the Hindu pantheon and worshipped some of them. That Buddhism was finally absorbed into Hinduism is amply proved by the existence of Buddhistic rites and conceptions in modern Hinduism. A complete analysis of the faith professed by the Hindus of Bengal, which was the last habitat of Buddhists in India will show that it is a mixture of Hinduism and Buddhism to a great extent. Mahāmahopādhyāya H. P. Shāstri,[49] and Mr. N. N. Vasu[50] have conclusively proved that Buddhistic rites and conceptions are still traceable in Bengal and Orissa.

The *Dharma-Ṭhākura-pūjā*, the worship of a deity called *Dharma-Rāja* which is still prevalent among a section of the Hindus of Western Bengal bears a Buddhistic tinge. We cannot do better than quote the invocation[51] which is still repeated at the time of the worship for illustrating the Buddhist touch—

yasyānto nādimadhyo na ca karacaraṇaṁ nāsti kāyanidānaṁ.
nākāraṁ nādirūpaṁ nāsti janma vā yasya.
yogīndro jñānagamyo sakalajanagataṁ sarvalokaikanāthaṁ.
tattvaṁ tañca nirañjanaṁ makhavat pātu naḥ śūnyamūrtiḥ.

The word *śūnyamūrti* undoubtedly bears testimony to the Bud-

48 *Early History of India* (3rd. ed.), p. 368.

49 MM H. P. Shāstri M.A., *Discovery of living Buddhism in Bengal*, Calcutta, 1897.

50 N. N. Vasu, *Modern Buddhism and its followers in Orissa*, Calcutta 1911.

51 MM. H P. Shastri, *Discovery of living Buddhism*, p. 12. His words are worth quoting here:

"This formula is not perfectly grammatical. The word Çúnyamúrtti points to a Buddhistic origin of the deity. The Hindus never believed in Çúnya as the origin of the world, while Çúnyatá and Maháçúnyatá are the great goals of the Buddhist religion"

dhistic origin of the deity. Sacrifices again are highly condemned[54] by the propagators of this Dharma worship.

The teachings of the Vaiṣṇava reformers of Orissa, as Mr. N. N. Vasu points out, show that the Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa was nothing but Buddhism in disguise. One illustration will suffice. From *Viṣṇugarbha*, a work of Chaitanya Dāsa, one of the Vaiṣṇavite reformers of Orissa of the 17th century A.D., it is evident that " five extra Viṣṇus are identical with the five Dhyāni Buddhas spoken of in the Buddhistic scriptures of Nepal."[55] The cosmogony discussed therein is also exactly what is propounded by the Mahāyānist teachers. Besides some other works e.g. the *Śūnyasaṁhitā* of Achyutānanda Dās and *Śūnyapurāṇa* all contain only expositions of the *Śūnyavāda* with a Vaiṣṇavite touch.

There can be no denying the fact, therefore, that Buddhism was finally assimilated to Hinduism and this assimilation is greatly responsible for the disappearance of the religion of Gautama Buddha from India.

Above all, it should be remembered that the so-called decline of Buddhism cannot be rightly called a decline. It is a " process of change " rather than " decay "—a change necessary for the development of Indian thought. " The decline is merely a suppression by other systems that came forward to meet the demands of the new epoch, and were originally called forth into existence by the same laws of necessity."[56]

When we consider the fact that Buddhism is only a landmark in " the unending process of Indian thought ' we cannot but call the disappearance of Buddhism only a transformation of the old ideas into a new mould. Buddhism only lost its independent entity in the chain of Indian thought but its stamp on the Indian mind could not be eradicated.

[54] Ibid., pp. 16 ff.

[55] N. N. Vasu, *Modern Buddhism*, p. 93. The writer quotes in detail the description of the five Viṣṇus as given in Chaitanya Dāsa's *Viṣṇugarbha* and compares it with the description of the five Dhyānī-Buddhas as given by Oldfield in his sketches from Nepal and concludes thus :—

" Reading together and comparing the account given in *Viṣṇugarbha*, and the Newar Buddhistic version, of creation, we find the infinite, formless and omniscient Viṣṇu of Chaitanya Dāsa was no other than the Svayambhū or the Ādi Buddha of the Mahāyānist and the subordinate Viṣṇus or the celestial beings, created by Parama Viṣṇu, are but the five Dhyānī Buddhas. . . . . It will be clear and evident to all that the subject matter of Chaitanya Dāsa's work was borrowed from the literature of the Mahāyāna Buddhists." Cf. also ibid., pp. 97 ff.

[56] Barua, *Prolegomena*, p. 19.

SOME NOTES ON ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY.

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(a) VYĀGHRATAṬĪ.

Bengal is traditionally divided into four divisions:—(1) Baṅga, (2) Rāḍha, (3) Varendra and (4) Bāgḍī. Banga is bounded by the Brahmaputra (W.), the Ganges (S.), the Meghna (E.) and the Khasi hills (N.). Varendra is the tract lying between the Mahānandā (W.) and the Brahmaputra (E.) and between the Ganges (S.) and Cooch Bihar (N.). The traditional boundaries of Rāḍha are the Rajmahal hills, the Ganges and the Jalinghi branch of the Delta. Bāgḍī comprises the Delta of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra.[1]

Baṅga or Vaṅga[2] seems to be mentioned in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka.*[3] The Epics and other Sanskrit works refer to it repeatedly. It was also called, at a later period, Harikela.[4] Rāḍha occurs in its Prākṛit form of Lāḍha in the *Āijārāṅga Sutta* of the Jainas. It is identical, as Nīlakaṇṭha has remarked, with the *Suhma* of the Epics.[5] Varendra or Varendrī occurs in the *Rāma[pāla]-charita*. Thus we have Sanskrit (or Sanskritised) names of the first three of the four divisions of Bengal and their early uses show the antiquity of those names. But what is the Sanskrit form of the name of Bāgḍī and when was it first used? Though Bāgḍī was formerly the least important of the four divisions on account of its swampy jungle (the remnant of which is now called the Sundarban). It is now the most important division wherein is situated Calcutta, the second city in the British empire. In order to find out the old name of Bāgḍī I began to examine the land grants of the kings of Bengal and strangely enough it is mentioned in the earliest inscription of the Pālas.

1 Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, Vol. XV, p. 145-6.

2 *b* and *v* are not distinguished in Bengali Script and pronunciation. Skr. works generally spell it with *v*.

3 Kieth's *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, 200.

4 *I-Tsing*, p. xlvi; Hemachandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* iv, 23; etc.

5 *S.B.E.*, xxii, pp. 84-5; Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary on the *Sabhāparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*

The Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla records that the king granted the village of Krauñcha-śvabhra in the Mahantāprakāśa *vishaya* (district) of Vyāghrataṭī *maṇḍala* (division) of Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* (province.)[6] The inscriptions of the Pālas mention three *bhuktis* (provinces) of the Pāla kingdom—Srīnagarabhukti (Behar), Tirabhukti (Tīrbhut) and Puṇḍravardhanabhukti. Though Puṇḍravardhana was identical with Varendra, the *bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana seems to have included the whole of Bengal, for we know of no other *bhukti* which might have included the other divisions of Bengal.[7] Thus Vyāghrataṭī was one of the divisions of Bengal. A village of Vyāghrataṭi is mentioned in a grant of Lakshmaṇasena also.[8] The usual Prākrit form of Vyāghrataṭī is Vagghaādi or Vagghaḍī from which the regular Bengali form expected is Vāgḍī, or Vāghḍī. Thus there is no difficulty in taking Bāgḍi as the modern equivalent of ancient Vyāghrataṭi. The Delta of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra was called Vyaghrataṭī ("Tiger Coast"), evidently because it was then, as was in very recent times, infested by the 'Royal Bengal' tigers.

(*b*) Alexander's Haven and Barbaricum.

"No Indian author, Hindu, Buddhist or Jain, makes even the faintest allusion to Alexander or his deeds." These are the words with which Dr. Vincent Smith concludes his account of Alexander's Indian campaign. Though there is no allusion to the deeds of Alexander, is there not a reference to the cities founded by him in India? A careful search ought to be made for them. The hypothetical Sanskrit forms for 'Αλέξανδρος and 'Αλέξαδρεια are, according to the rules of Sanskrit phonetics, Alakṣandraḥ and Ālakṣandrâ. In the vernacular Ālakkhandâ or Ālaṣandâ[9] are the forms expected. The second form is very nearly identical with Alasanda or Alasadda, the birth place of Milinda, which has been identified with Alexandria Opiane at the foot of Mount Caucasus.[10] But this Alasadda was not

[6] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. iv, pp. 243 ff; *Gauḍalekhamālā*, Inscription No. 1.

[7] The expression 'Varendra *maṇḍala*' in Pauṇḍravardhana *bhukti* in Tarpandighi grant also supports it.

[8] Anulia grant of Lakshanasena.

[9] As *ṣ* was preserved in the Shahbazgarhi, Mansera and Kalsi versions of Aśoka's Inscriptions, we expect to find *ṣ* in the early vernaculars of N.W. frontier. As a school of the White Yajurveda pronounced *ṣa* as *kha*, we expect *ṣa* for Skr. *kṣ*. This *ṣ* was changed, in the later period, to *s*.

[10] *Ind. Ant.*, vol ii, p. 146; Cunningham, *A. G.*, pp. 26-30.

in India proper. Is there any reference to Alexander's Haven which certainly bore his name and which was in India proper? Now the Haven must have been famous on account of its commercial importance. Hence we ought to search for it in works like Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, the Sabhāparvan of the *Mahābhārata*, *Ratna-śāstras* and *Vaidyaka Nighaṇṭus* which mention the products and articles of commerce of the various parts of India. And it is actually referred to in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*[11] in the expression 'Alakandaka coral'(= Coral of Alakanda). Where was this Alakanda? Kauṭilya is silent. The commentator remarks that at the mouth of the river of Barbara, a river falling in the Sea of Barbara was, according to the same authority, the River Srotasī mentioned as a source of pearls. A lake named Śrīghaṇṭa in a corner of the Sea of Barbara has also been mentioned by him.[12] The Epics and Purāṇas mention the Barbaras (or Varvaras) as a northern or north-western people.[13] Now by combining these bits of information we find that the country of the Barbaras was in the W. or N.-W. frontier of India and that it stretched up to the [Arabian] sea. Through it flowed a river named Srotasi. In it was a lake not far from the sea. And Alakanda stood at the mouth of a river.

The above description of Alakanda fits well with that of Alexander's Haven. Dr. Smith has shown, on the authority of Major Raverty, that the large lake at the mouth of the river where stood Alexander's Haven still exists and is called Samārāh.[14]

Identity of name and the above facts lead me to take Alexander's Haven as the Alakanda of Kauṭilya.

The Haven must have been a very flourishing city making a good trade in coral and pearl which were brought thither from various countries. But why is it that the author of the Periplus who evidently sailed round the western and southern coasts of India did not mention it? Had it changed its name or was it deserted on account of the silting up of the river? The great emporium of coral trade (for which Alakanda was famous in Kauṭilya's time) was then Barbaricum—the Barbari of Ptolemy. This name is, in the

[11] Sanskrit Text, p. 78; English Translation, p. 90.

[12] *Arthaśāstra*, Eng. trans., p. 86, ftn. 7, 8.; p. 90, ftn. 1.

[13] Pargiter's note on the word in his *Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa*.

[14] Smith, *Early History of India* (2nd. ed.), pp. 101-3 and specially the foot-notes.

opinion of Mr. Schoff, the Hellenised form of some Hindu word. We have seen that Barbara was the name of the country in which was situated Alexander's Haven. Barbaricum is thus connected with Barbara. Barbarika or '(the port) of Barbara country' was probably an epithet of Alexandria itself and it came to be used instead of the name of the port because of the confusion caused by the use of the word Alakanda which was probably used to designate the other Alexandrias also. 'Barbarika' as the name of a place is not a theoretical word formed by Sanskritising Barbaricum. It actually occurs in the *Dhanvantarīya Nighaṇṭu*, an Āyurvedic work. "White (*śveta*) and scentless (*nirgandha*) is the *Barbarika-candana*. It is *pittāsṛk-kapha-dāhaghnaṁ kṛmighnaṁ guru rukshaṇam.*"[15] This is the description which the *Dhanvantarīya Nighaṇṭu* gives of a kind of sandal called *Barbarika-candana*. The *Rājanighantu* also mentions *Barbara-candana*. Thus Barbara or Barbarika must be the name of a country after which the sandal produced there or imported therefrom was called. Kauṭilya[16] mentions Daivasabheya, Joṅgaka, Śākala and other varieties of *candana* and these are epithets derived from place-names. The *Rājanighaṇṭu* mentions the वेट्टचन्दन and remarks मलयाद्रिसमीपस्थाः पर्वता वेट्टसंज्ञकाः । तज्जातं चन्दनं यत्तु वेट्टाख्यं कथ्यते । This remark clearly shows that one kind of sandal was named after its place of origin—वेट्टपर्वत, which I take to be the Sanskrit (or Sanskritised Dravidian) form of Mt. Bēttigō mentioned in Ptolemy's geography.[17] It may be objected that the sandal-producing Barbarika cannot be identified with Barbaricum, for sandal grows in Southern India only. But such a great authority as Kauṭilya has mentioned sandals of Devasabhā (a city and a hill in Western India[18]), Joṅga (in Assam[19]), Śākala (a part of the Punjab) etc. Thus there is no difficulty in identifying Barbarika with Barbaricum.

[15] *Vanauṣadhidarpaṇa* by Kaviraj B. C. Gupta, Vol. 1, pp. 283-4.

[16] Text, p. 78, translation, p. 90.

[17] Pp. 75, 105.

[18] देवसभायाः परतः पश्चाद्देशः । तत्र देवसभ-सुराष्ट्र....प्रभृतयो जानपदाः ....देवसभ.... अर्बुदादयः च पर्वताः । *Kāvyamimāṁsā*, p. 93.

[19] Ftn., 5 7, p. 90 of the English translation of Kauṭilya

THE DRAVIDIAN AFFINITIES OF THE PIŚĀCA LANGUAGES OF NORTH-WESTERN INDIA.

K. Amrita Row, M.A., B.T.

The object of the present article is to show the Dravidian affinities of the Piśāca Languages of North-western India, the grammar of which has been dealt with by Dr. Grierson in his monograph. He is of opinion that the Indian nidus of Paiśācī was in the north-west and it will be reasonable to conclude that the languages now spoken on the North-western frontier of India will show traces of its former existence.[1] Professor Konow, on the other hand, thinks that the Paiśācī described by Prakrit Grammarians was based on a dialect spoken in and about the Vindhyas and perhaps further to the south and east.

According to Dr. Grierson, "Modern Piśāca" languages are as follows.

Kāfir group :— Baśgālī (B.).
Wai-alā (W.).
Veron (V.).
Paśai (P.).
Gawar-bati (G.).
Kalāśā (K.).

Dard Group :— Śīnā (Ś.).
Kāśmīrī (Kś.).
Gārwī (Gār.).
Maiyā̃ (M.).

Khōwār (Kh.).

It is now generally admitted, that the greater part of Northern India was peopled by rude aboriginal tribes, called by Sanskrit writers Dasyus, Niṣādas, Mlecchas etc. Dr. Stevenson of Bombay, Mr. Hodgson of Nepal and others suppose that the non-Sanskritic element in the North-Indian vernaculars was identical with the Dravidian speech, which was supposed by them to have been the speech of the ancient Niṣādas and other aborigines of India. Brahui, spoken in the far

[1] *Z.D.M.G.* 1912, Grierson, "Paiśācī, Piśācas and Modern Piśāca."

North-west in Baluchistan has been proved to be a Dravidian dialect. It would not therefore be unreasonable to expect to find traces of the Dravidian element in the languages now spoken on the North-western frontier of India.

Dr. Grierson maintains that these languages are connected with Paiśācī Prakrit and are also related to the Eranian languages, and possess phonetic peculiarities which distinctly belong to the Eranian family. But a person acquainted with the Dravidian languages cannot fail to be struck by the fact that both Paiśācī Prakrit and the modern Piśāca languages of North-Western India possess almost the same phonetic characteristic as the Dravidian languages, which do not however seem to have attracted the attention of either Dr. Grierson or Professor Konow. The presence of the traces of the Dravidian element in the languages of the North-Western Frontiers only goes to confirm Dr. Grierson's theory that the home of Paiśācī Prakrit is to be sought for in North-western India and not in the Vindhya mountains as is supposed by Professor Konow.

Paiśācī is a very old dialect. Vararuci mentions only one. Siṃhadevagaṇin in *Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra* and Namisādhu in Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṃkāra* call it Paiśācikā. Hemacandra deals with three varieties (counting the two varieties of Cūlikā-paiśācikā). Mārkaṇḍeya handles three principal varieties: (1) *Kaikeya*, (2) *Śaurasena*, (3) *Pāñcāla*, as is evident from the following verse.

kaikeyaṃ śaurasenaṃ ca pāñcālam iti ca tridhā |
paiśācyo nāgarā yasmāt tenāpy anyā na lakṣitāḥ ||

An unknown author quoted by Mārkaṇḍeya mentions 11 varieties including *Pāṇḍya*, *Drāviḍa* and the language of the *Kāñcī-deśa*.

kāñcī-deśya-pāṇḍye ca pāñcāla-gauḍa-māgadham |
vrācaḍaṃ dākṣiṇātyaṃ ca śaurasenam ca kaikayam |
śābaraṃ drāviḍaṁ caiva ekādaśā piśācakāḥ ||

The following verses enumerating the Paiśācī dialects are found in *Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā* of Lakṣmīdhara.

piśāca-deśa-niyataṃ paiśācī-dvitayaṃ viduḥ |
piśāca-deśās tu vṛddhairuktāḥ |
pāṇḍya-kekaya-bāhlīka-sahya-nepāla-kuntalāḥ |
sudheśa-bhoṭa-gāndhāra-haiva-kanojanās tathā |
ete paiśāca-deśās syus taddeśyas tadguṇo bhavet.||

Prof. Lassen refers *Pāṇḍya* to the north of the Indus or rather the Panjāb, *Sahya* to the south-west coast and *Haiva* to the Tuluva or Kanara country. I think *Pāṇḍya* can refer only to the Tamil country, and *Sahya* probably refers to Sahyādri. Pischel says that Lakṣmīdhara's enumeration points to North and West. From these enumerations we are led to infer that in later times the term Paiśācī had lost its old meaning of a definite dialect and signified incorrect forms of Aryan dialects. We cannot, however, definitely say whether the authors of these verses could recognise the striking phonetic similarities of Paiśācī and the Dravidian languages or were unable to distinguish the Dravidian languages spoken in Kanara and the Tamil country from the Aryan vernaculars.

Hœrnle (*Gauḍian Grammar*, XIX) considered Paiśācī to be the low Prakrit spoken by Dravidian aboriginal tribes who fell under the domination of the Aryan immigrants and in whose mouths the Aryan vernacular was distorted into Paiśācī.

Lacôte (*Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛhatkathā*, 58) considers the Paiśācī of Guṇāḍhya to have been based upon an Aryan dialect of the North-west or West, but to have been spoken by non-Aryan peoples.

The Tamil work *Perumkadei*, professedly a translation of *Bṛhatkathā* which is being edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit V. Swaminatha Aiyar, a very distinguished Tamil scholar, will, I fondly hope, throw further light on this problem.

If Paiśācī Prakrit is connected with the Dravidian languages as is supposed by some scholars, it is but natural that traces of Dravidian affinities should be found in the Piśāca Languages of North-western India. If, on the other hand, Paiśācī Prakrit is not connected with Dravidian, we have no reason to expect to find any traces of the Dravidian element in the Piśāca languages of North-western India, unless it be that in later times the people of the North-western frontier borrowed Dravidian words, which is however improbable. The presence of these traces therefore only confirms Dr. Grierson's theory that these languages are connected with Paiśācī Prakrit.

The Piśāca words quoted below are all taken from *The Piśāca Languages of North-Western India* by Sir G. A Grierson, Chapter IX. (Asiatic Society Monographs, Vol VIII).[1]

[1] The chief abbreviations used are: Tam(il), Can(arese), Mal(ayalam), Tel(ugu), Dr(avidian), H(indī), Mar(athī).

Ask.—B. W. *√kud*; G. *√khud*; Ś. *√koj*, (dial.) *khuž*. Cf. H. *√khoj*; derivation uncertain, possibly Skr. *kṣudyatē*, he is agitated or *kṣudhyati*, he is hungry.

If the series B. W. *√kud*, Ś. *√koj* (dial.) be compared with the series Av. *duγδar*, Skr. *duhitar*; V. *luštu*, B. *jū*, *ju-k*; W. *jū*, one would be justified in assuming a hypothetical form * *√kul* or * *√kol*, which may perhaps be connected with Dr. *kēḷ*. Cf. Coorumba, *kret-ine*, *kelu*; Baḍaga, *kret-ine*, *kḷē*; Goṇḍi, *keinjana*.

Bad.—K. *xāce*; G. *xāč*; Ś. *kācō*. Cf. H. *kaccā*, unripe. Deriv. unknown.

Ś. *kācō* may perhaps be connected with Tam. *kacaḍu*, blemish, fault; Tam. *kaca*, to taste bitter.

Before; in front.—G. *puda-mi*; P. *pōṛā*; Kh. *pru-šṭa*. Cf. Skr. *pravat* (Hœrn.): Sq. *prōd*; Prs. *firūd*, *firū*;

Cf. Tam. *puda-vu*, door, the way in front of, and leading to a door: Tam. *puṛam*, outside, exterior.

Belly.—B. *ktol*, *kṭol*. Cf. Kurukh, *kūl*. *kt* appears to have first become *kk*, which being initial became simplified to *k*

For the change of *kt* to *kk*, cf. Skr. *mukta*; Pkr. *mukka*, *mutta*.

G. *wōr*; M. *wair*. Cf. Tam. *vayir*, belly; Can. *basir*, *basur*, belly.

Bird.—G. *pici-n*. Cf. Tuḷu *pijin*, ant. For the change of meaning, cf. O. P. *muru*, Pehl. *mūrū*, bird; Prs. *mor*, Pehl. *mor*, Av. *maoiri*, an ant; Cf. also Kurukh *pōkhā*, the green pigeon; *pōk*, an ant Goṇḍi, *patte*, an ant; *piṭṭe*, bird.

P. *parhanikāle*. Cf. Av. *parant*, Prs. *parand*; Av. *parsna*, feather Skr. *parṇa*, feather. Pehl. *par*, Prs. *par*, feather.

Cf. Tam. *paravai*, bird; *parandu*, having flown; Can. *pari*, *paru*, to fly. Br. *parra*, feather.

Gār. *carōr*. Der.? Cf. H. *ciṛī*, *ciṛiyā*, a bird (Pkr. *caḍiā*). Can. *cīr*, Tel. *cīru*, to scream, to emit a shrill sound.

Bring.—P. *rā-val*; Cf. Tel. *rā-vaḍa-mu*, coming.

Bull.—B. *aže*, *ašu*; *ašu* is probably derived from Skr. *pašu*; Can. *hasu*, a cow. For the aphæresis of *p*, cf. W. *pūc*. V. *uc*. B. *puc*. five. Cf. also Can. *pōgu*, *hōgu*, *ōgu*, to go. P. *gō-lāng*; Ś. (dial.) *gōlō*, cf. Tam. *kūḷi*, *kūlam*, cow; *kāḷai*, a steer, a young bullock. For the change of *a* to *u*, *ō*, cf. Av. *xara*; V. *kōru*. K *dōn*; Ś *dōnō*; cf. Can. *dana*, cow, from Av. and Skr. *dhana*, wealth, in Av. and Skr. *gō-dhana*.

Cat.—B. *pišaš, pšīāš;* W. *pišā;* kh. *puši.* Cf. Wkh *piš;* P. *pišō.* Cf. Tam. *pūšai,* a cat. Mal. *pucca;* Tuḷu, *pucce,* a cat. Cf. also Santālī, *pūsī;* Kōrwā, *pussi,* a cat.

Child.—G. *pola.* Two derivations are probable:

(*i*) It may perhaps be derived from Skr. *bāla.* For the change of *b* to *p* cf. Ś. *būšī;* Kh. *puši.*

(*ii*) It may be connected with Tam. *piḷḷai,* a child. Tel. *pilla.* Can. *pilla, piḷḷe,* a young one, child. Mar. *pīla,* a young one is evidently derived from Dr. *pilla.*

W. *tana-muneh* (apparently, small man). Cf. Tam. *tannam,* little.

K. *čhātak;* P. *kiṭ*ᵘ*lā.* Cf. Br. *cūcah,* Tam. and Mal. *kuṭṭi,* child.

Kś. *nyaciv*ᵘ (pron. *necyuv*). Cf. Tam. *naccu,* little, small.

V. *kiur,* a child; Kś. *kūr*ᵘ, a girl, a daughter. Cf. Tel. *kurra,* child; *kurra-di,* a girl. Tel. and Can. *kuru,* small.

Come.—B. √*ač.* W. √*ach.* Cf Tam. *acai* (pron. *ašai*) to move.

Ś. √*wā.* Cf. Tam. *vā,* come.

Ś. *wa-tō,* came. Cf. Tam. *vantā-n* (pron. *vandān*), he came.

W. *āṭ-ō,* came. Cf. Can. *āṭi,* going; Tam. *āṭu* (pron. *āḍu*) to move.

Do.—W. *chēṛ-am,* I shall do. Cf. Tam. *ceykirēn* (pron. *šeyhirēn*), I do, I shall do.

W. *cāst,* he does. Cf. Tel. *cēstā-ḍu,* he does.

Dog.—B. *kuṛi, krūi;* V. *kiru-kh, keru-kh;* M. *kūsar;* Gār. *kūcur.*

Cf. Br. *kucak;* Tel. *kukka;* Chent. *kukkūr;* Tam. *kurai,* to sound. Tam. *kulai,* to bark.

Finger-ring.—Ś. *barōnō.* Cf. Can. *beraḷ, beral,* finger; Tam. *viralaṇi,* finger-ring. Cf. also Can. *uṅgara, uṅgura;* Tuḷu, *uṅgila,* finger-ring; Skr. *aṅguli,* finger.

Foot.—B. *kyur, kūr.* Cf. Tuḷu, *kār;* Tam. and Can. *kāl,* leg.

Ś. (dial.) *kūti.* Cf. Tam. *kuti* (pron. *kudi*) heel.

Go.—P. √*pā* (pres. *pāk-am,* I go; *paj-a,* he goes). Kś. √*pak;* K. *pai,* having gone. Derivation doubtful.

Cf. Tam. √*pō* (pres. *pōki-rēn,* pron. *pōhi-rēn,* I go); *pōki-rān* (pron. *pōhi-rān*), he goes, *pōi,* having gone. Tel. *pōvu;* Can. *pōgu,* to go.

For the change of *ō* to **ā**, cf. Tel. *pōyi-nāḍu, pāṣā* (Coll.) he went.

Goat (male).—K. *bira;* Gār. *bīr, bīrā-ṭh;* V. *beir* (a she-goat ?).

Cf. Tam. *veṛi;* Can *piṛi,* a goat.

Great, large.—B *āḷ;* Kh. *lott.* Derivation ?

Cf. Tam. *āḷam,* depth; Can. *āḷa,* deep; Can. *lotta,* Tel. *lotta,* a hollow.

Hair.—(?) G. *čumu-ṭa* : Ś. *camōye*. Cf. Tam. *cimili*, braid of hair, Konkaṇi, *čurmu-ṭō*.

Hear.—Ś. *pārudū*, he heard. Derivation? Cf. Coorumba and Baḍaga, *vorad-ine*, to hear.

The change of *v* to *p* is characteristic of the Piśāca Languages.

Horse.—W. *guṛ* ; G. *goṛa* ; Gār *gōr* ; P. *gōṛā* ; Kś. *gur*ᵘ.

Cf. Tam. *kurai*, *kudirai*. Tel. *gurra-mu*, horse.

House.—B. *ama*, *amu* ; W. *ama* ; G. *āma*. Cf. Tam. *amai*, to dwell, to remain.

V. *war-ekh* ; *tar-ekh* (spelt *tareq*). Cf. Tam. *urai*, to abide, lodge, inhabit ; *uru*, to be, to exist. Br. *urā*, a house. Tam. *tar-i* (noun) abiding, tarrying, *tari-ppu*, a lodging, a resting place

Kid.— B. *cō* ; W. *cū*. Cf. Tam. *cōran* (pron. *śōran*), a kid, a lamb.

Mother.—B. *nū*, *nōn* ; V., Kh. *nan*. W. *oie* ; K. *āya*, G. *jai* ; P. *āi* ; Gār. *yai* ; Ś. (dial.) *āžē*. M. *mhāī*. Cf. Tam. *yāy*, *annai*, *āyī*, *mōy*, *tāy*, *āyā-ḷ* ; Kurukh, *ayō* ; Kui. *iyā* ;

Mouth.—M., Gār. *āī* ; Ś. *āī* (dial.). Cf. Tam. *vāy*. Kaikāḍi, *vāi* ; Kurukh. *bai* ; Can. *bāyi*, mouth.

P. *dōr*. Cf. Tel. *nōru*, mouth. For the change of *n* to *d*, cf. Dr. *nīr* ; Br. *dīr*.

See.—B. √*waṛ* ; W. √*vēṛ*. Cf. Tam. *pār*, to see.

G. *tā-us*, he saw. Derivation? Cf. Tulu, *tū-ye*, he saw.

Self.—W., G. *tanu* (own) ; P. *tāni-k* ; Kh. *tan* ; M. *tā* ; Gār. *tanī*. (own) ; Ś. *tomō*. Cf. Dr. *tan*, self. Br. *tan*, self.

Shoe.— G. *kōš-aṛ* ; Kh. *kauš* ; M., Gār. *kōš* ; Kś. *kūš*. Cf. Tam. *kaḷal*, shoe

Singing, a song.—B. *lālu* ; V. *lol*. Cf. Can. and Tel. *lāli*, a lullaby ; Tam. *ilāli*, praising, singing.

Kh. *baše-ik*. Cf. Tam. *vāci* (pron. *vāši*), to play on the flute.

Son.—V. *piē*. Cf. Tam. *paiyan*, a boy, son.

Strike.—Ś. *kut-iste* or *kut-istā* to strike ; M. *kuṭa* or *kuṭa-g-il*, struck.[1]

Cf. Tam. *kuttu*, *kuṭṭu* ; Tel. *koṭṭu*, to strike.

Sun.—Kh. *yōr*. Cf. Tam. *ñāyir*, sun, Mal. *nēr-am*. For the change of *n* to *y*, cf. Tam. *nān*, *yān*. I.

[1] *The Piśāca Languages of North-Western India*, p. 54.

MITRA-MIΘRA.

S. K. Hodivala, B.A.

In the first Oriental Conference I had the honour to read a paper on Varuṇa and Ahuramazda, and I had tried to show that these gods, the Asura and Ahura of the Hindus and Iranians, were identical. As Mitra was an intimate companion of Varuṇa, and Miθra that of Ahuramazda, it is easy to see why these divinities held a very important place in the Vedic and Avestan religions.

So far as the two words Mitra and Miθra are concerned, it is clear enough that they are not only closely connected but perfectly identical. In our religion Miθra has been worshipped with Ahuramazda in several places. (Yt. X. 113, 145, etc.). In the Vedas and especially in the Ṛgveda Mitra has been almost everywhere adored with Varuṇa. In one *sūkta* of the Ṛgveda (III. 59) he has been mentioned all alone.

According to the Avesta Miθra is strong (*taχma*) and very wise (*aš-χraθvā*) ruler over the universe and protector of all creations (Yt. X. 54, 61, 65, 141). These are also the attributes which have been applied to Mitra in the Ṛgveda. He is strong, very wise (सुक्रतु), supreme ruler (साम्राट्) and protector of the earth (भुवनस्य गोपा) (RV. V. 62. 5; 62. 9; 63. 3; 66. 1).

In two places in the Ṛgveda (III. 62. 16; VII. 65. 4) Mitra and Varuṇa are thus addressed: आ नो मित्रावरुणा घृतैर्गव्यूतिमुक्षतम् (May Mitra and Varuṇa bedew our pasturage with oil). In this passage the word गव्यूति (pasturage) is important. In the Avesta it assumes the form *gaoyaoiti*. This word combining with the word *vouru* forms the compound *vouru-gaoyaoiti*, which is a special epithet of Miθra, meaning "the lord of wide pastures."

In the Avesta it is stated that Miθra makes the plants grow and waters move (Yt. X. 61). Similarly, in the Ṛgveda (V. 62. 4) Mitra and Varuṇa are spoken of as causing the plants to flourish and the rains to spread.

Although Mitra the gracious god is a friend of the people, still

when he is displeased, he becomes angry. Hence a Vedic poet confessing his sin, cries out: "Has the King (Varuṇa) seized us? How have we offended against his holy ordinance? For even Mitra among the gods is angry" (RV. X. 12. 5). In the Avesta Miθra severely punishes those who break contracts (Vendīdād, IV. 5–10).

In both the religions this divinity is the friend of truth, the protector of truthfulness and the destroyer of untruth (Yt. X. 80; RV. I. 151. 1; V. 67. 4). The house of Mitra and Varuṇa is large, tall and thousand-pillared. The house of Miθra is also large, spacious and strong (Yt. X. 44). It is important to note here that Mitra's palace is spoken of as सहस्रस्थूण (having thousand pillars). This compound word सहस्रस्थूण is the exact equivalent of the Avestan word *hazaŋra-stūna*, which is the epithet of the house of the Zoroastrian goddess named Ardvisūra (Yt. V. 101).

In one passage of the Ṛgveda (VII. 61. 3) Mitra and Varuṇa are mentioned as having spies, who visit every spot and watch unceasingly. Elsewhere (RV. VIII. 47. 11) we read that the Ādityas, who were the friends of Mitra and whose number was eight in some places, look down upon us like spies. In the Avesta (Yt. X. 45) it is stated that eight friends of Miθra watch the contract-breakers like spies from high places. It may be mentioned that the word for spies is exactly the same in both the languages, namely स्पशः in Sanskrit and *spasō* in Avesta.

Both in the Avesta and the Vedas Miθra (Mitra) is represented as a strong warrior. (Yt. X. 102, RV. V. 65. 4).

Primarily Miθra is the light of the Sun. Before sunrise and after sunset Miθra illuminates the earth. Being a shining *Yazata* (angel) and being inseparably connected with the Sun, he is always worshipped with the latter during the day time. In the Hindu scriptures Varuṇa is connected with night and Mitra with day (AV. IX. 3. 18). According to the Taittirīya Saṃhitā (II. 1. 7. 4; VI. 4. 8. 3) Mitra made day and Varuṇa night. In one place Mitra and Varuṇa are said to encompass the realm of light with their hands (RV. V. 64. 1). In another place Mitra is represented as having covered and concealed the darkness with his light (RV. VI. 8. 3). The Avestan writer says that Miθra gives light *just as the moon does* (Yt. X. 142). A similar idea is expressed by the Vedic writer who says: "Great is the power of Varuṇa and Mitra who give light *like the moon*" (RV. III. 61. 7).

In one passage of the Ṛgveda (V. 81. 4) the Sun himself is said to be Mitra, clearly showing the intimate connection of Mitra with the Sun even in the Indian literature. In our Pahlavi books such as Dādestāni Dīnī (XXXI. 14) the word Miθra is used for the Sun himself.

Miθra being the god of light, he is naturally said to be watchful with his ten thousand eyes (Yt. X. 141). The Vedic god Mitra beholds men with eyes that close not (RV. III. 59. 1).

As both Miθra and Mitra are celestial gods, we come across similar descriptions of their heavenly cars. In the Avesta (Yt. X. 125, 136, 143) we find it stated that every day Miθra goes out driving in a carriage of one golden wheel, which has four white immortal horses with golden and silver shoes. In the Ṛgveda Mitra and Varuṇa are said to mount their gold-hued car at break of morning (RV. V. 62. 8). Elsewhere they are represented as ascending their chariot in the sublimest heaven—which chariot is none other than the Sun itself (RV. V. 63. 1, 7).

In both the religions these divinities hold positions of great honour and respect. Accordingly, in the Avesta Miθra is called a quick reciter of Yasna and an officiating priest, who loudly recites the Gāθās. In the Vedas also Mitra has been called an officiating priest (RV. III. 5. 4; White Yajur Veda XXVIII. 19). The words for "officiating priest" is *zaotar* in Avesta and होतृ in Sanskrit, which are exactly identical.

As the above two gods were not only closely connected but perfectly identical, it is but natural to find the followers of both the religions worshipping them with almost similar prayers and offerings. The Zoroastrians thus worship Miθra: "O brave Miθra Yazata, we worship thee with sacrificial offerings. Thou shouldst be pleased with our worship. Thou shouldst sit near and accept our prayers .... That man is a worthy person who, having spread *barsom* grass, worships thee with Haoma juice made ready" (Yt. X. 31, 32, 91). The Vedic worshipper invokes Mitra and Varuṇa to come near, sit on *barhiṣ* grass, drink Soma juice and accept sacrificial offerings (RV. I. 137. 3; V. 72. 3; VII. 66. 19). The *barsom* grass and Haoma juice were exactly the same as *barhiṣ* grass and Soma juice.

When pleased Miθra grants wealth, prosperity, courage, strength, respect, wisdom, protection from evil persons, etc. Similarly, Mitra when satisfied grants riches, prosperity, happiness and protection from

the attacks of enemies (Yt. X. 5. 33, 34; RV. V. 64. 6; 67. 2–3; VI. 67. 2; 68. 3; VII. 52. 2; 62, 3).

The two gods were so very alike in all respects that in view of the irresistible conclusion that both the branches of the Āryans—the Indians and Iranians—were one people in the hoary past, we have no hesitation to say that Mitra-Miθra was one god and that the only difference between the two peoples was the very slight difference in the method of pronouncing his name.

IDOL-WORSHIP: DID IT EXIST AMONG THE ANCIENT ARYANS, AND AMONG THEM, AMONG THE ANCIENT HINDUS OF THE VEDIC TIMES?

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INTRODUCTION.

In the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of England,[1] there was, of late, a discussion between Prof. A. A. Macdonell and Mr. Venkateshwar, as to whether Idol-worship prevailed in Vedic times. The former said that it did not prevail, while the latter said that it did. The object of this paper is to submit a few points for consideration on the subject.

In his paper, entitled "The Development of Early Hindu Iconography" in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,[2] Prof. Macdonell says: "In the earliest product of Indian literature, the Rigveda, the gods, being largely personifications of natural phenomena, were only vaguely anthropomorphic. To the imagination of the poets of the hymns, the gods were outwardly differentiated mainly by the weapons[3] they wielded or the animals[4] that drew their cars. They were not as

[1] *J.R.A.S.*, 1916, 1917 and 1918.

[2] *J.R.A.S.*, 1916, pp. 125-130.

[3] As examples of representation by weapons in later times, as illustrated both in literature and sculpture, we find Viṣṇu holding a *cakra* i.e. a disc or a wheel in his hand as a symbol, and Śiva holding a *triśūla* or trident.

[4] For example, Indra is known by his elephant; Sūrya, by the seven horses of his chariot; Gangā and Yamunā (Jamna) by the crocodile and the tortoise; and Lakṣmī by two elephants with a lotus between them on which she sits. Cf. the representations in the Avesta, where the Sun *hvarəχšaēta* is spoken of as having swift horses, *aurvaṯ-aspa* (*Khurshid Nyāish*). Miθra is spoken of as having a chariot (vāša) with a golden wheel (*aēva caχra zaranaēnəm*, *Mihr Yasht* (*Yt.* X), 136, also 67). In the Avesta, the *caχra* is held to be a symbol of authority or influence (*Yt.* XIII, 89).

yet iconographically represented. Literary evidence indicates that regular images of gods were not made till the latest Vedic period. They were known in the middle of the second century B.C. to the grammarian Patañjali and most probably also to Pāṇini nearly two centuries earlier."[5]

The evidence from the cases of other Aryan nations. Iran.

I think, that the evidence of what we know about three other Aryan people supports Prof. Macdonell's view, that idol-worship did not exist in India in early Vedic times. The Aryan nations I wish to speak about are: (1) the Iranians, (2) the Scythians, and (3) the Ancient Germans.

(1) *The Iranians.*

Herodotus thus speaks of the ancient Iranians :

"It is not their practice to erect statues, or temples, or altars, but they charge those with folly who do so; because, as I conjecture, they do not think the gods have human forms, as the Greeks do. They are accustomed to ascend the highest parts of the mountains, and offer sacrifice to Jupiter, and they call the whole circle of the heavens by the name of Jupiter. They sacrifice to the sun and moon, to the earth, fire, water, and the winds. To these alone they have sacrificed from the earliest times; but they have since learnt from the Arabians and Assyrians to sacrifice to Venus Urania, whom the Assyrians call Venus Mylitta, the Arabians, Alitta, and the Persians, Mitra. The following is the established mode of sacrifice to the above-mentioned deities; they do not erect altars nor kindle fires when about to sacrifice; they do not use libations, or flutes, or fillets, or cakes; but, when any one wishes to offer sacrifice to any of these deities, he leads the victim to a clean spot, and invokes the god, usually having his tiara decked with myrtle. He that sacrifices is not permitted to pray for blessings for himself alone; but he is obliged to offer prayers for the prosperity of all the Persians, and the king, for he is himself included in the Persians. When he has cut the victim into small pieces, and boiled the flesh, he strews under it a bed of tender grass, generally trefoil, and then lays all the flesh upon it: when he has put everything in order, one of the Magi standing by sings an ode concerning the origin of the gods, which they say is the incantation; and without one of the Magi it is not lawful for

[5] *J.R.A.S.*, 1916, p. 125.

them to sacrifice. After having waited a short time, he that has sacrificed carries away the flesh and disposes of it as he thinks fit."[6] Again we have the instance of the Persian king Cambyses entering the temple of Vulcan and defiling the image of that God.[7] Xerxes, when he invaded Greece, threw down the images of gods.[8]

This long quotation from Herodotus shows that what was the case with India, as pointed out by Prof. Macdonell, was also the case with Irān. There was no idol-worship there from very ancient times. Irān was pre-eminently against idol-worship. In the *Hāδoxt Yašt* (*Yt.* XXII, 13) credit is given to a pious soul for disregarding idolatry and for resorting to pure Gāθā-singing. In the *Vištāspa Yašt* (*Yt.* XXIV, 37), Zoroaster asks his royal disciple, Vištāspa, to keep away from idolatry, which was an evil, an infection from Ahriman. In the same *Yašt* (59), Ahura Mazda advises the rejection of idol-worship and acceptance of pure and simple Gāθā-singing.

The word for idolatry in the above passage is *baosu*, the Pahlavi rendering of which in the *Hāδoxt Nask*, is *būndak āig shaidā-yazakīh*[9] i.e. "*bundak* which is devil-worshipping." The Pahlavi rendering of the word in the *Vištāspa Yašt* is *ujdeaspt but parastik* i.e. idolatry.[10] Coming down from the Avesta to the Pahlavi books,[11] we find idol-worship run down in the *Dinkard*, the *Bundehish*, the *Minokherad*, the *Bahman Yasht*, the *Virāf-Nāmeh*, the *Shatroihā-i Airān*, the *Jāmāspi*, the *Kārnāmek-i Ardeshir Bābegān* and *Matan-i Shāh Vāhārān Varjavand*. As Prof. Jackson says, all Pahlavi writings allude to "the abomination of idol-worship as wholly abhorrent to the pure spirit of Zoroastrianism that is in keeping with its ideal conception of the divine."[12] He further on says: "I must emphasize that the Persians from the earliest antiquity had no idols in the sense of representations of the godhead set up as object of worship; nor does Zoroaster refer to them. If, moreover, Darius and the other Achaemenian kings caused to be carved above

6 Herodotus, Bk. I, 131-32. Carey's Translation.

7 Ibid, Bk. III. 37.

8 Ibid, Bk. VIII, 109.

9 *Hāδoxt Nask*, II, 13; also *The Book of Ardāi Virāf*, by Dastur Hoshang Jamasp, p. 287.

10 *Le Zend-Avesta* par Darmesteter, II, p. 653.

11 Bk. VII, Chap. 1, 19; Chap. IV, 72; *S.B.E.*, XLVII, p. 8.

12 Prof. Jackson's article, entitled "Allusions in Pahlavi Literature to the Abomination of Idol-worship" in the *Sir Jamshedjee Jeejibhoy Zarthosti Madressa Jubilee Volume*, p. 274. Vide also my notice of the article in the introduction to that volume, pp. xl-xli.

their bas-relief effigies in stone a half-figure representing Aura-Mazda as floating in a symbolic circle and handing to the king a ring as the emblem of sovereignty, it is nevertheless a motive borrowed from Assyrian and Babylonian art and was doubtless chosen for the special purpose of appealing to the non-Persian conquered nations who were more anthropomorphic in their ideals[13] . . . . Nor is any exception formed to the general truth by the fact that there is in Sāsānian times a mounted figure of Ormazd (known by his name occurring in the attached inscription) carved in stone Naqsh-i-Rustam to represent the deity in the act of bestowing the crown upon Ardashir. Idolatry played no part in the history of the religion."

One may perhaps point against the above quotations and references from Herodotus and the Avesta and Pahlavi books, the supposed case of the Achaemenian King Artaxerxes Mnemon, who is said by some to have founded the statues of Anāhita and Mithra. But here one must remember that the rendering of that portion of his inscription, which is pointed out as referring to this subject, is not certain. The reading of the inscription as given by Dr. Spiegal is :—

Anāhita utā Mithra vashnā Auramazdāha apadānā adam akunavam. Auramazdā, Anāhita utā Mithra mām pātuv.[14]

Spiegel renders this as :

"Durch die Gnade von Auramazda, habe ich Anāhita und Mithra in diesen Palast gesetzt (?), Auramazda, Anāhita und Mithra mögen mich schützen," i.e. "By the favour of Ahura Mazda, I have put Anāhita and Mithra in this palace. May Auramazda Anāhita and Mithra protect me!"

Spiegel puts a query mark after the word *gesetzt*, i.e. "put," thus showing that he has some doubt about his interpretation of the sentence.

Tolman[15] gives the same reading and translates :

Anāhita and Mithra . . . . . . by the grace of Auramazda the building I made ; let Auramazda, Anahīta and Mithra protect me.

[13] The conventionalized form, taken to be thus borrowed from the Babylonians and Assyrians, has been taken by others to be a representation of the *fravaši* or *farohar*, i.e. the idealized spirit of the King. That it is so, is supported by the fact that the features of both the King and the *fravaši* are similar. Prof. Jackson differs from this view.

[14] *Die altpersischen Keilinschriften*, von Fr. Spiegel, 1881, p. 68-69.

[15] *A Guide to the Old Persian Inscriptions* by Herbert Cushing Tolman, pp. 90 and 158.

Weissbach and Bang's[16] rendering also is similar. It does not point clearly to statues.

Thus, we see that the inscription does not point to the installation of the images of Anāhita and Mithra. What was really meant by the King seems to be that he had patronized and helped some special glorification of the Yazatas, Anāhita and Mithra. Perhaps, he specially founded temples in honour of these Yazatas. Just as we have fire-temples in India specially connected with Varahrān (Behrām), the 20th Yazata, and known as *Ātash-Behrām*, so there may be some special temples connected with the names of Anāhita and Mithra.

Even if it were supposed that the reference in the inscription is to statues of Anāhita aud Mithra, there is not the slightest idea of the foundation of any kind of idol-worship. This appears from the fact that out of the many Yazatas only these two are referred to in this connection. Now these two Yazatas, Mithra and Anāhita, were those whose worship had prevailed among some foreign nations. The worship of Anāhita, known to the Greeks as Anaïtis, who, by some, is compared to Artemis and by others to Aphrodite or Urania, was known in one form or another among some western nations. A part of the portrait of Anāhita, as pictured in the *Ābān Yašt*, is in many points similar to that of the Greek Aphrodite (Urania),[17] and a part is similar to that of Artemis.[18] Again, we know that the worship of Mithra had, from an early time, prevailed in the West. These two worships there may have created the production of statues. So, it is possible that the western method of the worship of the two Yazatas may have reflected itself somewhat in Persia in the later Achaemenian times. Artaxerxes, following the Westerners, may have merely produced these statues from an art point of view. That there was no worship of the statues as idols, is proved from the very fact that, had there been anything of the kind, why should the Iranians have stopped short with these two Yazatas and not proceeded to do the same with other Yazatas? This shows that there may be an attempt only at statue-*making* but not at idol-*worship*. We find that the western idea of statues had affected

16 *Die altpersischen Keilinschriften*, von F. H Weissbach und W. Bang, (1893), pp. 45-47.

17 See my *Kadim Iranio* i.e. Ancient Iranians according to Herodotus and Strabo, p. 18.

18 Ibid, p. 19,

Darius, who, when in Egypt, at one time, thought of erecting his own statue [19] opposite to that of an old Egyptian magnate, but he was dissuaded. The idea seems to have been created that the person, in whose honour a statue was erected, was thereby dignified.

Būt-parastish, a later Persian word for Idol-worship.—In later Persian, idol-worship is spoken of as *būt-parastish* wherein the word *būt* has come to mean an idol. This Persian word *būt* comes from the Avesta *būiti* (Ven. XIX, 1, 2, 43). In the Avesta, *būiti* is the name of a *dīv*. The Pahlavi form of the Avesta *būiti* is *būt*. We read in the Pahlavi *Bundehish*:

Būt shāeda zak mūnash pavan Hindukān parastand. Avash vakhsh pavan zak butihā mahman chegūn būt-i asp parastet,[20] i.e. the demon *būt* is one who is worshipped among the Hindus. The increase (of its worship) consists in idols. For example they worship the idol of a horse.

This seems to be a reference to the idol-worship among the Buddhists. Among the Tibetan Buddhists, there is a horse-dragon called *Long-ma.*[21]

Dislike for idols among Mahomedans, the successors of Iranians in the land of Irān.—The dislike of Mahomedans for idols is well-known. They carried on, as it were, the tradition and the teaching in this matter, of the Zoroastrian people with whom they had come into close contact and whose land they soon occupied.

It seems to be strange that the Mahomedan religion which had its cradle in Arabia, where there prevailed some form of idol-worship,[22] should be iconoclastic. But, this seems to the result of the influence—one of many such influences in the matter of religion—of Zoroastrianism upon Mahomedanism. The great Anusheravan (Noshirvān the Just, Chesroes I.) had a strong hold upon Southern Arabia. So he may have furthered the influence of the Jews and others against idolatry. The Prophet himself is said to have expressed his pleasure and pride for the fact that he was born in the times of a great king like Noshirvān the Just. So, a close observer as he was of men round about him and of their doings, he approved what he thought was good in Zoroastrianism

[19] Herodotus, Bk. II, 110.

[20] Chap. XXVIII, 34. Vide my *Bundehish*, pp 138-39.

[21] Vide for his picture, Waddle's *Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, pp. 410-411.

[22] According to Maçoudi (Chap XLIII), at one time, there prevailed idolatry in Arabia. It was the Jewish religion that first began to repress it.

and embodied it in his new religion. Dislike of idolatry may be one of these things, which pre-eminently seems to have appealed to his cultured mind. He was emphatically against any kind of idolatry, even against any form that came nearer to it.

The Mahomedan view [13] against the use of idols is said to have been based on their belief that in idols or images made by men, life will enter on the day of Kiāmat, i.e. on the Judgment-day. But those objects, though revived with life, will not possess human or spiritual privileges. That being the case, the life-bearing images and idols will curse their owners. That being the belief, it is said that when the wife of the Prophet, on one occasion, produced for prayers a carpet bearing some pictures on it, the Prophet was much displeased. Again, that being their belief, the Mahomedans at one time did not like the portraits of the kings on their coins. Latterly, in cases where there were portraits, the eyes of the portraits were made so large as to obscure the face of the person. The image of the face being thus imperceptible, the portraits on coins were tolerated to some extent. One can thus understand why certain Mahomedan kings, when they destroyed Hindu temples, and their idols, they destroyed the faces. Without faces the idols would be no idols.

(2) *The case of the Scythians.*

The Scythians were a chip of an old Aryan stock. As said by Prof. Gutschmid, their deities "have also an Aryan complexion." [14] They also had their gods of the Heaven—the Sun—and the Sea and their goddesses of Earth and fecundity, like the ancient Indians and the Iranians. Prof. Gutschmid says of them that "in true Iranian fashion, the gods were adored without images, altars or temples." [25]

(3) *The case of the ancient Germans.*

According to Cæsar, "They (the ancient Germans) reckon those alone in the number of gods, which are the objects of their perception and by whose attributes they are visibly benefited; as the Sun, the Moon and Vulcan." [26] These gods of ancient Germans then are same as the gods of the ancient Hindus,—Sūrya, Candra and Agni—and the same

[13] Lady Lawley, *Southern India*, p. 49.

[24] *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (9th ed.). Vol. XXI, p. 576. [25] Ibid.

[26] *De Bello Gallico*, VII, as quoted by Dr. Aikin, the translator of Tacitus, p. 25

as the Yazatas of the ancient Iranians,—Hvarəxšaēta, Māŋha and Ātar. Tacitus says that "they (the Germans) conceive it unworthy of the grandeur of celestial beings to confine their deities within walls, or to represent them under a human similitude: woods and groves are their temples."[47] What Tacitus says of the ancient Germans, is, as it were, a version of what Herodotus says, as quoted above, of the ancient Iranians. It shows that there was no idol-worship among the ancient Germans as there was none among the ancient Iranians.

We thus see that none of the other ancient people—the Iranians, the Germans and the Scythians—who were offshoots of an old Aryan stock, had idol-worship among them. So, there should be no idol-worship among the ancient Hindus also, an old offshoot whose Ṛṣis sang their songs of Nature in their Hymns of the Vedas.

Arrian on places of worship in Pre-Buddhistic times.

Arrian, referring to Megasthenes, says that there were about 118 Indian tribes who were "nomadic like those Scythians who did not till the soil, but roamed about in their wagons, as the seasons varied, from one part of Skythia to another, neither dwelling in towns nor worshipping in temples; . . . . The Indians likewise had neither towns nor temples of the gods."[48] This is a picture of the very early Aryan imigrants into India.

Idol-worship necessitates the building of Temples.

There is one important thing which we must bear in mind. It is that when a people has idol-worship, it must have temples for locating the idols. Now, it seems that the very early Aryans whose picture we see in the early hymns of the Rig-Veda, were, to some extent, a people not settled in a centre. They were people who moved from place to place and who thus came into contact with Nature. So, they were not in a position to build temples which are the accompaniments of a long settled life in one locality.

Idol-worship in India,—is it indigenous or imported?

If there was no idol-worship in Vedic times, and if it appeared in later times, the question arises, whether it came later on from outside

[47] *Germania*, IX, translated by Aikin.

[48] *Ancient India* by McCrindle, (1877), p. 199.

or whether it grew up in India itself. There are some who say that it came from outside. Some say that *at least* a part of the Hindu iconography was the result of Semitic influence.[29] Some say that it came from Greece. It is believed that the Greeks of the Gandhāra School introduced idol-worship into India. Before the time of Aśoka, there was no idol-worship. The *pād*, i.e. the feet, of Buddha were first worshipped. Later on images of Buddha began to be made and the first image made had, as its model, an image of Apollo, the Greek Sungod.[30]

But it seems that idol-worship, though it did not exist in very old Vedic times, originated in the country itself. Foreign influence may have affected the forms etc. of the idols from the point of view of art, but it did not originate idol-worship.

In India, from very ancient times, there was the tendency to idealism. Later on, the idealistic conceptions began to be developed into iconographic works. Art became the co-adjutor of religion. Temples, which were the best specimens of art, became in themselves educative sources. Music, as an art, began to educate by sound. Temples, images, paintings, as works of art, began to educate by sight. Idols began to be an expression of ideals.

If indigenous, among whom did Idol-worship originate?

If Idol-worship did not exist in early Vedic times, and if it was not imported but originated at one time in the country itself, among whom and when did it first originate?

Some say that it first originated among the Jainas. The Vedic books speak of sacrifices, among which there were also animal sacrifices.[31] The Jainas, who were opposed to killing animals, replaced this animal sacrifice by the images of their Tīrthaṁkaras, so that the attention of their worshippers may be drawn to them in place of the animal sacrifices. The Brāhmaṇas then in rivalry introduced idols in their rituals. They replaced the idols of the Jaina Tīrthaṁkaras, Mahāvīra

[29] *J.R.A.S.*, 1916, p. 130.

[30] *Journal of American Oriental Society*, May 1917.

[31] The Avesta also refers to animal sacrifices. In Yasna XI (*Haoma Yašt*, 4; *S.B.E.*, XXXI, p. 245), we read of some such sacrifice of an animal, a particular part of which was offered to Haoma. The use of milk and clarified butter (*goshido*) in the modern ritual has come down from old times as an improved form of this ancient custom.

and Pārasnāth, by those of their own Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. The Buddhists also had their idols. The Brāhmaṇas, in order to preserve the attachment of the people to their ritual, followed them also and introduced idol-worship.

Origin of Idol-worship in Persia and Mongolia.

Various reasons are ascribed to the origin of idol-worship in the world. We saw above how even idealism may lead to it through art, which is a coadjutor of religion. Well-nigh the same cause is attributed to the origin of idol-worship in Persia and Mongolia by later Persian writers.

It is strange that though the Avesta and the Pahlavi literature of ancient Iran speak against idol-worship, according to a later Persian writer, the author of the *Zīnat-ul-Tavārikh*, idol-worship originated in Irān in remote times, in the time of King Tehmurasp (the *Taχmana-urupa* of the Avesta), as the result of an extraordinary regard for the dead in the time of an epidemic. "The account of its origin appears very natural. A malignant disease had raged so long in Persia that men, distracted at losing many of their dearest friends and relations, desired to preserve the memory of them by busts and images which they kept in their houses as some consolation under their affliction. These images were transmitted to posterity by whom they were still more venerated; and in the course of time the memorials of tender regard were elevated into objects of worship." [32]

A similar origin of Idol-worship among the Mongols.

A similar cause seems to have introduced idol-worship among the Mongols. Malcolm quotes the *Travels of William de Rubruquis*, a monk who was sent, in A.D. 1253, by Louis IX of France (commonly called St. Louis) to the Court of Mangou Khan, the grand-son of Chengiz.[33] "The monk was told: 'We frame not these images to represent god; but when any rich man among us, or his son, or his wife, or any of his friends dieth, he causeth the image of the dead person to be made, and to be placed here; and we, in remembrance of him, do reverence thereunto . . . . out of regard to their memories.'" [34]

[32] Malcolm, *History of Persia*. Vol. I, pp. 9-10.

[33] Ibid, p. 10. [34] Ibid, p 10, note.

Origin of Idolatry among the ancient Arabs.

Perceval,[35] the modern historian of the Arabs, says that according to some authorities, the early Arabs were free from idolatry. According to others, it prevailed from early times and began with the spread of the Arabs from the Kābāh. They worshipped at the Kābāh, and when they began to disperse, they took with them a stone from the vicinity of the Kābāh as a precious relic (*une rélique precieuse*). They put up those stones in their houses wherever they be and went round it as they went round the Kābāh.

Displeasure against Idolatry carried too far.

Modern critics in their expression of displeasure against idol-worship carry matters very far and treat as idolatry what really is not idolatry. We had an example of this kind recently. In 1916, during the course of the Great War, it was suggested that Crosses or Calvaries may be erected in England on waysides here and there in honour of those who were killed in the war. The Protestant Alliance thereupon protested against the suggestion, and wrote to the Premier that the suggestion may not be followed out. They suggested, in its stead, that the "better way" to show respect to the dead would be to put their names on brass tablets in, or on, public buildings. The *Athenæum* thereupon said that there was nothing like idolatry in this. It said: "This strikes us as yet another recrudescence of the old iconoclastic spirit, and it is curious to notice that, whether in the eighth or the seventeenth century, whether among Albigenses or English Protestants, it utters always the same peculiarly strident outcry—the burden of which is a horror of idolatory. We doubt whether idolatry—in the sense of definite religious worship offered to a graven image as if it were a divinity—is even possible to a Western European in the twentieth century. Even if it were so, the abuse of a good is not sufficient reason for abolishing its use. The trouble we have to meet in our day and country is not that people fail to practise their religion rightly, but that they tend to have no religion at all. To look for a moment at Christ upon His Cross, remembering as one does so those who have fallen in battle, striving to emulate His spirit of sacrifice, is at least to have a glimpse of them *sub specie aeternitatis*, as the old phrase has it. Less

35 *Essai sur l' Histoire des Arabs*, I, p. 197.

than that will hardly satisfy, and we do not think that can be achieved by the brass tablet in a public building." [58]

Idol-worship, if helpful to the illiterate, may be tolerated.

Various reasons have been preached against idol-worship. One of them, as preached by the Old Testament prophets was that Jehovah or God was jealous and intolerant of such false Gods. But this is not a correct reason. To many worshippers, idol is a symbol. They do not worship God in the idol. Sir Oliver Lodge, one of the best scientists of this day, in his *Man and the Universe*, takes this very sensible view and says: "An idol, to ignorant and undeveloped people, is a symbol of something which they are really worshipping under a material form and embodiment: the sensuous presentation assists their infantile efforts towards abstract thought, as material sacraments help people in a higher stage of religious development. But some of these helps should be out-grown. An adult mathematician hardly needs a geometrical figure, crudely composed of fragments of chalk or smears of plumbago or ink, to help him to reason; and if he uses such a diagram, he is aware that he is not really attending to it, but is reasoning about ideal and unrealisable perfections; he has soared above the symbol, and is away among the cementing laws of the universe. If an image or a tree-trunk or other object helps a savage to meditate on some divine and intractable conception,—if it has been so used by thousands of his ancestors, and has acquired a halo of reverence through antiquity and by the accumulation of human emotion lavished upon it,—a missionary should think twice before he is rude to it, or abuses it or pulls it down. We do not rebuke a child for lavishing a wealth of nascent maternal affection on some grotesque black-Betty of a wooden rag-covered doll; we do not despise, we honour, a regiment content to be decimated so that it may save its flag,—which materially is almost a nonentity. And so, if we send missionaries, we should send competent men, who will gradually educate, by implanting useful arts and positive virtues; and we should tell these messengers, clearly, that negative and iconoclastic teaching may be very cruel. These things depend upon grade attained."

[58] *The Athenæum*, August 1916, No. 4608, p. 361.

A NOTE ON SANSKRIT COMPOUNDS.

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The power of making true compounds is taken as one of the distinguishing characteristics of the I.-E.* languages. A true compound should be distinguished from mere juxtaposition. The Semitic languages show a type of "compound" which comes somewhat near the Sanskrit one, i.e. a compound where there is the juxtaposition of two words where one word "governs" the other, standing to it in relation of the genitive case. Such, for example, are the Hebrew "compounds" *Ben-Jamin* and *Beth-Shemesh*. But there is one important syntactical difference to be noted between the Hebrew "compound" and the Sanskrit one, namely the word-order. The corresponding Sanskrit would be यमिनपुत्रः and सूर्यभवनम् respectively, the "possessor" being put *first*, whereas in the Hebrew the "possessor" comes last. It may also be mentioned in passing that such "compounds" in Hebrew and the other Semitic languages are mostly descriptive proper names, and that these "compounds" are not used in the language as such.

As distinguished from these of the Semitic type are the true compounds of the I.-E. languages. The characteristic feature of a "true" compound is that the sense of the whole is not merely the "sum" of the senses of the two (or more) components, but is something different. The meaning of a true compound is the *resultant* of the syntactical relations existing between its components, and these relations are not merely those between the possessor and the thing possessed.

The compounds of the I.-E. preserved in the oldest type of the various languages are mostly of two members. In fact in the older literature very rarely shows compounds of even three members. We will chiefly deal with Sanskrit compounds. This restriction to two members is a special characteristic of the Vedic language, and the same is the characteristic feature of compounds in the Avesta. But in the Avesta the compounds are much looser in formation than in Sanskrit. In

* I(ndo)-E(uropean).

Sanskrit, too, the compound began as mere juxtaposition of two words. We have relics of this in the so-called *aluk* compounds where the first member retains its ending, e.g., वनेचर, युधिष्ठिर, etc. The only way in which such *aluk* compounds can be distinguished from two words in juxtaposition is the accent; the compound has one accent, whereas two words in juxtaposition will have, of course, two accents.

The accentuation of compounds throws considerable light on their history. Every word should bear one accent; or to be more accurate *one idea* should have one accent. This in fact constitutes the main difference between two words in juxtaposition and a true compound. The compound represents one idea and hence though made up of several members it should bear only one accent. But there are some remarkable exceptions. The *devatā-dvandva*, as is well known, bears *two* accents. The reason is not far to seek, the *devatā-dvandva* implies *two* ideas, the two gods, and therefore it bears two accents. There is also the loose formation known as the *āmreḍita*,[1] where the word is repeated twice for the sake of emphasis but the two words bear only one accent between them, e.g., जह्येषां वरं वरम् (slay of them each best man), वयंवयम् (our very selves), अङ्गादङ्गाल्लोम्नोलोम्नः पर्वणिपर्वणि (from every limb, from every hair, in every joint). In a few cases, however, the two words bear two accents, where probably the feeling was lost that this formation was originally a loose type of compound.

The natural tendency in languages of every type is to progress from the synthetic to the analytic type. This is really a movement in the direction of simplification and clearness of expression, and it reflects the growth and development in the mental powers of a people. It has been very clearly seen in the case of languages which are spoken by peoples in a lower stage of civilization. Thus in the Malay-Polynesian family of languages we find that the Polynesian group is almost entirely analytic in structure, and these languages are spoken by the most advanced of the peoples in the Pacific Islands. So also among the American languages we find that the language of the Aztecs, the most civilized nation of ancient America, most closely approaches the analytic structure. Among the Semitic languages the same tendency is distinctly marked, especially in Hebrew, as also among the I.-E. languages. Practically every language of the I.-E. family is at the present day well

[1] Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 1260.

advanced on the analytic stage and a few like Bengali, English and Persian are practically become "isolating" in their syntax.

All the ancient languages of the I.-E. family were allowed to grow unhampered in the natural manner. In the case of Sanskrit—the literary dialect of ancient Indian—there was a special check. This was the great grammarian Pāṇini. In all languages the grammarian has occupied the position of one who points out what the structure of that language is. He merely analyses the language; and Pāṇini, too, called his work an analysis (*vyākaraṇa*).[2] But so great was his achievement, and so thorough and perfect was his analysis of the Sanskrit tongue, that soon after his time his grammar was taken to be not a mere statement of what existed in the language in his days, but it became an authority as to what the language *should be* for all time to come. Added to this was of course the fact that Sanskrit embodied the sacred literature of the Vedas. This two-fold reason invested Pāṇini, with an inviolable sanctity; he was elevated to the rank of a *Ṛṣi*, and a Hindu would sooner dare to alter the reading of the Vedas than think of disobeying any rule of Pāṇini's Grammar. Pāṇini was certainly fully worthy of all the honour paid to him, for his has been the most perfect analysis (*vyākaraṇa*) ever produced for any language in the world. But the result of all the honour paid to him has been that Sanskrit was as it were confined within the limits of the several thousand *sūtras* of Pāṇini. This proved fatal to the subsequent growth of the language. Sanskrit began to die, in other words it gradually ceased to be used as a vernacular dialect. A dialect used by the masses needs must be flexible and unfettered by any rules. After the time of the great Pāṇini all subsequent growth of Sanskrit *as a spoken language* was completely arrested, and gradually Sanskrit ceased to be spoken by the people at large: it "died." It still possessed vitality enough to carry it on for some centuries after the date of Pāṇini, during which his reputation, too, had time to expand. The earlier dramatists, up to the days of Kālidāsa, use a language which seems quite natural, if not entirely a spoken idiom. We feel when we read, for example, the works of Kālidāsa that the author has had Sanskrit for his mother tongue, it flows so naturally and in such an uninterrupted stream from his pen. We feel that he *thought* in Sanskrit. We cannot quite make this assertion for the later authors of the

[2] From the root *kr*, with *vi* and *ā*, "to separate into parts," "to analyse."

"Classical Age," for people like Bhavabhūti and Māgha, or even for Bhartṛhari. With these later writers the language is distinctly artificial and laboured, and surely no human being can ever think in such a complex and such an artificial language.

When Sanskrit ceased to be the spoken vernacular (to be more accurate, *one* of the vernaculars) of India, it did not cease to be cultivated by the learned. In fact it is even today the language of the learned, and as such it has profoundly influenced the history of all the vernaculars of the land. The vernaculars were, however, unfettered by any grammar and so they continued to grow and many of them in their turn produced literatures, thus taking the place (of course within very limited areas) which had originally belonged to Sanskrit. These vernaculars, the Prakrits,[3] developed along the natural lines of all languages, i.e. from the synthetic to the analytic structure. The modern vernaculars of India, which have developed out of the Prakrits, have continued further along this line practically unchecked, except for the alternating periods of "Classicism" which have marked the history of them all.[4]

But, as we saw above, Sanskrit continued to be cultivated by the learned all over India and though unable to grow towards the analytical structure as a whole, there still remained one direction in which it could do so, and that too without in the least infringing upon the rules laid down by Pāṇini. And this was in the compounds. Pāṇini had fully analysed the compounds as they existed in his days and he did not lay down any limit to the number of words that a compound may contain. The one characteristic of the compound was that it enabled one to dispense with the *pratyayas* or endings, which formed such a marked feature of Sanskrit (in the synthetic stage), and of which there was such a bewildering store. In other words every compound was an attempt at the analytic construction. When Sanskrit was a living, growing language the compound was not intended to be used extensively for this purpose, for its primary function seems to have been the formation of a fresh idea by combining two or more words. But later

[3] In this term Pali is also included.

[4] Every vernacular literature of India shows alternating periods of "Classicism" and what might be termed "Romanticism." During the former Sanskrit grammar and phraseology rules all the writings produced, during the latter the colloquial is in the ascendant.

on this primary function was almost entirely forgotten, and in the hands of the later Sanskrit writers the compound became the means by which they could avoid the complexities of the synthetic Sanskrit grammar. No doubt the influence of the Prakrits and later on of the modern vernaculars with their ever-growing analytic structure helped greatly in the increasingly apparent tendency to use longer and more complex compounds. For we must remember that the learned men, even though they used Sanskrit very largely in their daily lives, did use the spoken dialects at home, and at any rate heard them all the day from the people surrounding them. As time went on there appeared greater and greater divergence between the learned Sanskrit and the home dialects, and it is remarkable that the size of Sanskrit compounds too increases in proportion to this divergence throughout the Classical period of Sanskrit literature.

The long unwieldy compounds of Classical Sanskrit are, therefore, merely a result of the general tendency of the Indian languages towards analytic structure. These compounds are the wonder and terror of all young students, but looked at from this point of view they are merely attempts to compose Sanskrit sentences in the "isolating" manner. And looking at the general tendencies of linguistic growth at that period in India this is not at all surprising. Luckily there is no rule in Pāṇini which could have prevented this natural tendency from blossoming forth in this wondrous manner. These compounds indicate the direction along which Sanskrit might have developed had the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini not been invested with its almost religious sanction. Only, in that case, we would have written the words separately and not as the terrible, long "alphabetical processions"[5] which formed the greatest stumbling blocks during the student days of most of us.

We see a somewhat similar tendency in those of the I.-E. languages which have retained the synthetic structure to a greater or lesser extent to the present day. This is very clearly seen in the case of modern German. As compared with the other languages of the Teutonic branch its structure still retains a great deal of the older synthetic apparatus. Hence it has developed the power of compound building to a very remarkable extent. The German compounds are quite comparable to the Sanskrit ones, and serve much the same

[5] Mark Twain, *A Tramp Abroad*. He has used this fine phrase to describe German compounds.

purpose in the economy of the language. In contrast to this English shows very few compounds, for the simple reason that there is no need for them in that language, as its structure is such as does not need these "syntactical compounds." The few compounds we find in English are of the nature of the true original compounds of the Indo-European languages.

PALI, PRAKRIT AND SANSKRIT IN BUDDHIST LITERATURE.

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Opinions of modern scholars differ as to the place of Pali in Buddhist literature. According to Mr. G. R. Nariman, "Pali is the hieratic language of the Buddhists of Ceylon, Siam and Burma, who observe a prosaic and more ancient form of Buddhism."[1] Dr. Winternitz, who does not express his views so bluntly as Mr. Nariman, holds that "the language of the Tripiṭaka is scarcely the same as that of the canon of the third century B.C. The latter could only be the Māgadhī, the dialect of the province of Magadha, modern Behar. It was the home-tongue of the Buddha, who doubtless first preached in this idiom. Likewise the monks who fixed the canon in Pāṭaliputra, the capital of Magadha, employed the Māgadhī idiom. Traces of this Māgadhī canon can still be perceived in our Pali corpus. But Pali, the ecclesiastical language of the Buddhists of Ceylon, Siam and Burma, is designated by the latter themselves as Māgadhī, although it essentially differs from the latter which is otherwise known to us from inscriptions, literary works, and grammars. At any rate it corresponds equally little with any other dialect known to us. Pali is just a language of literature which has been exclusively employed as such only by the Buddhists, and has sprung like every literary language more or less from an admixture of several dialects. Obviously such a literary tongue, although it represents a kind of compromise between diverse vernaculars, is ultimately derived from one definite dialect. And this the Māgadhī can very well be, so that the tradition which makes Pali and Māgadhī synonymous is not to be accepted literally, but at the same time it rests on a historical basis ...... The literary language, Pali ......, developed only gradually and was probably fixed when it was reduced to writing in Ceylon under Vattagamini."[2] The veteran scholars

[1] *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism*, p. 1.

[2] Winternitz's views on the Pali canon, translated from the German by G. K. Nariman, ibid, pp. 213-214.

of Buddhist Sanskrit literature such as Dr. Rājendralāla Mitra, M. Sylvain Lévi, Dr. Windisch, M. de la Valée Poussin have disputed with strong reasons on their side the Theravāda or orthodox tradition that the Pali canon preserves the original words of the Buddha. No decisive result of this controversy has yet been obtained; on the other hand, the traditional belief that the Pali canon preserves the words of the Buddha has been shaken. We have no definite statement on the point even from such distinguished authorities on Pali literature as Professors Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, although the former has conclusively proved that the Pali canonical books are "North-Indian, not Singhalese in origin,"[3] and the latter has rightly claimed that "the Pali replica which is naturally not immaculately correct must however be adjudged as eminently good." This controversy has become all the more absorbing by the recent discovery of numerous manuscript fragments in Khotan and other parts of Eastern Turkestan. The most ancient and important literary document that has come down to us is a Kharoṣṭhī manuscript of the *Dhammapada*, first edited in 1897 by M. Émile Senart in the *Journal Asiatique*. The object of this paper is to enquire whether this document throws any new light on the position of Pali in Indian as well as in Buddhist literature.

The text of the manuscript is undoubtedly a recension of the *Dhammapada* and the language is a Prakrit dialect having a close kinship in orthography and phonetics with the dialects of the Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra recensions of Aśoka's Rock Edicts, which are also written in the Kharoṣṭhī script. The later manuscript fragments found in Khotan, Turfan and other parts of Eastern Turkestan are Buddhist-Sanskrit and Sanskrit texts mostly belonging to the Sarvâstivâda sect.[4] These are all written in the Gupta variety of the Brāhmī script. And what distinguishes these from the Kharoṣṭhī manuscript of the *Dhammapada* is that side by side with the texts we have translations in local scripts and local dialects. The finds at Turfan which are important to us are the fragments of a manuscript of the *Udānavarga*, which, in the opinion of Pischel, is a Sanskrit recension of the *Dhammapada*.[5] A complete edition of these fragments is still a desideratum,

[3] *Buddhist India*, p. 174.

[4] See *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan*, edited by Hœrnle.

[5] *Die Turfan Recensionen des Dhammapada.*

but the specimen that we have of the text in Pischel's edition is enough to show that it is a recension of the original of the Tibetan version, translated into English by Rockhill.[6] There is, according to Rockhill, also a Chinese translation of the same text, the *Chuh-yau-king* or *Nidānasūtra*, which agrees generally with the Tibetan.[7] Both Beal and Rockhill tell us that the Chinese and the Tibetan versions equally attribute the authorship of the *Udānavarga* to Dharmatrāta, and the former records that he was the uncle of Vasumitra, the distinguished leader of the Sarvāstivādins in the time of Kaniṣka.

It appears, therefore, that there are two land-marks of Buddhist literature in the two recensions of the *Dhammapada*, viz., (1) a Prakrit text, of which a Kharoṣṭhī manuscript was discovered near Khotan, and (2) a text in Classical Sanskrit, of which a manuscript in a Gupta variety of Brāhmī was found in Turfan. In addition to these we have three, more strictly, two, other recensions of the *Dhammapada*, viz., (1) a Pali recension, of which the manuscripts have been preserved in Ceylon, Siam and Burma, (2) a recension in Mixed Sanskrit, of which a whole chapter, viz., the *Sahasravarga*, has been quoted in the *Mahāvastu*[8], besides sundry other verses from the same recension, and (3) the original of the Chinese translation, the *Fa-kheu-king*, which agrees, as Beal has shown, with the Pali so far as the title and arrangement of chapters are concerned, differing from it and other recensions in the number of verses, but at the same time containing a strange admixture of matters in different recensions,—a feature which makes it difficult at once to ascertain the nature of the original. Thus, in all we get four well-defined land-marks, which may be arranged provisionally in the following order:

(1) The Pali Recension,
(2) The Prakrit,
(3) The Mixed Sanskrit,
(4) The Sanskrit.

Of these No. 1 has been incorporated in the Pali or Theravāda canon; No. 3 has been expressly quoted in the Midland Recension of the *Mahāvastu* and singled out therein as the first book of the

[6] *The Udānavarga.*

[7] Rockhill's *Udānavarga*, Intro., p. x. The point has, however, been disputed in our *Prakrit Dhammapada*, which has been published by the Calcutta University.

[8] Cf. *Dharmapadeṣu sahasravargaḥ*—*Mahāvastu* (ed. Senart), III, p. 434.

Vinaya-Piṭaka belonging to the Lokottaravādins, the dissenters from the Mahāsaṅghikas[9]; and No. 4 may be said to be a work of the Sarvāstivādins on the ground that it is ascribed to Dharmatrāta, a name which, be it noted, can alternate with "Dharmarakkhita." As regards No. 2, we are not in a position to associate it with any particular sect. But considering that the text has been found in the Gandhara regions (which, as a linguistic area, can be said to include the Indian colonies of Khotan[10]) and that all the other older texts found in Eastern Turkestan belong to Sarvāstivāda (including the Dharmagupta and other off-shoots), we may be justified in ascribing the Prakrit text to the same sect.

The difficulty is great regarding the chronology of the *Dhammapada* text, and in the present circumstances it can be partly obviated from the dates of the Chinese and Tibetan translations.

There are altogether four Chinese versions of the *Dhammapada* which are as follows: (1) the *Fa-kheu-king*, of which the original is ascribed to a Dharmatrāta[11] and tentatively identified by Beal with the Pali *Dhammapada*, and said to have been carried over from India in A.D. 223, (2) the *Fa-kheu-pi-u*, which consits of the text of *Fa-kheu-king* and some illustrative fables and is dated A.D. 265–313, (3) the *Chu-yau-king*, which, according to Rockhill, shows a close agreement with the Tibetan *Udānavarga* and is dated A.D. 410, (4) the fourth version, which remains un-named, is dated A.D. 800 or 900. We learn from the translators' preface to the *Fa-kheu-pi-u* that they were acquainted with three *Dhammapada* texts, one consisting of 900 verses, another of 700 and another of 500, and that the text most popular in their time was the one with 700 *gāthās*. The text with 500 verses is no other than the original of the *Fa-kheu-king* carried to China in A.D. 223. The Tibetan version of the *Udānavarga* consisting of 989 verses was made by Vidyāprabhākara in A.D. 817–842. In the absence of detailed information it is not easy to establish any relationship between the originals of the Tibetan version and the fourth Chinese version, although their dates run close to each other.

[9] Cf. *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 2: "*āryamahāsaṅghikānāṁ lokottaravādināṁ madhyadeśikānāṁ pāṭhena vinayapiṭakasya Mahāvastu vādi.*"

[10] *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism*, p. 238.

[11] There is another Chinese version of a *Dhammapada*, of which we have no other information from Chinese scholars than that its author was Dharmatrāta.

Now, relying upon Rockhill's authority as to the general agreement of the Tibetan with the third Chinese version (A.D. 410), we might perhaps assume that the original of these two versions is no other than the text with 900 verses known in the third century A.D. to the authors of the *Fa-kheu-pi-u*. Seeing that the *Udānavarga* found in Turfan agrees so closely with the Tibetan version, we venture to say that the Sanskrit recension may be identified with the *Dhammapada* of 900 verses. But there are 989 verses in the Tibetan version. The difficulty is how to harmonize this difference in number. We can, however, partly reduce the number of verses in the Tibetan by the fact that in two instances a verse which is counted as one in the Pali *Dhammapada* has been counted as two in the Tibetan (e.g., Ch. III, 12-13 and Ch. XXXIII, 82-83) by omitting six repetitions noticed by Rockhill. There are, besides, a number of mechanical multiplications of verses without any justification, which have a marked tendency to swell the volume without bringing out any new idea (e.g., Ch. XXXII, 58-63, 65-69). But how far this process of reduction can proceed it is difficult to say. At any rate we may be sure that, of the Sanskrit *Dharmapada* text, there were more redactions[12] than one, made at different times with slight variations in regard to the succession of chapters and the number of verses. The question of these redactions and their differences cannot be finally settled until the Indian originals are all discovered. In this state of uncertainty, the utmost we can do is to attempt to fix a chronology of the four *Dhammapada* texts which we find preserved, in part or in entirety, in the original, by a comparative study of their language and contents.

If we examine the arrangement of chapters in these texts, we shall find that—

(1) The Pali *Dhammapada* consists of 26 chapters and 423 verses, the succession of the chapters being as follows: *Yamaka* (20 verses), *Appamāda* (12), *Citta* (11), *Puppha* (16), *Bāla* (16), *Paṇḍita* (14), *Arahanta* (10), *Sahassa* (16), *Pāpa* (13), *Daṇḍa* (17), *Jarā* (11), *Attā* (10), *Loka* (12), *Buddha* (18), *Sukha* (12), *Piya* (12), *Kodha* (14), *Mala* (21), *Dhammaṭṭha* (17), *Magga* (17), *Pakiṇṇaka* (16), *Niraya*

[12] This presumption is borne out by Prof. Pischel's comparsion of the number of verses and chapters of the Sanskrit *Dharmapada* and its Tibetan translation—see his *Turfan Recension*, p. 973.

(14), *Nāga* (14), *Taṇhā* (26), *Bhikkhu* (23) and *Brāhmaṇa* (41).

(2) The Prakrit text, as found in fragments, contains the following chapters[13]: *Maga* (30), *Apramada* (25), *Cita* (5 only survive), *Puṣa* (15), *Sahasa* (17), *Panita* (10), *Bala* (8 only survive), *Jara* (25), *Suha* (20 only survive), *Tasa* (6 only survive), *Bhikhu* (40) and *Bramana* (50).

(3) The Mixed Sanskrit in *Mahāvastu* quotations contains: *Sahasra* (24) and *Bhikṣu* (15 only survive).

(4) The Sanskrit contains 33 chapters in the following order: *Jarā* (41), *Kāma* (20), **Tṛṣṇā* (20)[14], **Apramāda* (35), *Priya* (27)[15], **Śīla* (20), *"Virtuous Conduct" (12), *Vācā* (15), **Karma* (19), **Śraddhā* (16), **Śramaṇa* (16), **Mārga* (20), **Satkāra* (17), *"Hatred" (1?), *Smṛti (28), *Prakīrṇaka* (24)[16], *Water (12), **Puṣpa* (26)[17], *"The Horse" (16), *Krodha* (22)[18], **Tathāgata* (15), *"The Hearer" (19), **Ātmā* (21), **Sahasra* (34), **Bāla* (25), **Nirvāṇa* (33), *"Sight" (37), **Pāpa* (41), *Yuga* (57)[19], *Sukha* (51 or 52)[20], *Citta*, (60)[21], **Bhikṣu* (77), **Brāhmaṇa* (91).

The chapters common to the above four texts, taking the Tibetan version to represent its Sanskrit original, are two, viz. the *Sahassavaga* and the *Bhikkhuvagga*. But we had better leave the *Bhikkhuvagga* out of account, because the chapter, as found in the Mixed Sanskrit text, is incomplete. Comparing, then, the number of verses under the *Sahasra* group in the four texts, we get the following:—

Pali	..	16 verses
Prakrit	..	17 ,,
Mixed Sanskrit		24 ,,
Sanskrit	..	34 ,,

[13] The chapters are un-named in the extant Kharoṣṭhī manuscript. The names have been supplied by us.

[14] The asterisk (*) denotes that the chapter occurs in the Tibetan translation and is missing from the MS. fragments of the Sanskrit text.

[15] The Tibetan translation has 28.

[16] The Tibetan has 23.

[17] The Tibetan has 27 including a repetition.

[18] The Tibetan has 21.

[19] The Tibetan has 59 including four repetitions.

[20] The Tibetan has 53.

[21] The Tibetan has 64 including a repetition.

The table shows that the number of verses go on increasing in the order in which the texts are mentioned.

Again, if we compare the number of verses in the chapters which are common to three texts—Pali, Prakrit and Sanskrit,—the same will be the result in almost all cases, as will be evident from the following table:

Chapters.	Pali.	Prakrit.	Sanskrit.
Appamādavagga ..	II. 12	II. 25[22]	IV. 35
Pupphavagga ..	IV. 16	IV. 15	XVIII. 26
Bālavagga ..	V. 16	VII. 8 (surviving)	XXV. 25
Jarāvagga ..	XI. 11	VIII. 25	I. 41
Sukhavagga ..	XV. 12	IX. 20 (surviving)[23]	XXX. 51 or 52
Bhikkhuvagga ..	XXV. 23	XI. 40	XXXII. 77
Brāhmaṇavagga ..	XXVI. 41	XII. 50	XXXIII. 91

Looking into this table and the previous one, it becomes quite clear that the Prakrit text stands closest to the Pali in point of number of verses and arrangement of chapters. Further, there is, as appears from the wide divergence of the number of verses, a link missing between Prakrit and Sanskrit, and the first table suggests that the needed link can be supplied by Mixed Sanskrit. Taking the first table as providing a standard ratio of the verse-numbers in the four recensions and the total number 423 of Pali verses as the minimum, the Prakrit, the Mixed Sanskrit and Sanskrit may be expected to contain roughly 449, 635 and 899 verses respectively. Now, if we remember the Chinese translators' information about three *Dhammapada* texts, severally containing 500, 700 and 900 verses, then the results just arrived at would approximately tally with them, that is to say, the Prakrit text would very nearly equate with the original of the *Fa-kheu-king*, the Mixed Sanskrit with the text of 700, and the Sanskrit with that of 900 verses.

Now, if we look into Beal's table[24] of the chapters and the

[22] The numbering of the chapter is according to the arrangement followed in our edition of the *Prakrit Dhammapada*, which is in the Press. A few chapters are missing from the existing fragments, which makes it difficult to arrange it as it was in the original. The same holds good of the numbering of the remaining Prakrit chapters.

[23] But the chapter seems to be complete. [24] Beal, *Dhammapada* (1902), p. 14.

original of the *Fa-kheu-king*, we cannot fail to notice that it was a text somewhat different from the Prakrit and that it stood nearer the Pali. For convenience' sake, we had better tabulate the results of the comparison :

	Pali.	Original of the *Fa-kheu-king*.	Prakrit.
	I. 20	I. 22	....
	II. 12	II. 20	II. 25
	III. 11	III. 12	III. 5 (surviving)
	IV. 16	IV. 17	IV. 15
	V. 16	V. 21	VII. 8 (surviving)
	VI. 14	VI. 17	VI. 10
	VII. 10	VII. 10	....
	VIII. 16	VIII. 16	V. 17
	IX. 13	IX. 22	....
	X. 17	X. 14	....
	XI. 11	XI. 14	VIII. 25
	XII. 10	XII. 14	....
	XIII. 12	XIII. 14	....
	XIV. 18	XIV. 21	....
	XV. 12	XV. 14	IX. 20 (surviving)
	XVI 12	XVI. 12	....
	XVII. 14	XVII. 26	....
	XVIII. 21	XVIII. 19	....
	XIX. 17	XIX. 17	....
	XX. 17	XX. 28	I. 30
	XXI. 16	XXI. 14	....
	XXII. 14	XXII. 16	....
	XXIII. 14	XXIII. 18	....
	XXIV. 26	XXIV. 32	X. 6 (surviving)
	XV. 23	XV. 32	XI. 40
	XVI. 41	XVI. 40	XII. 50
Total No. of verses :	423	502	275 (surviving)

Let us now proceed to enquire if these results are also borne out by other evidences. First, the date of the *Fa-kheu-king* is given as 221 A.D., that is to say, its original must necessarily be dated earlier, and if Dharmatrāta or "Dharmarakkhita", the putative

author, be an uncle of Vasumitra, a contemporary of Kaniṣka, the original should be placed in the first century B.C., as Beal is inclined to think. We know that the documents in Kharoṣṭhī from the Gandhara regions date from King Aśoka (or, from the 3rd cent. B.C. to 3rd cent. A.D.) [22] The date, therefore, of the Kharoṣṭhī manuscript of the *Dhammapada* falls within this period. The manuscript has been found in the part of Khotan which, according to a tradition in the Divyâvadāna, was colonised by the exiles from Taxila who were banished by King Aśoka on account of the blinding of his son Kunâla.[23] That this tradition has an historical basis is borne out by the very dialect of the Prakrit text, which in orthography and phonetics has so close a resemblance with the dialects of Aśoka's Rock Edicts at Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra. That the dialects of these Rock Edicts belong to the Gandhara regions and to no other, is evident from several recensions of the Rock and Pillar Edicts, which are invariably written in dialects adapted to the local varieties of speech. For instance, if we follow the inscriptions from Kalsi to Dhauli and Jaugada, i.e., from modern Dehra Dun to the Orissa and Ganjam districts, we cannot fail to notice that the dialects gradually change, as we proceed to the south-east, to Māgadhī, and a general linguistic affinity is noticeable in the inscriptions found in Northern and Southern quarters of India which lie outside the Gandhara region (considered as a linguistic area), bounded on the south-east by Dehra Dun, on the south by Kathiawar and extending beyond the Himalayas through a north-western route as far as Khotan. The prominent features of orthography which provide a common linguistic bond to the dialects of the Prakrit *Dhammapada* and Aśoka's inscriptions of Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra are the absence of long vowels and the use of three sibilants *ś*, *ṣ* and *s*, and certain conjunct consonants, e.g. *rd*, *rv*, *tm* and so forth, and some characteristic phonetic changes, such as *dhamatrakehi* for *dharmatarkaiḥ*, *druracha* for *dūrakṣyam*, answering to *Dhrama* for *Dharma*, *Priyadraśi* for *Priyadarśi* of Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra. And the decisive trace of Iranian influence upon the dialect of the Prakrit *Dhammapada* as well as on the Girnar or Kathiawar recensions of Aśoka's Rock Edicts is the substitution of *p* for *v*, e.g., *viśpasi* (Prakrit *Dhammapada*) standing for Sk. *viśvaset*. But this is not to deny

[22] Nariman, *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism.*

[23] See *Kunāla-Avadāna*

in toto all vestige of the Māgadhī element in the dialect of the Prakrit text, and no less in the dialects of Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra edicts. The case of the latter can be explained by the fact that the mandate was issued by the Emperor himself from Pāṭaliputra, the capital of Magadha. In one respect the dialect of the Prakrit text differs from the dialects of Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra edicts, viz., that while the latter consistently use the same forms of expression, the former uses variants; cf. *sarvi*, *savi* for Sk. *sarve*, Pali *sabbe*: *savruto*, *savuto* for Sk. *samvṛtaḥ* and Pali *samvuto*. The inference is that the compiler of the Prakrit text could not be a native of the Gandhara region but surely had much to do with Magadha or some other part of the Buddhist Midland where the dialects were consummated in two such literary languages as Ardhamāgadhī and Pali. All this lends support to the assumption that the Prakrit text was a Gandhara recension of the *Dhammapada* compiled in a dialect intelligible to the locality.

Let us next proceed to enquire whether the compiler had any model before him. That there was some sort of model before the compiler there can be no doubt. A comparison of the Prakrit verses with their Pali counterparts would disclose that the verses in the Pali are loosely grouped, irrespective of their real bearing on the main theme which the chapters purport to suggest. For instance, the verse—

"*aciram vat'ayaṁ kāyo paṭhaviṁ adhisessati*
chuddho apetaviññāno niratthaṁ va kaliṅgaraṁ"—

has been grouped under the *Cittavagga*, evidently with no justification but merely on account of an occurrence in it of the word *viññāna*, which is a synonym of *citta*, mind. The Prakrit counterpart of the verse, embodying as it does a pessimistic reflection on decay and decrepitude, has rightly been grouped under the *Jarāvarga*, the chapter on Decay,—an arrangement which is also to be met with in the *Udānavarga*. In such scientific and logical arrangement of verses, the Prakrit text is conspicuous to a nicety, and it shows a decisive improvement upon a compilation like the Pali text where sense has in numerous instances been sacrificed to sound. Looking into the verses dealing with *jarā*, for instance, we find that the Prakrit has brought together not only all the relevant verses lying promiscuously scattered throughout the Pali text under the different *vaggas*, but also similar verses, as much as could be available, from other

Nikāya texts, mostly from the *Saṁyutta*, the *Sallasutta* of the *Sutta-nipāta*, the *Majjhima*, the *Ayoghara-jātaka* (No. 510), the *Dasaratha-jātaka* and the *Mugapakkha-jātaka* (illustrated in the bas-relief on the railing of the Bharhut Stupa). Moreover, verses, of which the counterpart are not to be found in the Pali *Dhammapada*, can be traced to two chapters, one dealing like the Pali with *jarā*, and the other, an additional chapter, dealing with Impermanency, both being comprised into one chapter of the *Udānavarga*. The *jarā* verses are found in the opening chapters of the *Udānavarga* and the Chinese *Fa-kheu-king*, while, as we have noticed, the opening chapters of the Pali and the original of the *Fa-kheu-king* do not deal with "Decay" (but with "Mind" or the Will-factor in Faith), which, however, is relegated to a later chapter—i.e., Chapter XI. Now, the opening chapter of the Prakrit text differs from those in the others in that it emphasises the importance of the Buddhist Path. It differs also from both the Pali text and the original of the *Fa-kheu-king* in that it brings into clearer relief the optimistic views of Happiness by juxtaposing its *Suhavaga* to its *Jaravaga*, which contains pessimistic reflections on Decay, and the verses are so arranged as to ultimately lead up to the idea of Happiness.

We have dealt with particular chapters of the three texts, and we should like to see what results the examination of particular verses may yield.

Let us consider the following set of verses:

1. *yān' imāni apatthāni alāpūn' eva sārade*
   kāpotakāni aṭṭhīni tāni disvāna kā rati.

(Pali *Dhammapada*, Jarāvagga.)

2. (a) *(yanimani) avathani a(lav)u ......*
   (saghavana)ni śiṣani tani diṣṭani ka rati.

   (b) *yanimani prabhaguni vichitani diśodiśa*
   kavotaka. aṭhini tani diṣṭani ka rati.

(Prakrit *Dhammapada*, Jaravaga.)

3. (a) "*Old and feeble, with exhausted powers—what good can follow anxious thought.*

   (b) *When old, like autumn-leaves, decayed and without covering, life ebbed out and dissolution at hand, little good repentance then!*"

(*Fa-kheu-pi-u*, "Old Age"—Beal's translation.)

Cf. 4. (a) *yānīmāny apaviddhāni vikshiptāni diśo daśa* |
kapotavarṇāny asthīni tāni dṛiṣṭveha kā ratiḥ ||
(b) *imāni yāny upasthānāni alāburiva serabhe* |
saṅkhavarṇāni śirshāṇi tāni dṛiṣṭveha kā ratiḥ ||
(*Divyâvadāna*, p. 561.)

It is clear that in place of one verse in the Pali *Dhammapada* we have two verses in each of the Prakrit and the original of the *Fa-kheu-pi-u*. It is also to be noticed that the Prakrit has driven two lines in between the two lines of the Pali, making four lines altogether. The order in Prakrit is not followed in the *Divyâvadāna*, but inverted; but the arrangement in the latter is on a par with that in the original of the *Fa-kheu-pi-u*, as appears from Beal's translation of it quoted above (No. 3). We cannot determine the order of verses in the original of the *Fa-kheu-king* from the order of verses in their later Avadāna form in the *Fa-kheu-pi-u*, considering that Beal's translation of the latter does not indicate that this commentarial text has faithfully preserved all the verses in the original of the former. It will be safe to say that whatever the original of the *Fa-kheu-king*, the *Divyâvadāna* verses are quotations from an older Avadāna text similar to some original of the *Fa-kheu-pi-u*. Now, the Pali verse cannot be traced in any other canonical text. The only source of this particular verse that we can hit upon is a certain section of the *Satipaṭṭhāna* discourse and a Buddhist version of the atheistic doctrine of Ajitakeśakambala, both forming stock passages which can be ragarded, after Prof. Rhys Davids, as the pre-Nikāya materials of the Buddhist canon.[27] We meet with the expression "kāpotakāni aṭṭhīni" in Ajita's passage.[28] But the source of the reflections of the entire verse are to be found in the *Satipaṭṭhāna* section, which gives a vivid description of the process of decomposition of a dead body in a charnel field.[29] And the same is the source of the expressions as well as reflections of the two verses, whether from the Prakrit or from the *Divyâvadāna*. Compare, for instance, the expressions *diśāvidiśā vikkhittāni* (of the earlier prose discourse) versified as *vichitani diśodiśa* in the Prakrit, and as *vikṣiptāni diśo daśa* in the *Divyâvadāna*; similarly, *saṅkhavaṇṇūpanibhāni* versified as *saghavanani śiṣani* in the Prakrit and *śaṅkhavarṇāni*

[27] *Buddhist India*, p. 188. [28] *Dīgha.*, I, p. 55.
[29] *Majjh.*, I, p. 58; also, *Dīgha.*

śirṣāṇi in the *Divyâvadāna*. Though the earliest source of these verses in the Prakrit can be traced in prose to the *Satipaṭṭhāna*, we cannot account for the poetic mould and the simile contained therein unless the model of the Pali verse be brought to intervene. But even then the direct source of Prakrit verses would not be fully determined; for, there are very many dialectical forms in the Prakrit transliteration which have a tinge of Mixed Sanskrit. We are led to the same conclusion by the verse quotation from the *Divyâvadāna*, which is seemingly derived from an older Avadāna text, referred to above as the original of the *Fa-kheu-pi-u*. But, at the same time we cannot hold that the Prakrit had drawn upon this Avadāna original, because the order of the Prakrit verses, betraying the process of their growth from one verse to two by the thrusting of two lines into it, has been inverted in the arrangement found in the *Divyâvadāna* quotation. Failing to obtain in the Avadāna original the much-needed order for the Prakrit, we cannot but fix our attention upon the original of the *Fa-kheu-king*, presupposed by the former; and we believe that the *Fa-kheu-king*, when it is translated, may verify this hypothesis.

Again, if we examine (from the Prakrit *Dhammapaḍa*) the set of four verses[30] which immediately follow the one just considered, we notice that their counterparts are not to be found in the Pali *Dhammapada*, though a counterpart of the 4th verse can be traced in the *Theragāthā*, v. 32:

> *ajaraṁ jīramānena tappamānena nibbutiṁ*
> *nimmissaṁ paramaṁ santiṁ yogakkhemaṁ anuttaraṁ.*

With regard to the construction of the first three verses, we are reminded of the first line of a Saṁyutta verse—

> *iminā pūtikāyena bhindanena prabhaṅgunā*
> *aṭṭiyāmi hariyāmi kāmataṇhā samūhatā—*

[30] (a) *imina putikaena aturena pabhaguna*
nicaśuharijinena jaradhamena s(avasu)
(nime)dha parama śodhi yokachemu anutara.
(b) *imina putikaena vidvarena ....*
nicaśuharijinena ....
(nime)dha parama śodhi yokachemu anutara.
(c) *imina putikaena viśravatena putina*
nicaśuharijinena jaradha ....
(nime)dha parama śodhi yokachemu anutara.
(d) *ayara jiyamanena dajhamanena nivruti*
nimedha parama śodhi yokachemu anutara.

of which the first line seems to be the basis of the first lines of the three Prakrit verses. With regard to the third line, common to all the three Prakrit verses, we are reminded of the second line of the *Theragāthā* verse quoted above. The second and third lines being common, the difference between the three Prakrit verses hinges on their first lines, which slightly vary from each other but seem on the whole manipulations on a common model, which is to be found in the Saṁyutta verse. The third line of the first three Prakrit verses seems to be a later addition; the three verses appear to be variations of one model verse, of which an idea can be had from a parallel in the additional section (Sec. 1) of the *Fa-kheu-pi-u*, which reads in Beal's translation as follows:

"What use is the body when it lies rotting beside the flowings of the Ganges? It is but the prison-house of disease, and of the pains of old age and death. To delight in pleasure, and to be greedy after self-indulgence is but to increase the load of sin, forgetting the great change that must come, and the inconstancy of human life."

Verse 37 in the Tibetan version of the *Udānavarga*, Ch. I, tallies exactly with the Saṁyutta verse quoted above. All these make us think that the four Prakrit verses had grown out of the permutation and combination, so to say, of three verses which must read in Pali:

1. *iminā pūtikāyena bhindanena pabhaṅgunā*
   aṭṭiyāmi hariyāmi kāmataṇhā samūhatā.
2. *iminā pūtikāyena āturena pabhaṅgunā*
   niccasubhavijānena jarādhammena saṁvāso.
3. *ajaraṁ jīramānena tappamānena nibbutiṁ*
   nimissaṁ paramaṁ santiṁ yogakkhemaṁ anuttaraṁ.

Again, if we care to trace these ideas to their first source, we come face to face with the same *Satipaṭṭhāna* section which moralises on the decaying process of a dead body in a charnel-field. And this source is reached through an intermediate stage represented by such poems as the *Vijayasutta* incorporated in the *Suttanipāta* and the psalms of Sumedhā and the like in the *Thera-therī-gāthā*. The variants such as *āturena* in the place of *bhindanena*, *ḍajhamanena* in the place of *tappamānena*, *parama śodhi* in the place of *paramāṁ śāntiṁ* suggest the existence of Mixed Sanskrit counterparts of the Pali *gāthās*. These facts disclose the growth of the Pali canonical texts side by side with a Mixed Sanskrit stream. It will not be out of place here to point out that the above-mentioned section of the *Satipaṭṭhāna* discourse

can in its turn be further traced to a cruder stage as represented by a passage in the *Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad* (I. 3).[31] Now, coming to the chapter on *Apramāda*, in the Prakrit text, we meet with a set of five concluding verses (of which no counterparts can be traced in the Pali canon) which are made up clearly by thrusting eight lines into one original, of which the Pali counterpart, traceable to the *Dhammapada*, *Theragāthā* and other Nikāya texts, reads :

appamāde pamajjeyya mā kāmaratisanthavaṁ
appamatto hi jhāyanto pappoti vipulaṁ (or *paramaṁ*) *sukhaṁ*.

It is evident that the intervening eight lines of the Prakrit text consists of set Buddhist expressions which can be traced to the *Appamāda* verses of the Pali *Dhammapada* and similar other *gāthās* in other Nikāya texts. The Prakrit lines[32] which answer to the two lines of the Pali *gāthā* also contain a few dialectical forms and variants which cannot be explained without presupposing a direct source in Mixed Sanskrit, and here, too, we think that this source is the original of the *Fa-kheu-king*. We need not multiply instances. The net outcome of our dissertation is that the Prakrit presupposes a *Dhammapada* text in Mixed Sanskrit which stands, in point of date, contents, arrangement of chapters and number of verses, very close to the Pali, and that that text can be connected historically with the undiscovered original of the *Fa-kheu-king*. The facts disclosed by our investigation may be briefly stated thus :

There is a number of verses in every *Dhammapada* text which cannot be traced to the Pali canon. There are numerous instances where the verses have been multiplied quite mechanically by changing one or two words or by the permutation and combination of certain set expressions, and it is generally found that the number of these verses is the least in Pali and the most in Sanskrit. There are, besides, many special verses in the texts other than the Pali *Dhammapada* which can be traced, in part or in entirety, to the Nikāyas and, particularly to the Jātakas mentioned on the railing of the Bharhut Stupa and to the Avadānas which are post-Aśokan compositions. Of the extant *Dhammapada* texts, one belongs to the Pali or *Theravāda*

[31] See the edition of the Nirṇayasāgara Press.

[32] The corresponding Prakrit reads :
apramadi promodia ma gami ratisabhamu
apramato hi jhayatu pranoti paramu sukhu.

canon, one has been preserved partly in quotations of the Midland recension of the *Mahāvastu* (the first portion of the *Lokottaravāda Vinaya*), and the remaining ones appear to belong all to the Sarvâstivādins including the Vaibhāṣikas, their later off-shoot. The Gandhara recension of the *Dhammapada* is the only ancient Buddhist text in Prakrit, i.e., in the local dialect, raised to the status of a literary language, and it must be assigned to a post-Aśokan but pre-Gupta date. Examining the *Dhammapada* literature of the Sarvâstivāda sect, the fact stands out that a Mixed Sanskrit, deviating at a certain point from the Pali, passed through different stages and culminated in Classical or pure Sanskrit in the latest recensions of the *Dhammapada*. The Lokottaravāda recension supplies a link in the chain.

To conclude, the Pali *Dhammapada* and its Sarvâstivāda counterpart have a history of their own, which can be traced in the gradual evolution of two series of Buddhist canonical texts, particularly the five Nikāyas or Āgamas as referred to in the *Divyâvadāna*. By "Sarvâstivādins" the historian understands a number of Buddhist sects which are all said to have seceded directly from the Orthodox. We know of no other sects who have preserved the five Nikāyas. The *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* of the *Theravāda* canon exists only in Pali. There are five recensions of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* belonging strictly to three sects, viz., the Theravādins, the Sarvâstivādins and the Mahâsaṅghikas. These texts have many points in common and were written, as may be judged from the Pali edition and the manuscript fragments found in Eastern Turkestan, in slightly different dialects. The same fact is brought home to us by the study of certain common verses in the Pali *Suttanipāta* (belonging to the Theravādins), the *Lalitavistara* and the *Divyâvadāna* (belonging to the Sarvâstivādins), and the *Mahāvastu* (which is claimed by the Mahâsaṅghikas). These common verses have for their theme the legendary life of the Buddha and cannot be dated within a century of Buddha's death: they can reasonably be assigned to a pre-Aśokan period, the period covered by the rise of the early Buddhist sects. The contributions of schismatics to the growth of the Buddhist canon have yet to be determined. But it can safely be presumed that the sects have drawn upon each other. The rehearsals of the sacred texts in the three Orthodox Councils—convened, according to tradition, at intervals of a century more or less—imply three recastings

of the materials which accumulated during the life-time of the Buddha, and we cannot but endorse the view that the canon fixed at one Council differed in contents from the one fixed at an earlier Council. But it will be certainly wrong to presume that the old texts were completely destroyed or transformed. So far as the history of the Pali canon—the most complete and ancient of all—is concerned, the utmost we can say is that with each new redaction new materials were incorporated or new texts or compilations were recognised as canonical, but not that any conscious change had been made in regard to language. It may be shown, by instances such as the *Padhānasutta*, the *Ratanasutta*, the *Uragasutta*—all incorporated in the *Suttanipāta*—that Pali expressions were modelled on originals in Mixed Sanskrit. The same can be noticed in the case of the *Dhammapada* verses. But it is no argument to say that Pali language as a whole is younger than Mixed Sanskrit, of which so many different types of dialects are still preserved in the Buddhist Sanskrit texts belonging to Buddhist sects other than the Theravādins. By "Pali" is meant the language in which the Theravāda canon has been preserved and was rehearsed when several redactions of it were made. There is absolutely no evidence that the Theravādins had adopted a different idiom than that of the Pali canon, now preserved to us by the *Bhikkhus* of Ceylon, Siam and Burma. Nor can it be borne out by the evidence, either of inscriptions or of tradition or by the internal evidence of the canon itself, that the Singhalese *Bhikkhus*, whose mother-tongue was quite different from Pali, had the genius or courage of inventing a new language at the Vaṭṭagāmini Council in which the canon was committed to writing. Proceeding from the canon—fixed once for all at this Council—back to the three earlier redactions in the Councils held in Magadha, we perceive a many-sided growth of Buddhist thought and of Buddhist literature. At a certain point we are confronted with a divergence in ideas, theories, expressions and so forth among the Buddhists, and this, as traditions unanimously support, coincides with the first schism dividing the Buddhist brotherhood into two strong rival parties, viz., the Theravādin or the Orthodox and the Mahāsaṅghika or the Democratic. This schism was followed by many other schisms and expressed itself in so many different ways, bringing about violent changes in matters of language and literature of the Buddhists. The processes of the growth of the different dialects and different texts among the

different Buddhist schismatics have been graphically described in a few verses of the *Dīpavaṁsa*.[33]

We must remember that behind the rise of the schismatics there is a history of not less than a century and a half, covering the long forty-five years of the ministry of the Buddha and the formation of the

[33] Chap. V, 31-50 :—

Mahāsaṁgītikā bhikkhū vilomaṁ akaṁsu sāsanaṁ,
bhinditvā mūlasaṁgahaṁ aññaṁ akaṁsu saṁgahaṁ.
aññattha saṁgahitaṁ suttaṁ aññattha akariṁsu te,
atthaṁ dhammañ ca bhindiṁsu ye nikāyesu pañcasu.
pariyāyadesitañ cāpi atho nippariyāyadesitaṁ
nītatthañ c' eva neyyatthaṁ ajānitvāna bhikkhavo
aññaṁ sandhāya bhaṇitaṁ aññatthaṁ ṭhapayiṁsu te,
byañjanacchāyāya te bhikkhū bahu atthaṁ vināsayuṁ,
chaḍḍetvā ekadesañ ca suttaṁ vinayañ ca gambhīraṁ
paṭirūpaṁ suttavinayaṁ tañ ca aññaṁ kariṁsu te,
parivāraṁ atthuddhāraṁ abhidhammappakaraṇaṁ
paṭisambhidañ ca niddesaṁ ekadesañ ca jātakaṁ
ettakaṁ vissajjetvāna aññāni akariṁsu te.
nāmaṁ liṅgaṁ parikkhāraṁ ākappakaraṇāni ca
pakatibhāvaṁ vijahetvā tañ ca aññaṁ akaṁsu te.
pubbaṁgamā bhinnavādā Mahāsaṁgītikārakā,
tesañ ca anukāreṇa bhinnavādā bahū ahū.
tato aparakālaṁ hi tasmiṁ bhedo ajāyatha :
Gokulikā Ekabyohārā duvidhā bhijjittha bhikkhavo.
Gokulikānaṁ dve bhedā aparakālaṁ hi jāyatha :
Bahussutakā ca Paññatti duvidhā bhijjittha bhikkhavo.
Cetiyā ca punavādi Mahāsaṁgītibhedakā.
pañca vādā ime sabbe Mahāsaṁgītimūlakā
atthaṁ dhammañ ca bhindiṁsu ekadesañ ca saṁgahaṁ
ganṭhiñ ca ekadesamhi chaḍḍetvā aññaṁ akaṁsu te.
nāmaṁ liṅgaṁ parikkhāraṁ ākappakaraṇāni ca
pakatibhāvaṁ vijahetvā tañ ca aññaṁ akaṁsu te.
visuddhatheravādaṁ hi puna bhedo ajāyatha :
Mahiṁsāsakā Vajjiputtakā duvidhā bhijjittha bhikkhavo.
Vajjiputtakavādaṁ hi catudhā bhedo ajāyatha :
Dhammuttarikā Bhaddayānikā Chandagārikā ca Sammiti
Mahiṁsāsakānaṁ dve bhedā aparakālaṁ hi jāyatha.
Sabbatthavādā Dhammaguttā duvidhā bhijjittha bhikkhavo.
Sabbatthavādā Kassapikā Kassapikā Saṁkantikā,
Suttavādā tato aññā anupubbena bhijjittha.
ime ekādasa vādā pabhinnā theravādato
atthaṁ dhammañ ca bhindiṁsu ekadesañ ca saṁgahaṁ
ganṭhiñ ca ekadesamhi chaḍḍetvāna akaṁsu te.
nāmaṁ liṅgaṁ parikkhāraṁ ākappakaraṇāni ca
pakatibhāvaṁ vijahetvā tañ ca aññaṁ akaṁsu te.

schools of Rehearsers—the *Bhāṇakas*. The texts accumulated during this period must have had a language of their own, which cannot be what is called "Māgadhī" by the Singhalese of the 8th cent. A.D. We mean that the language of these texts was neither identical with the local dialect of Magadha or of Kośala, nor a mere combination of several dialects of the Buddhist Midland. On the other hand, it was a highly artificial language, quite peculiar to a powerful religious community, of which the component elements can be found on analysis to consist of several dialectical forms, Sanskrit words and—what is most important—a rich coining of innumerable new words and technical expressions unprecedented in the history of Indian literature. To understand the nature of this new literary idiom one must, in the first instance, fix one's attention upon the pre-Nikāya materials comprising many commentarial fragments such as the tract on *Śīla* incorporated in the first thirteen *suttas* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the *Satipaṭṭhāna*, the *Saccavibhaṅga* discourses of the Majjhima. It matters little in what language the Buddha himself or his disciples preached. The growth of the first literary medium of the Buddhists cannot be intelligible without its important factor, the language of these commentarial fragments, which had their origin in the literary efforts of Buddha's disciples in the different centres of the Midland to digest and interpret Buddha's discourses and reduce them into a systematic order.

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LAND-SALE DOCUMENTS OF ANCIENT BENGAL.

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Within the last three-quarters of a century epigraphic records of various nature belonging to the different periods of Indian History have been discovered and explained. According to their subject-matter, especially in consideration of the motive that prompted the authors of these epigraphs, they may be classified into two heads, spiritual and temporal. It must be kept in mind, however, that incidentally we obtain from some of the records of the first division many items of historical materials that belong strictly to the domain of the second and *vice versa*. In the present contribution we have to deal with some ten documents which, roughly speaking, fall under the second category, but are of a very unique character and form. These are two sets of four and six copper-plate records about thirteen to fifteen hundred years old. Some plates of the first set, discovered about a quarter of a century ago, were not published before 1910.[1] One in the second set, though published in 1909,[2] could not be properly explained before the discovery in 1915 of the five sister plates,[3] the work of decipherment of which rendered it necessary for the writer not only to revise the reading[4] of the former (lately contributed to the *Epigraphia Indica*) but also to study with care and scrutiny all the four records of the first set. The first set was found in the district of Faridpur in East Bengal and with the exception of Plate D which is now preserved in the Dacca Museum, it is the property of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. Plate No. 1 of the second set comes from the Nattore sub-division of the Rajshahi District and the remaining five from the district of Dinajpur in North Bengal, and they are all preserved in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi. A hot controversy[5] regarding the genuineness of the four Faridpur grants

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, 1910. [2] *JASB.*, 1909.
[3] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, Part III.
[4] *Sāhitya*, Bengali Magazine of Calcutta, 1323 B.S. [5] *JASB.*, 1914.

was for a long time going on between Mr. F. E. Pargiter and Mr. R. D. Banerji of the Archæological Department till just five months before the five Damodarpur grants of the Gupta period belonging to the second set were discovered. These latter plates have and must have now set at rest that controversy, making it quite evident that the view held by the late Dr. Bloch and Mr. Banerji that the four Faridpur grants were spurious is untenable and that Mr. Pargiter was quite right in holding the view that they were genuine. It is mainly on account of the peculiar nature and the subject-matter of them in which they differed wholly from the majority ot copper-plate grants already discovered that Mr. Banerji declared them to be "ancient forgeries." But it may now be said with some degree of definiteness that it is for that very reason that they and the six other grants of the second set are so very important in the inscriptional literature of India. It cannot be said, however, that we have yet discovered every kind of inscribed transaction that was current 1500 years ago.

Records of ordinary royal donations from the greater portion of the inscribed deeds of ancient India. But the documents which form the subject-matter of this paper were not like these ordinary grants executed for the purpose of making gifts to Brāhmaṇas or dedicating land to gods; in other words, they are not like the common *Brahmadeya* or *Devottara* records. They form a peculiar type of sale-deeds recording the state-confirmation of the sale of land transacted between Government or Government and the village and district authorities on the one hand, and the purchasers on the other, whether the latter be officials or private individuals, who buy land at the rate prevalent in different localities. They remind us at once of the definition[6] of "a deed of purchase" given in the law-book of Bṛhaspati, regarded by Professor Jolly as having flourished in the 6th or 7th century A.D., which runs as follows: "When a person having purchased a house, field or other (property) causes a document to be executed containing an exact statement of the proper price paid for it, it is called a deed of purchase."[7] Almost all these East and North Bengal records are of this description. Such purchases of land were generally made in order to make a free donation thereof to temples, individual Brāhmaṇas, or Brahmanic settlements. Hence these documents may more properly be called combined deeds of purchase and gift. It is very probable that these documents were first

[6] *Bṛhaspati*, VIII, 7, *SBE.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 305. [7] Ib., VIII, 6, op. cit. p. 305.

drawn up in the Government office and then copied on copper and afterwards issued to persons concerned, and as such they are like registered title-deeds or certificates with the Government seal attached to them, as is clear in some plates whereon the seals are preserved. It may be hoped that such land-sale documents or other varieties of them will hereafter be discovered in other parts of India also. But although we are not aware of the discovery of transactions exactly of a similar nature in any other part of India, a very clear instance of an actual land-sale is mentioned in a Buddhist cave inscription[1] in Western India belonging to the first half of the second century A.D. In it we find that Uṣavadāta, son of Dīnīka, and son-in-law of the Kṣahanāta king, Kṣatrapa Nahapāna, is described as making a gift of a field (*kṣetraṁ*) purchased from a Brāhmaṇa at a price (*mulena*) of 4000 Kārṣāpaṇa coins, from which food is to be procured for all monks (*bhikkusagha*) dwelling in his cave. References to land-sale are not wanting also in the old literature of India, such as the Arthaśāstra, Dharmasūtras and Dharmaśāstras. In the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya we have a separate chapter[2] on the sale of holdings of all kinds, fields, gardens, lakes, etc., called *Vāstu-vikraya*, wherefrom we learn that such a sale must take place in the presence of kinsmen and neighbours and that the proposed *vāstu* must be sold to the highest bidder who has to pay a toll to the State on the value offered for the sale.

From a comparative study of the two sets of sale-deeds referred to above, we propose first to convey an idea of their peculiar nature and form and then to discuss, so far as it is possible, the procedure of land-alienation transactions prevailing during the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries in India, especially in Bengal, without however dealing with the other very important materials for the political history of the period that can be gathered from them. The form of these documents—a

[1] Nasik Buddhist Cave Inscription, No. 10 (*Epi. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 78). The passage here runs thus (II, 4–5): *data cānena kṣetraṁ brāhmaṇasa Vārāhiputrasa Aśvibhutisa hathe kiṇitā mulena kāhāpaṇasahasrehi catuhi 4000 ya Sapitusataka.* M. Senart took the passage to mean that the Brāhmaṇa Aśvibhūti was made a representative of his father when the latter's field was sold to Uṣavadāta. But it may also be suggested that the field which belonged to Aśvibhūti's father who himself sold it to Uṣavadāta for the specified price, may have been placed (*data*) in the heads of Aśvibhuti who was probably made a trustee to look after the management of the same for the maintenance of the congregation of monks from all quarters.

[2] *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya (second edition, Mysore, 1919), Adhikaraṇa VI, Chapter IX, p. 168 ff.

typical specimen of which will shortly follow—has, roughly speaking, six different sections in it.

The first section contains a petition of the applicant who has to address the local government and sometimes also the village and district authorities, mentioning the supreme rulers of the country, his viceroy in the province and their subordinates in the district. In some cases (as in the North Bengal plates) this section contains also the date in year, month and day. The second section declares the object for which the applicant wants to purchase land and refers to the prevailing local custom of buying arable or waste land on payment of price (in current coins, gold *dīnāras* in these cases) at a particular rate. The third section contains the report of the record-keeper on the application submitted after due reference to his archives and his subsequent approval of the proposed sale. The fourth section embodies the actual state-permission for selling the land on receipt of the proper price and severing it from other plots of land by proper boundary-marks on survey made according to a particular standard of measurement in the presence of the village and district elders and other important village officers and private persons. The fifth section has reference to the gift of the purchased land made by the applicant-purchaser or, on his behalf, by the selling party, to a grantee or grantees on certain conditions. The sixth and last section mentions the merit and demerit respectively of protecting and confiscating such land-grants ending with quotations of the useful imprecatory verses. This section may also contain the date (as in the case of the East Bengal plates). The seal of the local government is also attached to them perhaps as a mark of their having been duly registered.

1. Form of land-sale documents in North Bengal during the 5th and 6th centuries A.D.

SEAL. —*Koṭivarṣâdhiṣṭhānâdhikaraṇasya.*

I. Saṁvat . . . . māse . . . . dine . . . . Parama-daivata-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājâdhirāja-śrī-(Amuke) pṛthivī-patau, tatpāda-parigṛhīte (Amuka)-bhuktau uparika-mahārāja-śrī-(Amuke), (Amuka)-viṣaye ca tanniyuktake viṣaya-patau śrī-(Amukē) . . . . saṁvyavaharati, adhikaraṇaṁ (Amuka-Amuka)-purōgaṁ (Amukena) vijñāpitaṁ ||

II. Iha viṣaye samudaya-bāhy āprahata-khila-kṣetrāṇāṁ tri-dīnārikya-kulyavāpa-vikrayo'nuvṛittaḥ । *Icchāmy ahaṁ* . . . . (*ityādikaṁ*) *karttuṁ kārayituṁ vā, tad arhatha yathā-kraya-maryyādayā matto dīnārān upasaṁgṛhya apradā-dharmeṇa nīvī-dharmeṇa vā dātum iti* ॥

III. Etad vijñāpyam upalabhya pustapāla-(Amukēna Amukair vā) avadhṛtaṁ, 'yuktam anena vijñāpitam asty ayaṁ vikrayamaryyadā-prasaṅgas tad dīyatām asmai' ॥

IV. Pustapāla-(Amukasya Amukānāṁ va) avadhāraṇayā etasmād (vijñāpakāt) dīnārān upasaṁgṛhya etāvat-saṁkhyakaḥ(°kāḥ va) kulyavāpaḥ(°pāḥ vā) aṣṭaka-navaka-nalābhyam apaviñcchya apradā-dharmeṇa dattaḥ(-ttāḥ va).

V. Anenâpi vijñāpakena (vijñāpyamanēna vā) Amuka-kāryyārthaṁ Amukāya (Amuka-devāya vā) dattaḥ (°ttāḥ, °ttaṁ vā).

VI. Uttarakālaṁ saṁvyavahāribhir deva-bhakty ānumantavyaṁ uktañ ca Vyāsena (athavā, api ca bhūmi-sambaddhāḥ ślōkāḥ) ityādi.

2. Form of land-sale documents in East Bengal, during the 6th and 7th centuries A.D.

(SEAL.) —*Vārakamaṇḍalaviṣayâdhikaraṇasya.*

I. Mahārājâdhirāja-śrī-(Amuke), ... tat-prasāda-labdhâspadasya (Amuka-sthāne) mahārāja-mahāpratihāra-uparika-(Amukasya) adhyāsana-kale, (Amuka-viṣaye) tad-viniyuktaka-viṣayapati-(Amukasya) saṁvyavaharataḥ, (amukena) sādaram abhigamya jyeṣṭha-kāyastha-(Amuka)-pramukhaṁ adhikaraṇaṁ viṣaya-mahattarāḥ (Amukāḥ) anye ca pradhāna vyavahāriṇaś ca viṣaya-mahattara-(Amuka)-purogāḥ prakṛtayaś ca vijñaptāḥ ॥

II. Icchāmy ahaṁ bhavatāṁ prasādāt (sakāśād vā) argheṇa bhavadbhyaḥ kṣetrakhaṇḍaṁ krītvā (Amukāya) pratipādayituṁ, tad arhatha mattō mūlyaṁ gṛhītvā viṣaye vibhajya dātum iti ॥

III. Etad abhyarthanam adhikṛtya pustapāla-(Amukena) avadhṛtam astiha viṣaye prāk-samudra-maryyādā caturdīnārikya-kulyavāpena kṣetrāṇi vikrīyamānakān iti ॥

IV. Pustapāla-(Amukasya) avadhāraṇayā avadhṛtya asmābhiḥ (Amukāt) dīnārān ādāya pratīta-dharmmaśīla-(Amuka)-hastâṣṭaka-navakanalena apaviñchya (Amukāya) kṣetra-kulyavāpaḥ (°pāḥ vā) tāmrapaṭṭa-dharmmeṇa vikrītaḥ (°tāḥ vā) ॥

V. Anenâpi krītvā (Amukāya) putra-pautra-kramena vidhinā tāmrapaṭṭikṛtya catuḥ-sīmā-liṅga-nirdiṣṭam kṛtvā tat pratipatitaṁ \| *Iti sīma-liṅgāni cātra* . . . .

VI. Āgāmi-sāmanta-rājaiś ca . . . . . . *bhūmi-dānaṁ sutarāṁ pratipālanīyam iti* ‖ *Bhavanti cātra dharmma-śāstra-ślōkāḥ* . . . . . . *Saṁvat* . . . . . . *māse* . . . . . . *dine* . . . . . .

In illustration of the above specimen forms, I now give a summary of the contents of all the ten documents in their chronological order, so far as it has been possible for me to ascertain it. I shall refer to the North Bengal plates as Nos. 1 to 6, and the East Bengal ones as Nos. A to D.

No. 1.—Dhānāidaha (mutilated) copper-plate inscription of the time of the Gupta Emperor Kumāragupta I., dated Gupta Era 113 (A.D. 432–33).

A person (probably an *āyuktaka*, a royal officer) approached the chief village householders (*kuṭumbins*), the village elders (*mahattaras*) and the *aṣṭakulādhikaraṇas* of the villages and also perhaps the local government of the district (*viṣaya*) and expressed his desire for purchasing one *kulyavāpa* of cultivated land (*kṣētra*) on payment of price at the usual rate (*anuvṛtta-maryyādā*) prevalent in the district (*viṣaya*) of Khādā-(ṭā ?)pāra. It seems from the use of the word *nivīdharma-kṣayena* that the intending purchaser wanted to buy land by destroying the condition of non-transferability of it, that is, to buy it with the future right of alienation. However, his prayer was granted after the record-keeper had confirmed (*avadhṛtaṁ*) the sale, and land was severed for him by proper measurement (*aṣṭaka-navaka-nalābhyām apaviñchya*) and duly transferred to him. He again made a gift of the purchased plot to a Sāmavedin Brāhmaṇa named Varāhasvāmin.

No. 2.—Dāmodarpur copper-plate inscription of the time of the same monarch (as in No. 1), dated G.E. 124 (A.D. 443–44).

A Brāhmaṇa, named Karpaṭika, applied before the local authorities of the capital-town (*adhiṣṭhāna*) of the district (*viṣaya*) of Kōṭivarṣa in the province (*bhukti*) of Puṇḍravardhana for a transfer to him, according to *nīvīdharma*, i.e., with no right of alienation, of one *kulyavāpa* of unsettled (*aprada*), untilled (*aprahata*, land not then under the plough) *khila-kṣetra* for convenient performance of his *agnihotra* rites on payment of price at the usual rate of three *dīnāras* for each *kulyavāpa* (*tri-dīnārikya-kulyavāpena*). His prayer was granted by the local

administration [10] and land measuring one *kulyavāpa* of a particular site was ordered to be given to him for continuous use by himself and his descendants on receipt of the actual price, after, of course, the record-keepers (*pustapālas*) had determined the application and the sale as proper.

No. 3.—Dāmodarpur copper-plate inscription of the time of the same monarch (as in No. 1), dated G.E. 129 (A.D. 448–49).

A person (whose name is undecipherable) approached the same authorities as in No. 2, and applied for the transfer of some land to him on receipt of price at the above-mentioned rate for the maintenance of his five daily sacrifices (*pañca-mahāyajñas*). It seems doubtful whether this applicant wanted the land on the nullification or continuation of the condition of non-transferability—the word *apradākṣaya* admitting of an interpretation applicable both ways. However, his prayer was granted and a plot of land measuring five *droṇas* was made over to him on price received after the determination of the record-keepers (*pustapālas*).

No. 4.—Dāmodarpur copper-plate inscription of the time of the Gupta Emperor, Budhagupta, date and year lost.

The *grāmika* (village headman) of the village Caṇḍagrāma, named Nābhaka, approached the provincial government of Puṇḍravardhana *Bhukti* with a prayer for purchase of revenue-free (*samudaya-bāhya*, i.e., beyond the pale of government revenue) non-settled (*aprada*) waste land (*khila-kṣetra*) for the purpose of settling (*prativāsayituṁ*) some Brāhmaṇas therein. The *mahattaras*, *aṣṭakulādhikaraṇas*, the *grāmikas*, the *kuṭumbins* (householders) of Palāśavṛndaka (perhaps, the head-quarters of the Provincial Governor, *Uparika-mahārāja*, Brahmadatta) informed the chief householders—the Brāhmaṇas and the Āryyas of Caṇḍagrāma—about the application of Nābhaka for purchase of land on payment of price in accordance with the custom of sale prevailing in the different

[10] It may be noted here that *Kumārāmātya* Vetravarman, the district-officer (*viṣayapati*) of Koṭivarṣa, who was appointed by the provincial governor of Puṇḍravardhana *Bhukti* named *uparika* Cirātadatta, himself placed there under the favours of the Imperial Ruler (*Pṛthivī-pati-paramadaivata-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja*) Kumāragupta, carried on the administration (*saṁvyavaharati*) of the town with the help of a Board or Council consisting of the representatives of the four following interests of those days, viz., the *Nagaraśreṣṭhins* (mercantile communities), the *Sārthavāhas* (guilds of traders dealing also with foreign countries), the *Kulikas* (the artisans) and the *Kāyasthas* (writers, very likely the Government office-assistants).

villages (*grāmânukrama-vikrayamaryyādayā*). His prayer was granted and land measuring one *kulyavāpa* was severed by the customary *nalas* (*aṣṭaka-navaka-nalābhyām apaviñchya*) under the inspection of the *mahattaras*, the *adhikaraṇa* and the chief householders and given to Nāgadeva, a Brāhmaṇa, on behalf of the applicant, *grāmika* Nābhaka, who paid two *dīnāras* (*Nābhaka-hastād dīnāra-dvayam upagṛhya*) as the price. The record-keeper (*pustapāla*), Patradāsa, had to determine that the application was proper and that such a customary rate was prevalent in that locality (*yuktam anena vijñāpitam asty ayaṁ vikraya-maryyādā-prasaṅgah*).

No. 5.—Dāmodarpur copper-plate inscription of the time of the same monarch (as in No. 4), date and year lost.

Ṛbhupāla, the *nagaraśreṣṭhin* (a member of the Board of Council of the town administration) approached the local government of the capital-town (*adhiṣṭhāna*) of the district of Koṭivarṣa in the province of Puṇḍravardhana governed by *Uparika-mahārāja* Jayadatta and applied for transfer to him on sale of some *kulyavāpas* of field-land with building site (*vāstunā saha*) on receipt of price at the usual rate (*yathākraya-maryyādayā*). The purpose of this purchase was the erection of two temples and two store-houses to be dedicated to the two gods, Kokāmukhasvāmin and Śvetavarāhasvāmin, to whom, on a former occasion he had already made a gift of eleven *kulyavāpas* of *kṣetra* land, four to the first and seven to the second god as *apradas* (inalienable endowments) in village Doṅgāgrāma in a place called Himavacchikhara. His application was sanctioned after the record-keepers (*pustapālas*) had approved of the application and corroborated the statement of the applicant about his previous gift of eleven *kulyavāpas* to the two gods, and land was then sold to him at the prevalent rate of three *dīnāras* for each *kulyavāpa* (*anuvṛtta-tri-dīnārikya-kulyavāpa-vikraya-maryyādā*). This plate has a seal with legend most indistinct, which seems to be similar to the one attached to plate No. 6 below, with the legend *Koṭivarṣâdhiṣṭhānâdhikaraṇasya*, i.e., the seal of the court of the capital of Kōṭivarṣa.

No. 6.—Dāmodarpur copper-plate inscription of the time of Gupta Emperor Bhānu(?)-gupta, dated G.E. 214 (A.D. 533–34).

Amṛtadeva, a nobleman (*kulaputra*) hailing from Ayodhyā, approached the local government in the district-town of Koṭivarṣa of which Svayambhūdeva was the *Viṣayapati* under the provincial govern-

ment of Puṇḍravardhana *Bhukti*, during the reign of Imperial Ruler, (*Paramadaivata-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājâdhirāja*) Bhānu(?)-gupta, and prayed that he might be granted by means of a copper-plate document (*tamrapaṭṭīkṛtya*), in accordance with the custom known as *apradādharma* (permanent endowment), the transfer of some pieces of rent-free (*samudaya-bāhya*), untilled (*aprahata*) waste-land (*khila*) on receipt of price at the usual rate of three *dināras* for each *kulyavāpa* which was prevalent in that district (*iha viṣaye samudaya-bāhyâprahata-khila-kṣetrāṇāṁ tri-dīnārikya-kulyavāpa-vikrayo 'nuvṛttaḥ*). The object of the purchase is to provide for the repairs etc. of the temple of the god Śvetavarāhasvāmin and for the perpetual performance of the *bali, caru, sattra* and other rites of the god. His prayer was granted and fallow-land with some building sites, measuring five *kulyavāpas* in four different tracts, was dedicated to the eternal enjoyment of the god Śvetavarāhasvāmin by government on behalf of the purchaser, Amṛtadeva, from whose hands fifteen *dināras* were received after the chief record-keepers (*prathama-pustapālas*) had determined the sale. As referred to above, this plate has the seal of the Court of the district-town of Koṭivarṣa.

No. A.—Faridpur copper-plate inscription of the time of King Dharmāditya, dated in his regnal year 3.

In the reign of *Mahārājâdhirāja* Dharmâditya, when *Mahārāja* Sthāṇudatta was the governor in the province of Navyāvakāśika (vide Nos. B and C) and under his appointment the *Viṣayapati* Jajāva was administering the state business in the district (*viṣaya*) of Vārakamaṇḍala), a person named Vātabhōga, a *sādhanika* (probably, a military officer) approached the local district administration (*adhikaraṇa*) and the people (*prakṛtayaḥ*) headed by the leading men of the district (*viṣaya-mahattara*) and applied for a purchase from them (*bhavatāṁ sakāśāt upakriya*) of a plot of cultivated land (*kṣetra-khaṇḍam*) by offering the due price (*mūlyaṁ gṛhītva*). On submission of this application (*abhyarthana*), the record-keeper first determined the matter and made a report that in that district (*iha viṣaye*) the custom prevailed of selling cultivated land by means of copper-plate documents (*tāmrapaṭṭa-dharmeṇa*) at the rate of four *dīnāras* for each *kulyavāpa* (*catur-dīnārikya-kulyavāpena*) and that the state was to receive only the sixth part of the price according to law in such transactions (*Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pādānam atra dharma-ṣaḍbhāga-lābhaḥ*). The applicant's prayer was then granted and on deposit of twelve *dīnāras*

by Vâtabhôga, cultivated land measuring three *kulyavāpas* was sold to him (*tâmrapaṭṭa-dharmeṇa vikrītaṁ*) after severing it according to the standard measure of eight by nine reeds (*aṣṭaka-navaka-nalenâpaviñcchya*) by the hand of Śivacandra. The purchaser again made a gift of this plot of land to a Bhāradvāja Brāhmaṇa named Candrasvāmin. The four boundaries of the plot sold were very clearly mentioned in the document. certainly with a view to avert any future dispute or litigation that may arise. This document has a seal attached to it bearing the emblem of Śrī or Lakṣmī with a legend which, though indistinct, should be read as—*Vārakamaṇḍalaviṣayâdhikaraṇasya*, i.e., the seal of the Court of the district of Vārakamaṇḍala.

No. B.—Faridpur copper-plate inscription of the time of the same king (as in No. A), undated.

When Gōpālasvāmin was in charge of the administration of the district of Vārakamaṇḍala under *Mahāpratihāra-uparika* Nāgadeva, the governor of the province of Navyâvakāśika, a person named Vasudevasvāmin approached the district government (of which the Chief Secretary, *jyeṣṭha-kāyastha*, was Nayasēna) and the leading men of the district headed by Somaghoṣa (*Somaghoṣa-purassarāḥ viṣayānāṁ mahattarāḥ*) and applied for purchasing from them cultivated land by offering the proper price, to enable him to make a meritorious donation of the same to a *Lauhitya-sagotra* Brāhmaṇa named Somasvāmin. According to the determination of the record-keeper, Janmabhūti, land was sold by them to the applicant on receipt of two *dīnāras* at the usually prevalent rate in that district of selling such land at four *dīnāras* for each *kulyavāpa*, after severing it by the standard measure of eight by nine reeds by the hand of the famous (*pratīta*) and upright (*dharmaśīla*) Śivacandra. The document does not, however, in its fifth section mention whether Vasudevasvāmin afterwards granted the purchased plot to Somadevasvâmin as referred to in the main part of his application. Or, it is not unlikely that the selling party might have done it on his behalf (as in the Dāmodarpur plate No. 4 above). This deed also has a seal attached to it with the same emblem and legend as in plate No. A.

No. C.—Faridpur copper-plate inscription of the time of king Gopacandra, dated in his regnal year 19.

In the reign of *Mahārājâdhirāja-bhaṭṭāraka* Gopacandra, when *Mahāpratihāra-kumarâmātya-uparika* Nāgadeva was the Governor of the province of Navyâvakāśika and under his appointment Vatsapālasvāmin

was the administering agent for the *viṣaya* of Vārakamaṇḍala, this district officer himself approached his own government (of which the the Chief Secretary, *jyeṣṭha-kāyastha*, was Nāgasena) and the leading men of the district and other chief business-men (*pradhāna-vyāpāriṇaḥ* ?) and intimated to them his desire to buy through their favour (*bhavatāṁ prasādāt*) land by offering proper price at the usual rate and to make a gift of the same to a Brāhmaṇa named Gomidattasvāmin. After the determination of the *pustapāla* Nayabhūti that the rate of price in such a sale of cultivated land was four *dīnāras* for each *kulyavāpa*, the local government of the district (*viṣayâdhikaraṇa*) appointed some *karaṇikas* (officers) as *kulavāras* (perhaps, referees, in cases of possible disagreement, as supposed by Mr. Pargiter) and transferred one *kulyavāpa* of cultivated land to Vatsapālasvāmin, the district officer, after severing it according to the standard measure of eight by nine reeds by the hand of the famous and upright man, Śivacandra. This purchased plot was then made into a gift by the district officer (purchaser) to Gomidattasvāmin with the right of enjoyment by his successors,—sons and grandsons (*putra-pautra-krameṇa*). The boundary marks were distinctly stated in the document which also contains the same emblem and legend as in Nos. A and B.

No. D.—Faridpur (Ghāgrāhāṭi) copper-plate inscription of the time of the king Samācāradeva, dated in his regnal year 14.

In the reign of *Mahārājâdhirāja* Samācāradeva, when the *Antaraṅga-uparika* Jīvadatta was the governor of Navyávakāśika (with head-quarters at Survarṇavīthī) and under his appointment *Viṣayapati* Pavitraka was administering the state-business of the district of Vārakamaṇḍala, a Brāhmaṇa named Supratīkasvāmin approached the local government (of which the Chief Officer, *Jyeṣṭhâdhikaraṇika*, was Dāmuka) and the leading men of the district (*viṣayamahattarāḥ*) and many other administering agents or business-men (*vyavahāriṇaḥ*) and prayed for the favour of having from them a plot of land which was for a long time in a fallow condition (*cirāvasanna-khila-bhū-khaṇḍalaka*), to enable him to perform therewith his Brāhmanic duties, by means of the execution of a copper-plate document.

On receipt of this application all the above-mentioned men and the *vyavahārins* conferred together and decided after referring it to a committee of some of the *Karaṇikas* (officers) as referees (*kulavārān prakalpya*) to make over to the applicant by means of a copper-plate

charter a portion of land in a region, the rest of which had already been made into similar grants. A clear statement of the four boundaries of the granted land was entered in the document. It appears that this is not exactly a land-sale document like those numbered A, B and C, but the procedure of execution is almost the same. The district government and its leading men and other chief business-people made by this document a grant gratis to the applicant,—hence the record-keepers were not called to determine the transaction, for they were required to be consulted about the prevailing rate of price in the case of a sale of land. In this case, there was no necessity of measuring the plot—as it formed the residue that was left from a big region already made into gifts by previous charters.

These are some of the earliest copper-plate documents which record both a purchase of land and its gift. From the analysis it will be found that in some plates (Nos. 1, 4, A, B and C) the intending purchasers, official or non-official, not excepting the district officer himself (as in No. C) and the village headman (as in No. 4), had to address in their application for purchase not only the administrative functionaries of the province (*bhukti*) and the district (*viṣaya*), but also the leading men or elders in the same, as well as the other rural officers, e.g., *aṣṭakulâdhikaraṇas*, *grâmikas* and the chief house-holders (*kuṭumbins*), while in others (Nos. 2, 3, 5 and 6) the purchasers approached with their application the administrative machinery of the district town which had a Board or Council attached to it consisting of the representatives of the four important interests of those days, viz., the mercantile, the trading and the artisan communities and the writer-class, probably representing the Government Secretaries. In the case only of No. D, the district administration, its leading men and other chief business-people were approached by a Brāhmaṇa wanting some land free by means of a copper-plate grant, for religious purposes. In five of these documents we have marked the seal of the two Government Courts, viz., that of the district of Vārakamaṇḍala and of the district town of Koṭivarṣa. It has also been noticed that the land for sale was sometimes cultivable field (*kṣetra*) and sometimes waste land (*khila-bhū*). The state of affairs thus revealed by these documents naturally suggests the question as to whom these lands belonged. If we assume that they belonged to the State, the question that is sure to be asked is why it could not alienate them without the consent or approval of the people's representatives, the

mahattaras and other business-men (*vyavahārins*) of the province and the district, and sometimes even the common-folk? Why is it that Government did not take upon itself the whole responsibility of transferring to others by sale hitherto unassessed, untilled *khās* land? One way of answering these questions may be that these lands belonged not to the State but to the whole village or the village-assemblies, and hence their transfer could not take place without the consent or approval of the latter. Neither the State nor the village elders could sell them singly—but the presence and permission of both were necessary in their disposal. In one of these documents (No. A) we have seen it mentioned in very clear terms that one-sixth of the sale proceeds in these transactions will go to the royal exchequer according to the law, *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pādānāmatra dharma-ṣaḍbhāga-lābhaḥ*, l. 13). It seems very clear then that the remaining five-sixths of the price, at whatever rate it may be estimated, used to go to the funds of the village-assemblies. Is it then a sort of joint-ownership of land by both the State and the people? Again, one may argue that these lands, in the sale of which the State-confirmation could be obtained by crediting one-sixth of the price and getting the State-seal attached to the documents, belonged absolutely to the State, and that the latter had only to await the approval or assent of the representative men and other rural functionaries in the district, on the authorities of the Arthaśāstra and the Smṛtis [11] which clearly enjoin that disputes about landed property were settled on the evidence and decision of the neighbours and the senior inhabitants of the district. But such an argument seems to be weak for a course like this could only be followed in the case of ordinary grants of land made by the king from landed property which was absolutely in his own possession. In such donations, one of the oldest [12] of which belongs to the fifth century A.D. (G.E. 156, A.D. 475-76), during the

[11] The most important dictum in the settlement of disputes concerning all sorts of *vāstu* is *Sāmanta-pratyayaḥ vāsturivādaḥ* as laid down by Kauṭilya (*Arthaśāstra*, second edition, p. 166). This view was literally followed by the *Manu-saṁhitā* which says (Ch. VIII, 262) that in such dispute appeal to the neighbours was the rule. *Yājñavalkya* (*Ācārādhyāya*, Section IX, 150-151) is of the same opinion, and *Nārada* (Ch. XI, 2) and *Bṛhaspati* (Ch. XIX, 8) (see *SBE.*, Vol. XXXIII) are very explicit on this point and say that decision rests in such disputes with the neighbours and the elders of the district.

[12] Fleet, *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 21. Other similar royal grants of land of the same and the next centuries belong to the other feudatory chiefs, Saṁkṣobha, Jayanātha and Sarvanātha (Ibid, Nos. 22-31.)

reign of the Gupta-feudatory in Central India, King Hastin, we find that the donor-king only informs the people of the neighbourhood, and sometimes his own officers too, that he was making such and such a grant to a Brāhmaṇa or an institution, so that they might henceforth deal with the donee with regard to the transfer of the various royalties, viz., the *bhāga*, *bhoga*, *kara*, *pratyāya* and so forth, which would now go to the latter. Moreover in such an argument we cannot answer for the disposal of the other five-sixths of the value obtained from the sale of land.

Although we do not have, from the various literary and epigraphic sources, so much of the excellently developed village-assemblies or corporations in Northern India as in the South, where the most important aspect of Dravidian civilisation is the most perfect organisation of these democratic bodies, yet quite a good glimpse of the spirit of village administration can be had from the North Indian epigraphic records under discussion. Prof. K. Aiyanger [13] in his *Ancient India* and Rao Saheb H. Krishna Sastri [14] in his article on "The Fiscal Administration of the Early Cholas" in the *Sir R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume* have most clearly shown that in the deliberation of the meetings of the village-assemblies consisting of the village elders and other elected members, the king's representatives, the local officer and the agents of the parties interested in the business of the day were present and the learned scholars have proved, moreover, that the village-assemblies had the power of selling or purchasing lands on behalf of the whole village or temples of the village. Dr. R. C. Majumdar [15] of the Dacca University also in his book on the *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, while dealing with the nature and duties of the village-assemblies, the village-headmen and the villagers themselves, has most successfully proved that "the essence of the institution was that the affairs of the village were transacted by the villages themselves," with, of course, "the ultimate right of supervision by the king." Discussing on the state of the village-assemblies in the South, Dr. Majumdar has stated (on p. 69 of his book) that the village corporations "were practically the absolute proprietors of the village lands, including the fresh cleanings, and were responsible for the total amount of revenue to the Government. In case the owner of a plot of land failed to pay his

[13] Aiyanger, *Ancient India*, pp. 163 ff.

[14] *Sir R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume* (Poona, 1917), pp. 223 ff.

[15] Dr. R. C. Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, pp. 37-85.

share it became the property of the corporation which had a right to dispose of it to realise the dues." As regards "the relation between the village corporations and the paramount ruler," my learned friend has shown (p. 81 of his book) that "the corporations possessed absolute authority over the village lands subject to the payment of royal revenue, and were generally left undisturbed in the internal management of the villages. The royal officers however supervised their accounts from time to time . . . . . . On the other hand the village-assembly could bring to the notice of the king any misdoings of the servants of any temple within the area of the village. Some of the regulations which it passed required the sanction of the king . . . . . Again in the inscription No. 9 at Ukkal we have a royal charter according sanction to the village-assembly to sell lands of those who have not paid taxes. On the other hand any royal charter affecting the status of the village must be sent for approval to the village-assembly before it is registered and sent into the record office." It may be hoped that the above quotations from Dr. Majumdar's book with reference to South Indian village activities of a period somewhat later than that of our documents may very aptly form a commentary on our own inferences from the sale-deeds before us as to why along with the Government, the village elders and others concerned with the village affairs were also applied to by intending purchasers of land and why those popular representatives actually formed a party with Government in granting their prayer for purchase. So it seems clear that one-sixth of the price of the sold land went to the king, perhaps because he was the protector of the realm and that the remaining five-sixths went to swell the local funds of the village-assemblies.

Another most interesting but old, difficult and controversial question may here be referred to, viz., the question of the ultimate right of proprietorship of land in India, i.e., whether in old times absolute ownership of land in India was recognised as belonging to the State or to the people. A short treatment of this question is all the more important here because in some of the sale-deeds under consideration we are confronted with the disposal of lands which seem to have never been settled before (*aprada*) and assessed for Government revenue (*samudaya-bāhya*). It is therefore in the method of disposal by sale of such lands that a clue to their absolute right of ownership may be hoped to be obtained. It only appears to me that all lands

belonged in primitive days absolutely to the people and that during the centuries with which we are concerned their absolute ownership might have only been begun to be ascribed to the State. Even when the institution of kingship was being introduced in the very early days of civilisation in this country, the king was not probably regarded as the absolute owner of all land over which he had to rule. In a country like India, either on the theory of the social contract or on that of the divine origin of kingship, the ancient *śāstras* and literature dealt with several kinds of limitations of the king's power, as has been lucidly treated in his Carmichael Lecture by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar.[16] We cannot, therefore, imagine that the people of ancient India could recognise the king as the absolute proprietor of all land. The origin of paying revenue to Government must be traced to the idea of the people that they are protected by the king from foreign enemies. The king's due on land is to be attributed to his offering protection to the people, to whom land really belonged. But, we think, the crown began later on to be recognised as absolute owner of all land. The presence of the people's representatives along with the king's agents at the time of the sale transactions under notice and their approval in the matter may be traced to the old popular right of proprietorship in the soil. In the much later period of the history of India, e.g., during the rule of the Pāla and Sēna kings of Bengal, we find that even while making royal grants of land to Brāhmaṇs, the kings most anxiously used to take the popular assent by such phrases as *matamastu bhavatā ṁ*—"may it meet with your approval." This practice is perhaps a reminiscence of early popular right on land. This discussion of the ultimate ownership of all land may be concluded with the following observation[17] by Professors Macdonell and Keith: "It is not denied that gradually the king came to be vaguely conceived—as the English king still is—as lord of all land in a proprietorial sense, but it is far more probable that such an idea was only a gradual development than that it was primitive."

A few lines will not be out of place here in discussing the functions of the various officers, Government and private, urban and rural, mentioned in these documents and also for adding short notes on some of the

[16] Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures* (Calcutta University), First Series, 1918, Lecture III, pp. 114-130.

[17] Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 215.

technical terms used in them. The larger provinces such as Puṇḍravardhana in North Bengal and Navyāvakāśika in East Bengal were ruled by Governors appointed by the supreme monarchs of the country. These Governors generally had the titles of *Mahārāja* and *Uparika* (probably the superior head) and sometimes they also had the title of *Mahāpratihāra* (Chief Warden). Under these government officers—of the rank of the present-day Divisional Commissioners,—were the *Viṣayapatis* (the district officers), such as those of the district of Kōṭivarsha in North Bengal and Vārakamaṇḍala in East Bengal. These officers had sometimes the title of *Kumārāmātya*[15] (which literally means "a minister to the princes," or "one who is a minister from boyhood") which was often applied to feudatory chiefs also. The district officers had their *adhikaraṇa* (administrative machinery) headed by *Jyeṣṭha-kāyastha* or *Prathama-kāyastha* (the Chief Secretary). In the case of the Kōṭivarṣa district, it has been said before that it had its head-quarters in its *adhiṣṭhāna* (town) the court of which had a Board or Council of administration consisting of members representing the various interests of those days. As regards the term *mahattaras*, mentioned both as *viṣaya-mahattaras* and simply as *mahattaras*, they were undoubtedly the leading men, the elders or seniors, as we call them, of the district or the village. It may not be quite unreasonable to suppose that they were the representative members in the village-assemblies referred to above and held a most responsible and important position in society. These men were held in high esteem by Government and they co-operated with it in transacting much of the state business. The other important officers, probably rural, that have been mentioned, are the *aṣṭakulādhikaraṇas* who seem to have been appointed over eight *kulas*, a technical term used to denote inhabited country, especially as much ground as can be cultivated by two ploughs, each driven by six bulls. Then for the word *grāmika* used in one of these documents, we may note that he was the head-man of the village whom, perhaps, the village-assemblies entrusted with many important executive and civil, and perhaps also military, authority over the affairs of the village. The village-headman under the various names of *grāmaṇī*, *grāmika*, *grāmabhojaka* occur in both Vedic and post-Vedic literature (Sanskrit and Pāli). It is stated in *Manu* (VII, 116-118)

[15] Vide Kulluka's commentary on *Manu*, VII, 119, and *Carmichael Lectures* (First Series, 1918), p. 155.

that the *grāmika* had the right to enjoy several privileges, e.g., to use the king's dues received from the villagers. He had also to refer cases of criminal offences to his immediate superior, the head-man of a group of ten-villages (*daśī*). Another term used in some of these sale-deeds is *kuṭumbins*, which undoubtedly refer to ordinary householders or family-men, i.e., men having *kuṭumbas*, families. Some scholars[19] think of taking this word *kuṭumbins*, as used in inscriptions of later period, to mean only the cultivating people—but it does not seem to be fully correct. These house-holders had often to be present along with the *mahattaras* and *aṣṭakulâdhikaraṇas* for the inspection of the actual execution of the sale-transaction and the survey or division of the purchased plot of land. Next comes the most important body of officers who went by the name of *pustapālas* (who seem to have been in later times called *akṣapaṭalikas*). They were record-keepers (*pusta*= books), and their duty was to preserve the records containing reference to the title, boundaries and demarcations of all lands already settled and held under tenure. It is these officers who were aware of the title to all lands. It is quite probable that they were officers under the village-assemblies. We have observed that without their determination (*avadhāraṇā*) no land-sale transaction could ever take place. They had to report to Government and the village elders and other inspecting bodies about the propriety of the application made by intending purchasers of land. In one of our documents (No. 5), the applicant mentioned in his application of a previous gift made by him of eleven *kulyavāpas* of land to two gods and that he now wanted to purchase fresh plots. The record-keepers were referred to for corroboration and they certified the truth of the reference, stating clearly that the applicant had actually purchased and made a don ion of as many *kulyavāpas* previously and so his new application ght be entertained.

As regards the nature and quality of land purchased y means of these documents, we find mention of three varieties, *kṣetra*, *khila* and *vāstu* land. *Kṣetra* refers to a field which is meant for cultivation. *Khila* land is treated as synonymous with *aprahata* (untilled land) in *Amara* (II, 10, 5) and *Halāyudha* (233), meaning waste or fallow

[19] *Indian Antiquary*, 1919. p. 80, where Professor D. R. Bhandarkar discusses the economic significance of this word as used in the inscription of the Kṣatrapa and Kṣaharata dynasties.

land. Professor Oldenberg was quite right when he thought (vide *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 216) that such land need not be deemed to have been unfertile as Professor Roth supposed. The *Nārada-smṛti* (which may now be regarded as almost contemporary with the time of our documents) clearly defines (Ch. XI, 26) that "a tract of land (which has not been cultivated for a year is called *arddha-khila* (half-waste). That which has not been (under cultivation) for three years is called *khila* (waste)." *Vāstu* land is dwelling site and is quite different from cultivated or waste land.

Another important fact revealed by these documents is that different rates of price for land were prevalent in different parts of old Bengal. In almost all the North Bengal records we have reference to the established rule (*maryyadā*) fixing the price of one *kulayvāpa* of land at three *dīnāra* coins, whereas in the East Bengal ones we have seen that four such coins were charged for the same area. Only in plate No. 4, we find one *kulyavāpa* sold for two *dīnāras*. Perhaps this somewhat lower rate was prevalent in the villages of that locality only (*grāmânukrama-vikraya-maryyādayā*) for selling unassessed fallow land. There was again no difference in the rate in North Bengal for the purchase of either *khila* land or such land along with *vāstu* plots (vide No. 6). The gold coins [20] of the Gupta period were mentioned in many inscriptions by the names of *dīnāras* as well as *suvarṇas*. The term *dīnāra* is a European word, i.e., the *dinarius* of the Romans. It has been remarked by Professor Jolly in his Introduction [21] to the *Nārada-smṛti* that "the first importation of gold *dīnāras* into India cannot be referred to an earlier period than the time of the Roman Emperors and the gold *dīnāras* most numerously found in India belong to the third century A.D." Both Nārada and Bṛhaspati give the statement of the value [22] of a *dīnāra*, as being equal to twelve *dhānakas*, each of which is equal to four *aṇḍikās* which again are each equal to one *kārṣāpaṇa*, a coin made of one *karsha* of copper. According to *Amara* (III, 3, 14) one *dīnāra* is equal to one *niṣka* which, however, is mentioned as equal to four *suvarṇas* (*Bṛhaspati*, X, 14).

It is difficult to ascertain the exact area of each *kulyavāpa* of land, which seems to have been the unit of area in land-measurement of the

[20] Allan, *Indian Coins, Gupta Dynasties*, Introduction, p. cxxxiv.

[21] *SBE.*, Vol. XXXIII, Introduction, p. xviii.

[22] Ibid, *Nārada* (Appendix, V. 60) and *Bṛhaspati* X, 14–15.

period. Mr. Pargiter has attempted tentatively to fix the area of one *kulyavāpa* as having contained a little more than one acre of land. According to Sanskrit lexicographers a *kulya* is a measure equal to eight *droṇas*. The word *droṇa*, ordinarily regarded as a measure of capacity (=four *āḍhakas*), was also used as a measure for measuring fields, as is still to be found in some parts of Bengal. There is use of the word *drōṇavāpa* in connection with a grant of land in one of the Asrafpur (in Dacca District in East Bengal) copper-plate inscriptions of the 7th or the 8th century A.D.[23] It can be explained that a *droṇavāpa* and *kulyavāpa* denote areas of land in which seed measuring respectively one *droṇa* and one *kulya* in volume can be sown.

There is evidence in Vedic literature also that fields were properly and carefully measured. In some of our deeds, especially those from East Bengal, we have observed that land was measured by means of *nalas* (reeds), and perhaps each *kulyavāpa* of land (the unit of area) contained an area measured and surveyed by eight reeds in breadth and nine in length (*aṣṭaka-navaka-nala*). The exact length of such a standard *nala* (reed) of those days cannot, however, be known. Perhaps the length varied in different provinces and localities as now. In the provinces of Navyāvakāśika in East Bengal, the *nala* had, in some cases, connection with the cubit-length of the famous and trustworthy Śivacandra (*pratīta-dharmaśīla-Śivacandra-hasta*). But we are not told anywhere in these documents as to how many cubits' length by this person's hand the reed contained.

The lands under discussion were sold and granted as gift according to a custom called as *nīvīdharma* in some and as *apradā-dharma* in other documents. This custom refers to the fact that the purchasers and the grantees had no right of destroying the perpetuity of the grants by any subsequent alienation. It has elsewhere[24] been shown by the present writer that "to make a gift of land or money according to *nīvīdharma* is to give it on condition that the endowment is to be maintained as perpetual, and in cases of *akṣayanīvī* also, the grantee could not destroy the principal (original), land or money, but had to make use of the income accruing from it." Purchased and endowed land, according to this custom, remained beyond the scope of further transfer in future.

[23] *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 90.
[24] *Indian Antiquary*, 1919, p. 14.

APPENDIX.

A note on the age of the four Faridpur grants.

Although we do not endorse all what Mr. Pargiter, following Dr. Hoernle, has said[a] about the exact date of these plates, it can, however, be inferred that palæographically these documents belong to the latter half of the sixth and the first of the seventh century A.D. They cannot be placed before the period of the downfall of the imperial Gupta dynasty which I have attempted to show in my paper on "the five Dāmodarpur copper-plate inscriptions of the Gupta period"[b] as having been brought about by Yaśōdharman about A.D. 540. These Faridpur plates may, therefore, be ascribed to the period between the breakdown of the imperial Gupta rule and the rise or reign of King Harṣavardhana (A.D. 606–648). We know that the people of East Bengal (*Vaṅgas*) encountered a defeat[c] at the hands of Candragupta I, the first imperial Gupta ruler, when that king began to establish the Gupta empire by making new conquests. We also know from the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta's time that the semi-independent kings of Samataṭa acknowledged the suzerainty of that Gupta monarch and paid him certain tributes, etc. Perhaps this relation of the Samataṭa kings with the Gupta empire commenced from the first conquest of Vaṅga by Samudragupta's father, Candragupta I, if, of course, we regard Vaṅga and Samataṭa as identical and forming parts of South and East Bengal, i.e., portions of the modern districts of Jessore, Khulna, Bakarganj, Faridpur, Dacca and Comilla. If the provinces of East Bengal continued to retain this relation of subordinate alliance with the Gupta rulers of the imperial line, their semi-independent kings to whose family the kings of the Faridpur grants, viz., Dharmāditya, Gōpacandra and Samācāradēva may have belonged, reverted to full independence after the total decadence of the imperial power of the Guptas. It is then and then only that they might have assumed the supreme title of *Mahārājādhirāja* in East Bengal. But they followed in their administration the same system as was adopted by the imperial Gupta rulers themselves, as can be ascertained from a comparative study of the

[a] *Indian Antiquary*, 1910, pp. 206–209, and *J.A.S.B.*, 1911, pp. 498–501.

[b] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, Part III.

[c] *Indian Antiquary*, 1919, pp. 98–101.

texts of these inscriptions on the one hand and the North Bengal ones on the other. If, again, it can ever be proved that these provinces in East Bengal were brought after Samudragupta's reign under the direct jurisdiction of the Gupta empire, as the North Bengal provinces always were, and were ruled by Governors appointed by the imperial rulers, it may be supposed that such governors probably declared themselves independent after the down-fall of the imperial Gupta line, and the three kings of the Faridpur grants named above might have belonged to their families.

THE THEORY OF THE CONSTITUTION IN HINDU POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY: A STUDY IN COMPARATIVE POLITICS.

Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A.

1. *The Doctrine of Saptāṅga (Seven Limbs).*

The seven categories, *svāmin* (sovereign), *amātya* (minister), *suhṛt* (ally), *koṣa* (finance), *rāṣṭra* (territory), *durga* (fortress) and *bala* (army), constitute the basis of all political speculation among Hindu philosophers. They form the *saptāṅga*[1] or the "seven limbs" of the body politic. The theory of the constitution is epitomised in the doctrine of *saptāṅga*. An analysis of each of these seven constituents of a State as well as of their mutual relations is the specific theme of all *Nīti-śāstras*, from the *Arthā-śāstra* of Kauṭilya (cir. B.C. 300) to the *Yukti-kalpa-taru* of Bhoja (cir. A.D. 900). Necessarily subsumed under this fundamental investigation is the discussion of *samaya* (compact) as the origin of the State, *dharma* (*droit*, *Recht*, justice, law, duty, etc.), as the end of government, *bali* (offerings) as the *rationale* of taxation by the State for its services to the community, *aparodha* (expulsion of tyrant), *maṇḍala* and other concepts of political science in Sanskrit literature.

Now, to modern historians of political science, single phrases—even single words—of Plato and Aristotle loom unduly large. This extravagance of interpretation is not without its justification. Every age interprets its past in the light of its own experience and conscience. Classical Hellas has thus been re-born in the modern West, since Aquinas (1225–1274)[2] raised his theological superstructure on Aristotelian foundations, almost as many times as there have been Machiavellis, Bodins and Montesquieus[3] to consult the ancient ency-

[1] *Viṣṇu*, iii, 33 (Eng. trans. in the *S.B.E.*); *Sukra*, i, lines 121, 122; v, 1, 2 (Sarkar's trans. in the *Panini Office Series*, Allahabad); *Kāmandaka*, i, 16; iv, 1 (M. N. Dutt's trans., Calcutta).

[2] Article on "Aquinas" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; Dunning's *Political Theories*, Vol. i, pp. 189–213.

[3] Bluntschli, *Geschichte des allgemeinen Staatsrechts und der Politik*, pp. 6–46, 258–276.

clopædias of culture. The values of every political thinker and theory in Europe have in this cumulative way been fixed definitely and in relation to one another. And the momentum is being accelerated with the sundry new experiences of recent times from Hegel and Austin to Liebeknecht and Duguit,[4] the two poles of the theory of sovereignty. The political futurists of today are indeed awaiting the issue of Bolshevik versions not only of the *Plato-Saṁhitā* but even of the *Aristotle-Nīti* to meet the demands of the new *Novum Organum* of the current régime of the "discredited state".

It is not intended here to apply this "right of interpretation" to the doctrine of *saptāṅga* or to the other auxiliary doctrines of the *Nīti-śāstras*, whether from the conservative, liberal or radical view-point. Only a few dicta are being gleaned at random from the texts bearing on the *theory* of the constitution, without any comment as to its impact, if any, on *Realpolitik*. These would be enough, however, to bring out, first, that if man is a "political animal," he is equally so in the East as in the West, both in ancient and modern times, inspite of the differences created by steam, electricity, and air-navigation, and secondly, that notwithstanding the diversity of technical terminology, it is well-nigh impossible to distinguish the methods and results of Hindu Aristotles, Senecas, Alcuins and Hobbeses from those of their western colleagues.

But it is necessary to remember at the outset that in the whole range of Hindu political thought there is to be found no trace of theocracy[5] as embodied in the social philosophy of Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* or of Aquinas' *De Regimine Principum*. For no period could the political ideas of the Hindus be treated as a branch of ecclesiastical history as Figgis considers it right in regard to European political speculation during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[6] No *Śāstra*-writer ever preached that some "high priest", or even

[4] *Modern French Legal Philosophy* (Fouillée, Charmont, Duguit and Demogue), ed. by Spencer (1916); Laski, *Studies in the Problem of Sovereignty*, pp. 20–24, 65–68, and *Authority in the Modern State*, pp. 133–114, 363; Barker, article on the "Discredited State" in the *Political Quarterly* (London), February, 1915; Duguit, *Transformation du Droit publique.*

[5] Gierke, *Political Theories of the Middle Age*, 104–115 (notes); Bluntschli, *Geschichte der neueren Staatswissenschaft*, pp. 3–7; Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Mediæval Thought*, pp. 220–255; McCabe, *Augustine and His Age*, pp. 375–410; Taylor, *Mediæval Mind*, Vol. i, pp. 61–67.

[6] *From Gerson to Grotius*, p. 31.

the king, is God's viceroy on earth, or that the religious association, e.g., a *saṅgha* or temple-government, is a "self-sufficient" *svarāj*, independent of, or co-ordinate with, nay, superior to the secular organisation of the *rāṣṭra* (*res publica*). There is no touch of the conflicts between canon law and civil law[7] in the treatises on *Nīti* (statecraft) and *Dharma* (*droit*) or *Smṛti* (tradition), and the doctrine of *saptāṅga* is absolutely undisturbed by the rivalry of the Byzantine conception (Justinian's) of the Church as subservient to the State with the antithetic Gregorian doctrine of the supremacy of *sacerdotum* over *imperium*.[8]

2. *A Moslem Review.*

In the sixteenth century Abul Fazl, a Muhammadan minister of Akbar the Great, compiled an Imperial Gazetteer of India in Persian under the title of *Ayīn-i-Akbari*,[9] the "Institutes of Akbar." He devoted certain sections of his book to Hindu laws and customs (*byehar*, i.e. *vyavahāra*), and gave a summary of current political notions.

"The monarch should be ambitious,"[10] according to the traditional *rāja-nīti* (statecraft), "to extend his dominions. No enemy is so insignificant as to be beneath his notice." A wise prince, as we read in the Persian resumé, should banish from his court all corrupt and designing men. The king's functions are described as being "similar to those of a gardener," who plucks up the thorns and briers and throws them to one side, whereby he beautifies his garden, and at the same time raises a fence which preserves his ground from the intrusion of strangers. Accordingly, the king should "detach from the nobles their too numerous friends and dangerous dependants." An important maxim teaches, besides, that "in affairs of moment it is not advisable to consult with many."

In these political recipes we have the German idea of "self-defence," the American conception of "preparedness," the Greek theory of "ostracism," and the universal custom of deporting undesirables. And those who are familiar with the "secret clauses" of all

[7] Woolf, *Bartolus*, p. 14; Carlyle, *Mediæval Political Theory in the West*, Vol. ii, p. 94.

[8] Woolf, op. cit., pp. 55, 60; Figgis, *From Gerson to Grotius*; Carlyle, op. cit., Vol. ii, pp. 148, 198.

[9] V. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, pp. 4, 459.

[10] Gladwin's translation, Vol. iii, pp. 194-213.

treaties, and who watched the course of events leading to the Great War of 1914 as well as to its close, would surely ditto the Hindu dictum: "In affairs of moment it is not advisable to consult with many." For even today, in spite of universal literacy, power of the press, manhood suffrage, referendum and ministerial responsibility to the people, all nations do really

> Leave all God gave them in the hands of one,—
> Leave the decision over peace and war
> To king or kaiser, president or czar.

The Persian synopsis of the Sanskrit texts has something to say on international relations. According to Hindu statecraft, if any monarch is more powerful than oneself, one should continually strive to sow dissension among the rival's troops, and in case of failure, should prudently purchase his friendship. "The prince whose territory adjoins to his," Abul Fazl tells us further, obviously reproducing the Kautiliyan doctrine of *maṇḍala*,[11] "although he may be friendly in appearance, yet ought not to be trusted; one should be always prepared to oppose any sudden attack from that quarter. With him, whose country lies next beyond the last-mentioned, he should enter into alliance." In these remarks there is nothing essentially Hindu, oriental or mediæval, nor anything distinctively Machiavellian or Bernhardian. It is substantially on this elementary psychology of international relations that the *ententes*, conventions and interchange of diplomatic visits in the modern world are based. "Human, all too human" are these precepts of the *Arthaśāstra* popularised for the "sons of Adam" through the *Manu Saṁhitā*[12] (A.D. 150), and they did not need the special pleading of a Nietzsche's *Will to Power* to make them current coin for the present generation of statesmen.

Among other Hindu ideas the following is quoted by Abul Fazl: "If he finds it necessary to attack his enemy he should invade the country during the time of harvest." This was Napoleon's military method too. He wanted the war to pay its own way as far as possible. And of course strategic necessity and considerations of

[11] Eng. trans. of Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* by R. Shamasastry, Mysore (1915). Vide B. K. Sarkar, "Hindu Theory of International Relations" in the *American Political Science Review*, for August, 1919.

[12] vii, 158 (Eng. trans. in the *SBE.*)

"high politics" may justify any measure from the desecrating of the tomb of Al Mahdi in Egypt to the declaration of war by Germany against neutralised Belgium.

We shall now proceed to single out a few of the more important tenets in the *Nīti-śāstras*,[13] without attempting, however, to be either comprehensive in treatment or exhaustive in reference. The object is only to throw light on the trend of political thinking among Hindus in the perspective of Eur-American speculation. The "personal equation" of the theorists as well as the differences in the *milieu* will be ignored in the present discussion. It is evident that no "historian" of political theory should be excused who passes without comment from the *Sabhā-parva* to the *Śānti-parva* of the *Māhabhārata* (cir. B.C. 600–A.D. 200), and from either to the *Śukra-nīti* (cir. A.D. 800), or from *Kauṭilya* to *Manu* as if he were moving in the same world and speaking of the same age. But, for some time yet indology will have to content itself more with the psychological analysis of the categories and concepts of political science than with the historical presentation of the growth of doctrines. The following sections are being offered, therefore, subject to the fundamental fallacy implied in this "limiting condition" of archæological data.

3. *The* Prakṛti *(people) and the State.*

John Stuart Mill, in his *Representative Government*, has discussed the characteristics which make a race fit for the popular institutions of self-government. One of his criteria is that the people must be able not only to appreciate and profit by such institutions, but must have to be actively interested in all that relates to public life. Śukra also is strongly of opinion that it is the duty of the *prakṛti*, the people, not only not to commit certain

[13] For a brief account of the *Nīti-śāstras* vide B. K. Sarkar, *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, Vol. i, pp. 7-15 (Panini Office, Allahabad, 1914); D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ancient History of India*, pp. 87-113 (Calcutta, 1919); and Narendranath Law, articles in the *Modern Review* (Calcutta) for 1916-1917. Jolly's *Recht und Sitte* gives a comprehensive view of the *Dharma-śāstras* or law-books. Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* may be consulted for the names of all books on Hindu polity. The Sanskrit text of *Yukti-kalpa-taru* has been edited by I. C. Shastri (Sanskrit Press Depository, Calcutta, 1918). Vide also the present author's paper on "Hindu Political Philosophy" in the *Political Science Quarterly* (Columbia University), December, 1918, for a preliminary study.

wrongs, but also to hand over to the police or otherwise disclose to the State the existence of the men who are in any way undesirable to the society. The whole community is thus enjoined to be an information and vigilance committee and an association for public safety. The demands of the State on the *prakṛti* are necessarily manifold in Hindu thought.

In Kauṭilya's[14] analysis of the duties of the people we are familiar with the notion that the citizens should be on the look-out in the streets as to whether a trader has paid the toll on his commodities at the custom office. This principle of active co-operation with the State, as contrasted with the passive obedience to and observance of the laws promulgated by it, is laid down in the *Śukra-nīti*[15] in such general terms as the following: "You should never keep screened, or give protection to, men of wicked activities, thieves, bad characters, malicious and offensive persons as well as other wrong-doers." More comprehensive touch of the people (i.e. the "society") with the State is indeed contemplated by the theorist. For the Śukra polity is essentially an omnipresent all-inclusive agency for the advancement of human welfare—a *Kulturstaat*, in short. The *kāla*,[16] i.e., age or epoch (*Zeitgeist*) is as much the making of the State as its fundamental function is the promotion of *dharma*[17] (law, justice, duty, culture, and what not), i.e. the "virtue" of the Greek theorists, which is as all-embracing or extensive as life itself.

Such doctrines of the *Nīti-śāstras* have important bearings on the problems of political philosophy in regard to the limits of state control or the sphere of governmental activity. The new type of 100 per cent socialist state in Bolshevik Russia is undoubtedly bound to have a deep influence on the theory of the proper functions of the State. But it is questionable if Sidgwick's "individualistic minimum" of state interference may not still be regarded as the last word, academically speaking, on rival claims between the two extremes that may be urged for the State and for the Individual. So far as pure theory is concerned, the issues between *laissez faire* and intervention may indeed be taken to have been finally settled in

[14] *Indian Antiquary*, 1905, p. 45. [15] Ch. i, lines 595–596.

[16] Ch. i, lines 43–44; iv, i, 116–7.

[17] Ch. i, 45–51; iv, iii, 849; cf. Chinese and Japanese conception of "Virtue" in Asakawa's *Early Institutional Life of Japan*, p. 325.

Mill's *Liberty*. Now, the Hindu thought on the subject is quite elastic. It is not a minimum-functioned State that Kauṭilya and Śukra have before their imagination. The Hindu theorists are no *doctrinaire* individualists. As champions of *dharma* they have extended the functions of the State so wide as to include whatever should be deemed expedient according to social needs, as readers of the *Sabhā-parva* (Canto on "Council") of the *Mahābhārata* are aware.

The theory of old age pensions is not indeed stated by the Hindu theorists. But the widows of soldiers killed in battles are to receive pension according to Vasiṣṭha[18] (cir. B.C. 350). The *Mahābhārata*[19] suggests that the State should support the wives and children of men who have sacrificed their lives for it or otherwise been in distress while serving it. Protection of the weak and afflicted persons is insured in the *Artha-śāstra*.[20] Kauṭilya would legislate also to forbid trade in dangerous goods,[21] as he would likewise forbid "profiteering", high rates of interest and so forth. The social and economic legislation[22] recommended in the *Śukra-nīti* is sweepingly vast and wide. It leaves very little to the caprices of the individual's civic sense and patriotism. Tanks, wells, parks and boundaries must not be obstructed by the citizens Nor must the use of religious houses, temples and roads be hindered in any way. The movements of the poor, the blind and the deformed similarly call forth the solicitude of the Śukra legislators.[23]

Besides, among the *śāsanas* or "positive laws" conceived by Śukra we read that without the sanction of the State the following things are not to be done: gambling, drinking, hunting, use of arms, sales and purchases of cows, elephants, horses, camels, buffaloes, men, immovable property, silver, gold, jewels, intoxicants and poisons, distillation of wines, the drawing up of deeds indicating a sale, gift or loan, and medical practice.[24] The important professions and economic activities which involve public safety and the future interests of the individuals concerned are thus not left to the discretion and common-sense of the *prakṛti* (the society). In Śukra's conception

[18] xix, 20; in the *SBE*. [19] *Sabhā*, Ch. v, 54, *Śānti*, Ch. lxxxvi, 24.

[20] Book i, pp. 38-39. [21] *Ind. Ant.*, 1905, p. 49. [22] Ch. i, lines 587–626.

[23] Ibid, lines 601–602. The "recent" changes in the general conception of the state functions are summarized by Leroy-Beaulieu in *L'état moderne et ses fonctions*, pp. 27–48.

[24] Ibid, lines 603–608.

the State has to function as the Platonic "guardian" even of the citizen's self-interest.

Municipal by-laws and regulations relating to patents, licenses and charters are in this way provided for in the theory of the *Nīti-śāstras.* The logic of such control exercised by the "*dharma-states*" over the economic and social life of the people is essentially the same as that at the back of German state socialism and modern "nationalisation" schemes culminating in the "public ownership" movement. And this is all the more evident in the enumeration of the crafts and industries that the Śukra state seeks to encourage.[15] The list of productive and æsthetic arts that demand the "developmental" attention of the government according to the *Śukra-nīti*—together with the schedule of duties that Kauṭilya, Manu and the *Mahābhārata* recommend for the king[16]—furnishes the Hindu theory of "enlightened despotism" with its hydra-headed bureaucracy. Whether the *prakṛti* exercise the initiative and sense of responsibility for their material and moral development or not, the state of the *Nīti-śāstras* must address itself to the problem of national culture. As the promoter of *dharma*, and the creator of *kāla*, the State is necessarily the organiser of patriotism and the pioneer of civilisation,—indeed, the chief dynamo of social engineering.

4. *Kingship, a Public Office.*

While "*L'état c'est moi*" embodied the prevailing shibboleth of European despots from Alexander and Augustus Cæsar to Louis XVI, the political philosophers were adumbrating the gospel of justice, natural equality, and sovereignty of the people. Mediæval political theory in the West, as one can gather from Gierke's and Poole's investigations and the more "intensive" researches of Carlyle, Figgis and Woolf, was essentially a philosophy of "pious wishes," no matter whether conceived by the Stoics, the Roman Lawyers or "civilians," or Church Fathers and canonists. It is interesting to observe that

[15] Ch. i, lines 734–741; Ch. ii, lines 390–411.

[16] *Mbh., Sabhā*, Ch. v, (whole), 53, 76–79. Vide the references in Narendranath Law's article in the *Modern Review* for February, 1917. The distinction between the sphere of the State and the sphere of the society that is suggested in Mookerji's *Local Government in Ancient India* (pp. 3–7) as the characteristic of Hindu polity cannot be borne out by the political theory of the *Nīti-śāstras* or by the evidence of actual institutional development.

such "ideals" found expression also, though under different categories, in the *śāstras* (sciences) on *Nīti* and *Dharma* from Kauṭilya to Bhoja.

The poet's definition of the king as one who ministers to the well-being of the *prakṛti* was lifted up by Śukra into a plank of radical philosophy. In one passage of his *Politics* about the position of the king we seem to read the Bolshevistic lines of Robert Burns:

> The rank is but the guinea's stamp,
> . . . .
> Though hundreds worship at his word,
> He's but a coof for a' that.

For, "does not even the dog look like a king," asks Śukra,[27] "when it has ascended a royal conveyance? Is not the king justly regarded as a dog by the poets?" The sentiment is certainly much more extremistic than that in the cry of the first English socialists, the Lollards:

> When Adam delved and Eve span,
> Who was then a gentleman?

Śukra wants us to understand that the king is great only from his station, but that *as an individual* he is just a mortal among mortals. The *office* of kingship, if anything, may be conceded to be sacred, but not the person who happens to hold it. As a human being he is not distinct from other men. In order that the king can command awe and reverence of the people, he is therefore advised by the philosopher to be attended by his retinue of officers. Verily, the regal insignia and paraphernalia, the royal seal,[28] and not the king himself, is the real sovereign. American individualism does not go any further.

This conception of the dignity of man is evident again in the principles of recall and *plebiscite* that the *Śukra-nīti* advocates. In cases of conflict between the king's officers and the subjects the king is advised to take the side of the people. He is to "dismiss the officers who are accused by one hundred men."[29] The truth *vox populi vox dei* was thus known to Hindus also. They have here given expression to the Confucian *mores* preserved in the *Shū-king*.[30] "The great God," said the Superman of China, "has conferred *even*

[27] Ch. i, lines 745–746. [28] Ch. ii, line 587. [29] Ch. i, lines 754–755.
[30] Part iv, Book iii, Ch. ii (Legge's translation).

on the inferior people a moral sense, compliance with which would show their nature invariably right."

The supreme importance of the *prakṛti* is never lost sight of in the speculation of Śukra. The king is a master only in the sense that he is to protect the people's interests and punish the offenders.[31] Like Seneca, the Stoic philosopher of the first century A.D., the Hindu theorist would accordingly exhort the ruler to remember his responsibility as "one out of all mankind who has been chosen to act in the place of the gods."[32] The king is therefore not to enjoy any prerogatives or treat the people in any way he likes. In all *Nīti-śāstras*, as in the writings of Alcuin and Jonas, the *rationale* of kingship is the promotion of *dharma* or justice. This dispensing of justice is to be administered by the king not only between subject and subject, but also between himself and his subjects. He is to appoint spies as much to get secret information about the people's activities as also against his own conduct. He is to find out in what light his policies are being taken by the *prakṛti*. And if the unpleasant truth comes out—i.e., if his intelligence department tells him: "People dispraise you, O King"—it would be "unkingly" or "unphilosophic," as Plato would have remarked, to get angry and punish the persons who condemn him.[33] Rather, he should follow the ideal of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the spirit of Kālidasa's *Raghu-vaṁśa* (cir. A.D. 425) or that of the French epic of the twelfth century, *Le Couronnement de Louis*,[34] which taught in quite the *nīti* style of the Hindus that the purpose of God in making the king is not to enable him to satisfy his appetite but that he should tread down all wrongs under his feet. Śukra certainly goes far beyond the poets, when he declares categorically that the king's position is really one of *dāsatva*, i.e., servitude: "The ruler has been made by Brahma (the highest God) a servant of the people. His revenue is the remuneration for his services. He is sovereign or master solely in order that he may protect."[35] The king of the *Nīti-śāstras* is thus a trustee for the *prakṛti*. He is a mere wage-

[31] Ch. i, lines 27–28, 239, 245–248.

[32] Carlyle, i, pp. 31, 224; iii, p. 109.

[33] Ch. i, lines 255-269.

[34] Carlyle, iii, p. 32; cf. Asakawa, op. cit., pp. 40–42.

[35] Ch. i, lines 375–376; iv, ii, 259.

earner in Baudhayana's *Institutes*[36] (cir. B.C. 450) also, and is logically liable to fines according to Manu,[37] for his duty is, as Hincmar (805-882)[38] would say in Carolingian Europe, to "govern according to laws." This conception is the farthest removed from the message of Bodin and Bossuet with their doctrine of absolute monarchy as a *gouvernement de droit divin*.

Quite consistently with the position of the king as a *dāsa* or servant is the right of petition by the subjects postulated in Hindu thought. The king, says Śukra, must personally inspect every year the villages, cities and districts. "He must investigate which subjects have been pleased and which oppressed by the staff of officers and deliberate upon matters brought forward by the people."[39] Altogether, then, the State of the Śukra school of politics is a people's state under royal supervision. The majesty of the people is their political slogan. Such ideas about the dignity of the *prakṛti* or *droits de l'homme* bear apt comparison with those of Azo (1150–1230), the Italian jurist, who in spite of the autocratic *milieu* of the Middle Ages wrote on the sovereignty of the *populus* or *universitas*.[40]

5. *Ministry, the Pivot of National Life.*

The doctrine of the sovereignty of the *prakṛti* is in the thought of the *Nīti-śāstras* invariably connected with that of the *amātya* (ministry) as a check on the possible autocracy of the *svāmin*. One of the earliest landmarks in the history of this doctrine is to be noticed in Vedic writings (cir. B.C. 1000), the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[41] and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[42] In that body of literature the people are "worshipped" by the king at "election" in and through their representatives, the *Ratnins*,[43] among whom the head of the village elders is one. The *Mahābhārata*[44] maintains this tradition in so far at least as it considers

[36] i, 10, 18, 1. [37] viii, 336. [38] Article in the *Enc. Brit.*; Carlyle, i, p. 234.

[39] Ch. i, lines 751–752; cf. Kāmandaka's Confucian dictum in regard to the importance of the people (xiv, 15). The *Great Learning* says: "By gaining the people the kingdom is gained, and by losing the people the kingdom is lost" (Chang's Commentary, Ch. x).

[40] Carlyle, vol. ii, 63–66; Gierke, 30–37, 45–48. [41] viii, 175

[42] iii, 4, 1, 7; iii, 22, 18; v, 3, 1, 6; v, 3, 5, 31-3 .

[43] Jayaswal's "Constitutional Aspects of Rituals at Hindu Coronation" in the *Modern Review*, January, 1912.

[44] *Ādi*, Ch. lxxxv, 19-22; *Śānti*, Ch. lxxxiii, 58-59, xci, 29.

the priests to be the "non-official" mouthpieces of the people, and the councillors as their "natural leaders." Finally, in a discussion of the *Arthaśāstra* it is even established that the State has its "sole prop" in the ministry (*mantri-pariṣat*).[45] The *amātya* of the Kautiliyan theory is in essence an instrument through which the will of the people can be brought to bear on the constitution.

In a very elementary manner the *Agni Purāṇa*[46] and the *Matsya Purāṇa*[47] advise the king "not to decide on the policies alone." The arguments against one-man rule or exclusive "personal" government are based in the *Śukra-nīti* on the conception that the monarch is not infallible. "Even if the work be a trifling one," argues Śukra, "it can be done with difficulty by only one individual." "What can be performed by an unfriended person for a kingdom that is considerable?" is therefore his natural query.[48] Hence his deliberate advice that "even the king who is proficient in all the sciences and a past-master in statecraft should never by himself study political interests, i.e., without reference to ministers." The wise ruler, the ideal "philosopher-king," should ever "abide by the well-thought-out decisions of councillors, office-bearers, subjects, and members attending a meeting,—never by his own opinions."[49]

This hypothetical case of an "all-knowing" sovereign is well known to students of European political philosophy, from Plato to Mill. But the utilitarian creed of the "greatest happiness of the greatest number" on which is erected the legislation of the present day is not prepared to trust itself to the discretion of such an omniscient benevolent individual. For according to modern political conscience the physical magnitude, if not anything else, is too much for one man. The logic of the *Śukra-nīti* is thus essentially modern. Besides, Śukra is conscious also of the complexity of moral and social relations, as well as of the diversity[50] of intellectual attainments among the members of a community,—facts which make it all the more improbable that any single intellectual giant should be competent enough to manage a whole state.

These are also some of the considerations on which Kauṭilya, Kāmandaka (cir. A.D. 300), Manu and others seek to institute a council of experts as the permanent advisory instrument of monarchical politics.

[45] Book v, Ch. iv.
[46] Ch. ccxxv, verse 18.
[47] Ch. ccxx, verse 37.
[48] Ch. ii, lines 1-2.
[49] Ibid, lines 3-6.
[50] Ibid, lines 9, 12-13.

And in regard to their position in the state Śukra's idea is definite and clear. "If the king fears their control," says he, "they are good ministers." It is inconceivable to him that "there could be prosperity in a territory where ministers are not feared by the king."[51] The *amātyas* in constitutional theory are thus not more "king's men" like the ministers of England before the introduction of the cabinet system. They must have a individuality and independence of character in order that they may control the whims and caprices of the monarch and systematically govern the course of the State. Nay, by the strength of their wisdom they are expected to deliver a king who has gone astray."[52] And the acid test of their statesmanship is the "improvement of the state in extent, population, efficiency, revenue and administration."[53]

The *Nīti* philosophers have not neglected to consider the other side of the shield. The contingency of an arbitrary Charles I, the Chow of the Mencian radicals in ancient China, the Vena of Hindu tradition, has not been ignored either by Kauṭilya or by Śukra. The evils of "personal government," with their natural and necessary reactions, have been discussed in all the *śāstras*.[54] If the monarch follows his own will, against the advice of Yājñavalkya[55] (cir. A.D. 350) or of the *Purānas*, he will tend to be the cause of miseries, says the *Śukra-nīti*.[56] He is likely to "get estranged from the kingdom and alienated from his subjects," in other words, to provoke a revolution. Indeed, he is no longer a "legitimate" king, for by ignoring or defying the counsels of ministers he has made himself into a "thief in the form of a ruler," an "exploiter of the people's wealth," a persecutor, a tyrant.[57] In all respects, both negatively and positively, the ministry is thus a constitutional check in the Hindu theory of monarchy.

6. *Right to Revolt.*

The limitations of the king as ruler are fully admitted in the theory of the *Nīti-śāstras*. Kāmandaka,[58] Manu,[59] and Śukra[60] are never tired of moralising like Elyot in his *Gouvernour* as to the failings to which the monarch as much as all other human beings is naturally liable, especially because of his high position. Moreover, the restraints

[51] Ibid, lines 163-164. [52] Ibid, lines 14-18; cf. Kāmandaka, iv, 44-45, 48-50.
[53] Ibid, line 166 [54] Kauṭilya, Book i; Kāmandaka, ii, 60, 64, 71, 73; xi, 75.
[55] i, 312. [56] ii, lines 7-8. [57] Ibid, lines 515-516.
[58] i, 23, 37, 56-57; iv, 46, 48; xiii, 19; xiv, 1. [59] vii, 39-41; 45-53.
[60] i, lines 181, 183-185, 197-198, 243-244.

on his authority implied in the conception of kingship as a public service and in that of the ministry as a body of overseers and controllers are the two checks that the philosophers offer to the doctrine of the *saptāṅga* state. It has to be observed that both these restrictions are distinct from and in addition to the moral and spiritual checks that are binding upon all men as men according to normal Hindu pedagogies. The king, therefore, is not sacred. As a consequence, Hindu thought does not seem to have ever recognised any "divine right" of kings, just as Hindu history does not know of any theocratic state, except in the Khalsa of the latter-day Sikhs (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries).

The secular idea of monarchy is not, however, inconsistent with the conception of the ruler as a "god in human form."[61] The divine character of royalty is described in the *Manu Saṁhitā* and the *Mahābhārata* and is stated also in the *Śukra-nīti*. Royalty is indeed superhuman energy embodied in a human institution, exactly as every activity and *élan* or *śakti* of life is godly or divine in the mythological imagery of Hindu henotheism. But the king is not "vicar of God" as understood by mediæval western philosophers, imperial as well as anti-imperial.[62] The divinity that hedges the monarch is the glory and importance of the functions that he has to perform as *svāmin*. By analogically comparing the marks of sovereignty with the attributes and *śakti* of the gods (or powers of nature) Śukra wants the people to understand nothing more than the fact that kingship consists in protection of person and property, administration of justice, diffusion of culture and *dharma*, philanthropy and charity, and last but not least, realization of revenues.[63] Not even the thinkers of Manu's school by any means contemplate the "patristic" dogma of the state or the monarch as divine in a theological sense. Their metaphor is meant only to bring to the forefront the supreme character of Bodin's *majestas* as an abstract attribute in civil society. In order to appreciate Hindu political theory it is essential to remember this materialistic view of sovereignty which, so far as Eur-America is concerned, is absolutely un-Christian or pre-Christian, i.e., "modern" and Greek.

[61] Manu, vii, 4-8; *Mbh.*, *Vana*, clxxxv, 27-31; Śukra, i, lines 141-143.

[62] Carlyle, vol. i, pp. 147-160; iii, pp. 115, 117-123; Figgis, *Divine Right of Kings*, pp. 219-226.

[63] i, lines 144-149; 151.

In any case, the metaphorical sacredness of sovereignty does not carry with it, according to *Niti* philosophers, the infallibility and inviolability of the holder of the scepter. Not any prince and every prince is "made out of the permanent elements" of the gods of fire, air, water, light, wealth and so forth. It is "only the king who is virtuous that is a part of the gods." How to know such a ruler? The marks of the "god in human form" are fully described in the *Kāmandaki-nīti*,[64] *Śukra-nīti*[65] and the *Manu-Saṁhitā*.[66] He must practise self-restraint and be valorous and skilled in the use of arms and weapons. He must be well up in statecraft and diplomacy and must be able to crush the foes. He must be learned in the arts and sciences. And he must have long-sighted statesmanlike views. But "otherwise (i.e., if he happens to be the enemy of *dharma* and oppressor of the people), the king is a part of the demons." Such notions are diametrically opposed to the creed of St. Augustine[67] that even Nero was ruler by divine right.

One must not consequently look for a Gregory the Great in India to preach on the exemplary conduct of a "good subject" like David who would not criticise the tyranny even of a Saul. The radical tendencies of the *Nīti-śāstras* are developed on postulates which are as the poles asunder to the axioms of the Church Fathers. In *Nīti* thought the king *can* do wrong as any other mortal. The person, property and family of the ruler are, therefore, not exempt from punishment by the people, e.g., the fine of the *Manu Saṁhitā*. The bed-rock of Hindu political philosophy in the analysis of kingship is accordingly furnished by the differentiation of the king as "a part of the gods" from the king as "a part of the demons." This is the basis of the distinction between "legitimate kingship" and its contrary, i.e., tyranny. In the treatises on *Smṛti* and *Nīti* kingship automatically ceases to be legitimate as it ceases to promote justice (*dharma*), and the drastic remedy suggested is revolution and tyrannicide.

Kauṭilya observes that *prakṛti-kopo hi sarvakopebhyo garīyān*, "the wrath of the people is the supremest or most dangerous of all wraths." This is the Hindu counterpart of the Confucian proverb: "Of all who are to be feared, are not the people the chief?" In other words, the

[64] iv, 3-8. [65] i. lines 139-140, 167-170.

[66] vii, 25, 26, 27-29, 30-32, 33-34.

[67] *City of God*, Book v, 19, 21 (Dod's trans., vol. i, pp. 216, 219).

"fear of the people is the wisdom of the Lord." Like Mencius,[68] the Rousseau of ancient China, and Manegold of Lautenbach, the most radical anti-imperialist of mediæval Europe, Manu has described in no uncertain terms the form generally taken by this "wrath of the people." "The king who through foolishness arbitrarily tyrannises over his own state is very soon deprived of his kingdom and life together with his kith and kin. As the lives of living beings perish through torture of the body, so the lives of kings also are lost through torturing the kingdom."[69] Such a "torturer" or persecutor is known as "ruiner" or "destroyer" in the *Mahābhārata*. And according to its teachings he is to be executed (*nihantavyaḥ*) by the people.[70] It is thus not the Gregorian doctrine of non-resistance championed by Hobbes in the *Leviathan* or by his junior French contemporary, Bossuet, in the *Politique* that could have found an echo in Hindu political thought. The Stuarts of England and *le Grand Monarque* would have been thoroughly disappointed with the *Nīti* theory in regard to the status of the king. The right of resistance to the king's "demonical," i.e., autocratic and arbitrary, rule is taken for granted, and the doctrine of expulsion of the tyrant one of the elementary facts recognized in Hindu political *Weltanschauung*. The student of the *Nīti-śāstras* is thus constantly reminded of Languet's (1518–1581) queries in the *Vindicae contra Tyrannos*[71] as to whether it is "lawful to resist a prince who violates the laws of God and lays waste his church" and "whether one might resist a prince who oppresses and ruins the state, and how far."[72] And the conclusion that is advanced by the European advocate of tyrannicide is identical with that of the protagonists of *dharma*.

The *Tyrannos* of the Western political theory is the "mere fellow" (and not a "sovereign") of the Chinese Mencians and "the monarch who follows his own will,"[73] is "a thief in the form of ruler,"[74] and "the enemy of virtue, morality and strength,"[75] etc., of the Hindu radicals. The *Śukra-nīti* is quite at one with the *Politica* of Aristotle in its investigation of the "abuses" to which monarchy degenerates under "abnormal" conditions. And neither Isidore of Sevile under the influence prob-

[68] *The Book of Mencius*, (Legge's trans.), Bk. 1, pt. ii, Ch. viii 2, 3. Vide the author's "Democratic Background of Chinese Culture" in the *Scientific Monthly*, January, 1919; cf. Dawson, *Ethics of Confucius*, 241–247.

[69] Manu, vii, 111–112.

[70] *Anuśāsana*, Ch. lxi, 32-34.

[71] Dunning, op. cit., vol. ii, 46–55.

[72] Chs. ii, iii.

[73] *Śukra-nīti*, ii, lines 7–8.

[74] Ibid, 515–516.

[75] Ibid, 549–550.

ably of Stoic teachings, nor John of Salisbury[76] in the *Policraticus* makes out a more pronounced antithesis between the king and the tyrant than Manu or Śukra. The unequivocal enunciation of the doctrine of resistance, i.e. of the rights of the *prakṛti* as against the "demon" in human form is as manifest in Śukra as in Manu. Quite in keeping with the spirit of the *Mahābhārta*, Śukra gives the verdict that the people should "desert the tyrant as the ruiner of the state."[77] The "alienation from the subjects"[78] because of "repression" leads ultimately to his ruin.[79] The "discontent" may assume larger proportions and "destroy the monarch with his whole family."[80] The overthrow and execution of Vena and Nāhuṣa, the tyrants of Hindu legends, are therefore justified as a matter of course.[81] Only the *Śukra-nīti* and the *Manu-Saṁhitā* are not explicit as to the methods of doing away with tyrants, if, for instance, as approved by the author of the *Policraticus*, the poisoning of a Tiberius could be resorted to by the people.[82]

As a natural corollary, however, the right to "cashier kings for misconduct" is in Śukra's theory backed by the right to "elect" a ruler. In the place of the deposed tyrant the priest, with the consent of the ministry should instal one who belongs to his family and is qualified.[83] This advice of the Hindu philosopher is of a piece with Mencius' commendation of the conduct of the rebel minister I Yin,[84] and is organically related to the general theory of popular sovereignty in Asian political philosophy.

7. *Taxes* (bali) *as Wages and Prices.*

The right of the *prakṛti* to revolt is essentially derived from the conception of *samaya* or compact, and this again is integrally connected with the theory of *koṣa* or public finance. On election, according to the *Mahābhārata*,[85] the ruler makes a *pratijñā* (vow or oath) that he will

76 Poole, pp. 201–225, 238 (John of Salisbury). Carlyle, vol. iii, pp. 111, 113, 137–140, 145; for a general account of Isidore see Brehaut's *Encyclopædist of the Dark Age; Isidore of Seville*.

77 ii, 550.

78 ii, 8.

79 i, 319–320; cf. the effects of the mal-administration of justice in Kāmandaka, xiv. 13–14.

80 iv, ii, 49.

81 i, 135–138.

82 Figgis, *From Gerson to Grotius*, p. 170; Carlyle, vol. iii p. 145.

83 ii, 551, 552.

84 Book vii, pt. i, xxxi.

85 *Śānti*, ch. lix, 106–7, ch. lxvii, 18, 24–28. Important passages bearing on this

protect the people, and the people reciprocate by promising to help him with the "root of the army,"[56] i.e., the "sinews of war," or *les nerfs de la république*, to use Bodin's expression. Kingship is by its very nature a public office, and the masters of the king are the people who have the power of the purse. From the standpoint of the sovereign, then, as Śukra makes it clear, the revenues are but the wages for his labor, and from the standpoint of the people they are the price offered for the service of protection. Taxation, according to this theory, is the "cash nexus" binding the king and the people in the state. It represents, in reality, the material basis of the contract between two parties in regard to so much remuneration for so much benefit rendered. The right to levy a tax is dependent on the duty of protecting the people. Should, however, the taxes be ever so unjust in the realization or in the disbursement, the "discontent of the people would destroy the king with his whole family."[57] The right of resistance is a natural weapon of the people in Śukra's theory of finance. Recourse is had to it as the ruler ceases to discharge his functions according to the terms of the compact.

For normal times however, i.e., as long as the people are paying the piper and the piper is willing to play the tune called for, Kāmandaka and other Hindu theorists have made provision for a considerable amount of revenue. It is not a slight Theocritean burden of taxation that the *Nīti-śāstras* have in view, for the state conceived by them is not a primitive polity with functions of an idyllic character. Manifold are the services, as we have seen, rendered by the state in Hindu theory; the revenues (*bali*), i.e., wages are therefore necessarily varied and considerable."[58] Manu[59] and Śukra[60] recommend a levy on almost every taxable resource of the people. Indirect taxes on commodities are to be paid by traders. No sale is to be left unassessed from cattle and gold to fruits and flowers. Land, of course, contributes its quota. The right of pre-emption is also to be enforced. One day's service per month and per fortnight the state is allowed by Manu[61] and Śukra[62] respectively to exact from artists, craftsmen, menial workers and independent laborers. The only limit that the *Manu-Saṁhitā* knows is the absolute

subject may be seen in Kumaraswamy's "Hindu Theories of State and Social Compact" in the *Hindustan Review* (Allahabad), May-June 1918

[56] Śukra, iv, ii, 28. [57] Śukra, iv, ii, 49.

[58] Cf. Kāmandaka's "eightfold" sources of public income (v, 78–79, and list of appropriations (xiii, 31–32).

[59] vii, 127, 130, 132. [60] iv, ii, lines 212–258. [61] vii, 138. [62] iv, ii, 241.

limit furnished by the sound economic doctrine, "as far as the market will bear." It lays down the golden rule of realising the maximum possible without inflicting the least annoyance. For the state that shears the sheep to the skin really kills the goose that lays the egg. In Manu's language "excessive imposts" would lead but to the "destruction of one's own roots."[93] We are told indeed that the levy is to be *alpālpa*, i.e., in small quantities. But the *camouflage* of these alleged negligible doses cannot impose on anybody, for the theorist takes care to point out that the people are to be sucked dry in the manner in which "leeches, calves and bees" help themselves with regard to their food.[94] The process of steady and patient, although slow and imperceptible, drain is thus suggested. Statesmen are, in short, to be guided by the principle analogous to the one well known in the investors' world, viz., that of "small rates" but "quick returns."

We find this hint of Manu's fully elucidated in the *Arthaśāstra*. "Just as fruits are gathered from a garden," says Kauṭilya,[95] "as often as they become ripe, so revenue shall be collected as often as it becomes ripe." This principle of continuous levy might be indiscriminately observed in a suicidal fashion. Hence the sober advice that collection of revenues or fruits must not be allowed "while they are unripe," for there is a danger lest their "source be injured" to the immense peril of the state. In the phraseology of the *Mahābhārata* the *rāṣṭra* must not be "over-milked."[96]

The fear of injuring the source or killing the goose, or "spoiling the market" as economists would say, haunts likewise the financiers of the Śukra school. The cultivator is to pay the dues to the state but the state must take care that he "be not destroyed."[97] Land revenue is to be realized, as we read in the *Śukra-nīti* in the fashion of the "weaver of garlands" and not of that of the charcoal merchant.[98] The latter sets fire to the woods make charcoal and thus destroys the whole property. But the weaver of garlands plucks from the trees only such flowers as are full blown and then preserves the rest as well as the trees for future use. Fortified with this much discretion the finance minister is to test the "faculty" or taxability of the people at every conceivable point. He is to "enjoy fruits everywhere" and "collect funds by hook or by crook."[99]

[93] vii, 139. [94] vii, 129. [95] Bk. v. Ch. ii; *Ind. Ant.*, 1909, p. 264.
[96] *Śānti*, lxxxvii, 20-22. [97] iv, ii, 222. [98] iv, ii, 35-36, 223. [99] iv, ii, 2, 259.

No resource is then left untapped in Hindu fiscal thought, and "taxes, more taxes, still more taxes" appears to be the slogan popularized by the *Kāmandakīya-nīti*.[100] But the theory of such a heavy assessment is redeemed by the postulate that the people are normally in a position to bear the burden and maintain the "root of the army." The philosophers of finance have therefore seen to it that the state promotes by all means the economic prosperity of its members.[101] The *Sabhā-prava* of the *Mahābhārata* is explicit about the development of agriculture by the government to such an extent as to render it independent of the monsoons. Kāmandaka wants the state to patronize the commercial classes. The people's interests are looked after in Śukra's suggestion that if "new industries be undertaken or new lands brought under cultivation" no taxes are to be demanded until the new ventures "have realized profit twice the expenditure."[102] Such remissions of taxes or supsensions of revenue for certain periods are, however, not to be permitted by Kauṭilya on *doctrinaire* grounds.[103] The difficulties in the improvement effected by the peasants are to be carefully considered in fixing the rate of remission. Likewise is the wealth of the land sought to be augmented by protective duties, e.g., on foreign salts and wines.[104] Kauṭilya would also recommend legislation against "profiteering."[105] Consumers may thereby be protected from ruinously high profits and a general level of moderate prices would encourage saving. But, on the other hand, Śukra does not want to be unjust to the seller.[106] The excise on sales is not to be realized if the trader receives what is less than or just equal to the cost.

Development of national resources being thus provided for in diverse ways, the Hindu theory of taxation automatically finds its own safety-valve. This principle of replenishment or recuperation is clearly stated by Śukra in the dictum that the "collector of taxes is to be like the gardener who plucks flowers and fruits after having duly nourished the trees with care."[107] Kāmandaka's idea is similar.[108]

The financiers' solicitude for the people's material prosperity is brought out in bold relief by the special arrangements they seek to devise for "hard times" in state-housekeeping. Emergency finance is treated

[100] v, 87.
[101] Ibid, iv, ii, 3-6, 15-16f 29-30, : *Sabhā*. v. 76-79 : Kāmandaka, v, 80.
[102] iv, ii. 242-244.
[103] *Ind. Ant.*, 1905, p. 9.
[104] and [105] Ibid, pp. 50, 53, 55-57.
[106] iv, ii, 218.
[107] Ibid, ii, 345-346.
[108] v, 84.

by them as something distinct from normal finance. Fines, land revenues, excise etc., must not be enhanced, says Śukra,[109] in normal times. Nor should holy places, religious establishments or properties consecrated to the gods be assessed as sources of public income under peace conditions. Extraordinary duties and fines may be levied when the State is preparing to maintain an army on war-footing.[110] While the community at large is to be drawn upon for war-finance by regular enhancements of the rates, the pressure of the State is to be borne more distinctively by the rich. And the doctrine is laid down that loans are to be floated by the government to which the wealthy classes should be invited to contribute. The "public debt" is to be redeemed, however, with interest when the national danger is over.[111]

8. *Militarism and Pouvoir* (Śakti-yoga).

"A joy is it to be killed in war," says the *Mahābhārata*,[112] "painless is the soldier's death, and heaven is his goal." The poets of the Great Epic were but continuing the tradition of the *vedas* pervaded as they had been by *śakti-yoga*, the spirit of *pouvoir* or *Machtpolitik*. For, nothing short of a world-conquest was the ideal of young India of the Vedic period. "Mighty am I," as the earliest Hindu political philosophers (cir. B.C. 1000) set the creed of life for man, "Superior by name, upon the earth, conquering am I, all-conquering, completely conquering every region."[113] Thus began the conception of war as a "categorical imperative" in Hindu thought, which found its most complete expression in the doctrine of *niṣkāma karma* preached by Krishna in the *Gita*[114] (cir. B.C. 200) and was further popularised by works like the *Agni Purāṇa*[115] for mediæval India.

Manu also is a champion of this Kṣatriya spirit or militarism of the Hindus. But probably modern war-lords would recognize in the Indian Śukra their own kin. "Even Brāhmaṇas (the most intellectual order of people)," says he, "should fight if there have been aggressions on women and priests or if there has been a killing of cows."[116] According to the *Śukra-nīti*, the death of Kṣatriyas (warriors) in the

[109] iv, ii, 17-18. [110] iv, ii, 19-20. [111] iv, ii, 21-22.

[112] *Karṇa*, xciii, 55-59.

[113] *Atharva Veda* (Bloomfield's version), xii, i, 54.

[114] Section ii, (Telang's trans. in the *S.B.E.*), pp. 46, 47, 48.

[115] Ch. ccxxxii, 52-56, ccxliv, 8.

[116] iv, vii, 599. Cows are sacred animals to the Hindus.

bed is a sin. The man who gets death with an unhurt body by excreting cough and bile and crying aloud is not a Kṣatriya.[117] The military morality is categorically stated thus: "Death in the home except in the fight is not laudable. Cowardice is a miserable sin."[118] And "the Kṣatriya who retreats with a bleeding body after sustaining defeat in battles and is encircled by members of the family deserves death." Further, what is there to regret in the death of the brave man who is killed in battle? It is a blessing in disguise. For, "the man is purged and delivered of all sins and attains heaven.[119] Nay, who would not invite such a death? For, "the Apsaras (heavenly maidens) vie with one another in reaching the warrior who is killed in action in the hope that he be their husband."[120] Nothing indeed could be more tempting in view of the notion that "the rascal who flies from a fight to save his life is really dead though alive, and endures the sins of the whole people."[121]

The "sanction" inculcated here would be called *Bushido* in Japan. Does this not seem to be a chip from the Lycurgan creed followed in the public barracks of Sparta? Or is it a spark from the *Politics* of Heinrich von Treitschke?

Let us now look to the other side of the shield. The international jurists of the world and peace-propagandists of America have of late been devising ways and means to render warfare more humane and less barbarous. On several occasions before the outbreak of the Great War, resolutions were passed by the "Concert of Europe" at the Hague Conferences regarding the kind of arms and ammunitions to be avoided out of consideration for human suffering. But the Hindu thinkers of Manu's school have handed down a tradition of chivalrous "ideals" probably as old as the sixth century B.C. The "resolution" in *Manu-Saṁhitā* reads thus in verse:[122]

Let the soldier, good in battle, never guilefully conceal,
(Wherewithal to smite the unwary) in his staff the treacherous steel;
Let him scorn to barb his javelin—let the valiant never anoint
With fell poison-juice his arrows, never put fire upon the point.
In his car or on his war-horse, should he chance his foe to meet,

[117] iv, vii, 608-609. [118] iv, vii, 612-613, 614-615.
[119] iv, vii, 620-621. [120] iv, vii, 622-623. [121] iv, vii, 656-657.
[122] Manu, vii, 90-93 (Griffith's rendering). Cf. also Śukra, iv, vii, lines 716-721.

Let him smite not if he find him lighted down upon his feet.
Let him spare one standing suppliant, with his closed hands raised on high.
Spare him whom his long hair loosen'd blinds and hinders from to fly.
Spare him if he sink exhausted; spare him if he for life crave,
Spare him crying out for mercy, "Take me for I am thy slave."
Still remembering his duty, never let the soldier smite
One unarm'd, defenceless, mourning for one fallen in the flight;
Never strike the sadly wounded—never let the brave attack
One by sudden terror smitten, turning in base flight his back.

These sentiments and "pious wishes" may be useful even today. We notice once more that the mentality of Hindu political thinkers is quite of the same stuff as that of the modern Eur-American phrase-makers. For the Orientals also knew how to lecture on making the "world safe for civilization and humanity."

9. *Caste and Public Service.*

The gospel of puissance and militarism is not intended exclusively for the so-called military (Kṣatriya or Samurai) caste. In Hindu thought army service has always been held to be national, i.e., the duty of every order of citizens. Brāhmaṇas or priests can be soldiers according to the *Mahābhārata*,[123] as well as according to the lawbooks of Gautama[124] (cir. B.C. 550) and Vasiṣṭha.[125] The *Manu Samhitā* also recommends recruitment from the priestly caste.[126] And, as noticed above, Śukra's opinion is quite clear[127] Baudhāyana is in favour of enlisting the Vaiśya[128] or the so-called artisan and mercantile classes. They are eligible as soldiers in the *Mahābhārata* also.[129]

No distinction is likewise made in the *Arthaśāstra* between castes or hereditary and personal occupations in the matter of inducting troops for national defence. The regulating principle is nothing but fitness or qualification as fighting material. In Kauṭilya's book there is a discussion as to the relative bravery of the different castes. "My teacher says," as we read, that "of the armies composed of Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas or Śūdras (lower orders), that which is mentioned first on

[123] *Sānti*, ch. lxxviii, 34. [124] vii, 6. [125] ii, 22. [126] xi, 81
[127] Śukra, iv, vii, 599, 664-667. [128] ii, 2, 4, 18.
[129] *Karṇa*, xlvii, 19; *Sānti*, clxv, 34.

account of bravery is better to be enlisted than the one subsequently mentioned." But to this Kauṭilya makes an objection on the ground, rather too idealistic for his usual *Realpolitik* attitude, that the Brāhmaṇas might be won over by prostration, because as priests, they are likely to be sentimentally weak to those who are submissive. Hence the army of Kṣatriyas trained in the art of wielding weapons is better, or the army of Vaiśyas or Śūdras having greater numerical strength.[130] Thus while Kauṭilya does not make the calling of army the exclusive preserve or monopoly of any section of community, he would exempt the Brāhmaṇas, if at all, on the sole ground of relative military incompetency.

The theory of national service on the question of castes is explicitly stated in the *Śukra-nīti*. According to this treatise, caste is to play no part in the consideration of a person's qualification for officership. No officer in the army hierarchy from the *ayutika* (general in command of ten thousand troops) down to the *gaulmika* (head of thirty) and *pattipāla* (head of five or six) is to be selected from any privileged class, tribe or race. Only such persons as are well up in *Nīti-śāstras*, in the use of arms and ammunitions, the manipulation of battle arrays, and in the art of management and discipline, as are not too young but of middle age, as are brave, self-controlled, able-bodied, always mindful of their own duties, as are devoted to their superiors and hate their enemies, should be made commanders and soldiers, no matter whether they are Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas or Śūdras, or even descended from Mlecchas (unclean barbarians).[131]

But since the warrior caste is likely to specialize in valour, and in the art of war, *Śukra-nīti* would give the preference to a Kṣatriya, and failing him to a Brāhmaṇa.[132] As a rule, it would not confer commission on the mercantile or agricultural classes, the Vaiśyas, because their service is needed in other fields. They cannot be spared from attending to the normal economic interests of the State. And as for the Śūdras, they are usually to be held incompetent or unfit to take the lead, because like the ancient Greeks the Hindu thinkers also postulated the existence of a class of "natural" slaves,[133] born only to serve. Under ordinary circumstances, therefore, a Śūdra is not to be in command of troops. But even these conventional arguments against Vaiśyas and Śūdras are over-ridden by the supreme consideration of valour. Since

[130] Bk. ix. [131] ii, 276–285. [132] ii, 865-866. [133] Manu, viii, 413–414.

fighting is treated as "the duty of the four pure as well as of mixed castes,"[134] the commander may be selected from any caste,[135] for, after all, says Śukra finally, it is bravery that is to be looked for in a commander. The only persons against whom the theoretical injunction is absolute are the cowards, even though they be Kṣatriya by caste.[136]

This principle of indifferentism to caste regulates Śukra's thought not only in regard to the officers and privates of the army but to every branch of the public service. As usual, the Śūdra is normally declared ineligible for a seat on the council of ministers, and the traditional preference is accorded to the Brāhmaṇa,[137] failing him to the Kṣatriya, and failing that, to the Vaiśya. But this stereotyped order of selection for the ten *prakṛtis* or councillors is thrown overboard in the general discussion on the subject. We are told that only those who are versed in politics and are men of good deeds, habits and attributes, and who are gentle in speech and old in age "should be made members of council irrespective of caste."[138] In making appointments to offices "one should not notice only the caste or race or only the family,"[139] though the "accident of birth" is of course an important consideration. "Work, character and merit,—these three are to be respected —neither caste nor family.[140] Neither by caste nor by family can superiority be asserted." The importance of caste is relegated in the *Śukra-nīti* only to social functions, such as marriages and dinner-parties.[141]

Further, among the six officers[142] to be appointed in each village as representatives of the crown, it is interesting to observe that the chief executive may come even from the priestly caste, and that even the warrior caste can contribute men to the department of revenue.[143] Thus according to Śukra the Brāhmaṇa need not always have to pursue the religious avocation, nor the Kṣatriya always to be a soldier. In political theory, therefore, caste is not the supreme factor in an individual's occupation or professional activity as it has been alleged to be by the scholars in indology.[144]

Incidentally, it may be pointed out that the Hindu theory of

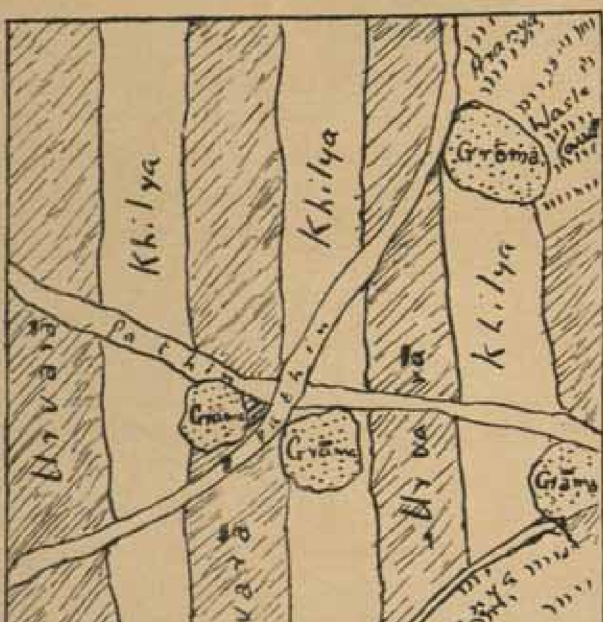
[134] Śukra, ii, 868. [135] Ibid, ii, 867. [136] Ibid, ii, 866. [137] ii, 859–861.
[138] ii, 333-336. [139] ii, 110. [140] ii, 111–112.
[141] ii, 113. [142] ii, 242–245. [143] ii, 862–863.
[144] A rare exception is Hopkins. Vide his article in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1889, p. 185.

social orders did not treat the castes as water-tight compartments even in regard to marital relations. Inter-caste marriages were held valid by Kauṭilya, Manu, Yājñavalkya, and Viṣṇu.[145] (c. A .D. 250.) Race-fusion or blood-intermixture, both horizontal and vertical, was, therefore, accepted as a normal phenomenon, in the legal investigations of sociologists bearing on the problems of inheritance, succession, and partition of property.[146]

[145] Kauṭilya, lxiv; *Mbh., Anuśāsana.*, xlvii, 17. 28, xlviii, 4. 7. 8; Manu, iii, 13, x, 6-7; Viṣṇu, xxiv, 1-4; Baudhāyana, i, viii, 2-6, i, ix, 3-5; Yājñavalkya, i, 57, 91, 92, ii, 125. These references are borrowed of Vanamāli Vedāntatīrtha's Bengali article in the *Prabāsī* (Calcutta) for Vaishākha 1326 (April 1919).

[146] Enough data are not available yet for an epigraphic study of the caste system. But already it might be shown that the *rājās* of the ruling dynasties and of the *gaṇas* (republics) belonged very rarely to the so-called Kṣatriya caste, as the theory of water-tight compartments would lead one to presume. Similarly, generals and officers of the army were contributed by the priestly, trading and Śūdra classes: cf. Mookerji, pp. 59-62; Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, pp. 146-149, 160, 164, 171, 172. A "military interpretation" of Hindu history with special reference to the ethnic elements has been suggested in Sarkar's *Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes*, pp. 195-208 ("A Melting Pot of Races").

Note the cephalic index tests as well as legends and inscriptions on the strength of which Rama Prasad Chanda maintains that Brāhmaṇas of the "outer countries" were "outlandic" in stock, and that Brāhmaṇas and non-Brāhmaṇas are of common origin (*The Indo Aryan Races*, 163, 167, 180, 182, 188, 191, 194.)



PROBABLE PLAN OF THE LAND SYSTEM.

THE LAND-SYSTEM AND AGRICULTURE OF THE VEDIC AGE.

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In an economic history of Ancient India and in conformity with the Hindu Science of *vārtā* or Political Economy,[1] the land-system forms the subject of primary consideration. The land forms the foundation of the whole social economy of the Vedic Āryas—evidently an agricultural people. They appear to have utilised the land under their occupation in at least four different ways, namely, the habitat or the villages (*grāma, loka, jana*), the arable land (*urvara, kṣetra*), the pasture land (*vraja, goṣṭha, suyavasa, khila* or *khilya*), and the forest land including the waste land (*araṇya*).

The villages of the Āryas as opposed to the scattered homesteads of the Dāsas.

The villages are copiously referred to in the Vedic literature.[2] During the age of the *Ṛgveda* the *grāma* of the Āryas appears to have stood in contrast to *pūr* or *pura* of the Dāsas. The two words *pūr* and *pura* occur more than sixty times in ten *maṇḍalas* of the *Ṛgveda*. Sāyaṇa explains the words as meaning *nagara* or city. But his interpretation is not beyond doubt; and it would be proper here to determine the real nature of the *pura* on the evidence of the *Ṛgveda*.

It appears that India of the age of the *Ṛgveda* contained innumerable *puras* belonging to the Dāsas[3] or their chieftains. The most important and powerful of these chieftains was Śambara, son of Kulitara,[4] who is credited with the possession of at least one hundred

[1] *Arthaśāstra*, Book I, Chapter 4: कृषिपशुपाल्ये वाणिज्या च वार्ता। See Mr. Law's "Vārtā," in the *Indian Antiquary* for September, 1918.

[2] See *Ṛgvedapadānām Anukramaṇikā* for *grāma, loka* and *jana*.

[3] *Ṛgveda*, VIII, 5, 31; III, 12, 6; I, 103, 3; etc.

[4] *Ṛgveda*, IV, 30, 14: उत दासं कौलितरं बृहतः पर्वतादधि अवाहन्निन्द्र शम्बरं।

puras.[5] He had an immense following[6] and probably ruled over a region called Udavraja along with another ruler named Varci.[7] It was the Arya king Atithigva Divodāsa who defeated him,[8] evidently in one of his hill-forts or *pura*[9] and captured his ninety-nine *puras*. Another *dāsa* chieftain named Vaṅgṛda possessed one hundred *puras*.[10] The *Ṛgveda* mentions the names of several other chiefs[11] who probably possessed such *puras*.

That the *puras* were often, if not generally, situated on hills, is clear from the fact that Śambara was thrown down from such a place.[12] The Paṇis and their probable leader Vala[13] appear to have had their strongholds on hills.[14] The *puras* are spoken of as having been made of *āyas* or Iron[15] and of *aśman* or stone.[16] Even if we entertain

[5] Ibid, VI, 31, 4: त्वं शतान्यव शम्बरस्य पुरो जघन्थाप्रतीनि दस्योः । अशिक्षो यत्र शच्या शचीवो दिवोदासाय सुन्वते सुतक्रे भरद्वाजाय गृणते वसूनि ॥

[6] Ibid, VI, 47, 2: ओज in अयं स्वादुरिह मदिष्ठ आस यस्येन्द्रो वृत्रहत्ये ममाद । पुरूणि यश्च्यौत्ना शम्बरस्य वि नवतिं नव च देह्यो हन् ॥

[7] *Ṛgveda*, VI, 47, 21: दिवेदिवे सदृशीरन्यमर्धं कृष्णा असेधदप सद्मनो जाः । अहन्दासा वृषभो वस्नयन्तोदव्रजे वर्चिनं शम्बरं च ।

[8] Ibid, I, 130, 7; IV, 26, 3; IV, 30, 20; IX, 61, 2.

[9] Ibid, I, 130, 7: भिनत्पुरो नवतिमिन्द्र पूरवे दिवोदासाय महि दाशुषे नृतो वज्रेण दाशुषे नृतो । अतिथिग्वाय शम्बरं गिरेरुग्रो अवाभरत् । महो धनानि दयमान ओजसा विश्वा धनान्योजसा ॥

[10] Ibid, I, 53, 8; *Atharvaveda*, XX, 21, 8: त्वम् करञ्जमुत पर्णयं वधीस्तेजिष्ठयातिथिग्वस्य वर्तनी । त्वं शता वङ्गृदस्याभिनत् पुरो ऽनानुदः परिषूता ऋजिश्वना ॥

[11] For example, *RV.* I, 103, 8 mentions Śuṣṇa, Pipru, Kuyava and Vṛtra. Śuṣṇa and Kuyava submitted to the Arya king Kutsa, and Pipru was defeated by Ṛjiśwā (*RV.* II, 19, 6; IV, 16, 12; IV, 16, 13). Cumurī and Dhunī were defeated by Dabhīti (*RV.* VI, 18, 8; VI, 26, 6; VII, 19, 4). Śruta, Kavaṣa, Vṛddha, Druhyu were defeated by the Arya king Sudāsa (*RV.* VII, 18, 12; VII, 18, 11), who is also said to have defeated another chieftain named Anu, and 600 and 6,666 followers of Anu and Druhyu (*RV.* VII, 18, 14): नि गव्यवोऽनवो द्रुह्यवश्च षष्टिः शता सुषुपुः षट् सहस्रा । षष्टिर्वीरासो अधि षड् दुवोयु विश्वेदिन्द्रस्य वीर्या कृतानि ॥

[12] *RV.* I, 130, 7 (quoted already). Cf. VII, 18, 20.

[13] Ibid, VI, 39, 2: अयमुशानः पर्यद्रिमुस्रा ऋतधीतिभिरृतयुग्युजानः । रुजदरुग्णं वि वलस्य सानुं पणींर्वचोभिरभि योधदिन्द्रः ॥ Cf. VI, 18, 5. That the Paṇis were *dasyus* or *dāsas* is further clear from VII, 6, 3. As to the Puras belonging to the *dāsas*, cf. III, 12, 6; IV, 32, 10; X, 99, 7.

[14] *RV.* X, 108, 7: अयं निधिः सरमे अद्रिबुध्नो गोभिरश्वेभिर्वसुभिर्न्यृष्टः ।
रक्षन्ति तं पणयो ये सुगोपा रेकु पदमलकमा जगन्थ ॥
Cf. also X, 67, 5.

[15] Ibid, VII, 15, 14: अधा मही न आयस्यनाधृष्टो नृपीतये पूर्भवा शतभुजिः ॥ Cf. also VII, 3, 7; VII, 95, 1; VIII, 100, 8; etc.

[16] Ibid, IV, 30, 20: अश्मन्मयीनां पुरां । Cf. X, 68, 4.

doubts as to the utilisation of these two materials at that remote age, it follows at least that the *puras* were made of very strong materials. They are referred to have gates or doors (*dura*);[17] and in them were hoarded the wealth of the Dāsas or Dasyus, consisting chiefly of cattle.[18] The *Ṛgveda* does not tell us whether they were large enough to contain homesteads within. They are evidently forts or defensive strongholds often situated on hills and served as the residence of the *dāsa* chieftains and as repository of the wealth of the *dāsa* people.[19]

It is indeed an interesting feature of the *Ṛgveda* that the *puras* are mentioned only in connection with the Dāsas,[20] and *grāma*, *jana*, *loka*[21] in connection with the Aryas. In about three places however[22] Agni, the Fire-god, is invoked to protect the worshipper within a *pura*. This may only go to show how much the *puras* were valued by the Aryas as defensive strongholds. Evidently the composers of the Vedic hymns made a distinction between the *dāsa pura* and the Arya village; and it naturally follows that the Dāsas had no compact organisation of habitat like the Arya "nucleated" village system, and had only scattered homesteads with defensive strongholds here and there mostly in possession of their chiefs. The difference in the organisation of settlements accounts to some extent for the success of the Aryas over the *dāsa* people in spite of the numerical strength of the latter. Though the *puras* taken by themselves were probably better adapted than the villages for defensive purposes, their capture unlike that of a village meant the conquest of a vast tract of land of which they formed the strongholds.

The "nucleated" village system of the Aryas was conducive to the growth of corporate life and division of labour, or in other words, to the growth of the village community among them. At the same

[17] *Ṛgveda*, VI, 18, 5 : तद्वः प्रत्नं सख्यमस्तु युष्मे इत्था वदद्भिर्वलमङ्गिरोभिः ।
हन्नच्युतच्युद्दस्मेषयन्तमृणोः पुरो वि दुरो अस्य विश्वाः ॥

Sāyaṇa . . . . दुरः पुरीणां द्वारच. . . . Also cf. VI, 17, 6.

[18] Ibid, X, 108, 7. Cf. VIII, 40, 6 ; VIII, 24, 10.

[19] Zimmer, in translating hymn I, 103, 3 uses the word "Burgen" for *pura* (*Altindisches Leben*). According to Pischel the *puras* were towns with wooden walls and ditches, and according to Macdonell and Keith they mean ramparts, forts or strongholds. (See *Vedic Index* : *pūr*.)

[20] Compare *Ṛgveda*, III, 12, 6 ; IV, 32, 10 ; X, 99, 7.

[21] See *Ṛgvedapadānām Anukramanikā* (Nirṇayasāgara Press edition).

[22] *RV*. VII, 15, 14 ; VII, 3, 7 ; VII, 16, 10.

time the *pura*-system of the Dāsas were being gradually incorporated with those villages which were growing in importance on account of their population, trade, commerce and administrative value. This probably accounts for the rise of so many cities and the growth of urban life in the Buddhist age. We may in this connection take into consideration the hill fortress of Girivraja,[23] which appears to represent such an incorporation. Another stage in this process of absorption of the *pura*-system into the village system is probably indicated in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, Book II, Chapter I, where we are told that a *sthānīya* fortress should be built in the centre of 800 villages, a *droṇamukha* in the centre of 400 villages, a *khārvatika* in the centre of 200 villages and a *saṅgahaṇa* in the midst of a collection of ten villages.[24]

The Vedic Āryas, however, like the Teutonic settlers of Britain, lived in villages, and the whole aspect of the economic and social life of the Vedic age was purely rural. This is further manifest from the picture depicted in the *Gṛhya-sūtras* which, though of later date, preserve nevertheless the Vedic tradition. They are most valuable for giving us an idea of the method they followed in selecting sites for dwelling purposes and for giving us a description of house-construction at that remote age. The *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-sūtra* lays down that the ground selected for constructing a house must be non-salinous and should have herbs and trees.[25] Gobhila tells us that the soil should be "compact, one-coloured, not dry, not salinous, not surrounded by sandy desert, not swampy."[26] *Āśvalāyana* further goes on: "The householder should dig a pit knee-deep and fill it again with the same earth: if the earth reaches out of pit, the ground is excellent: if it is level, it is of middle quality: if it does not fill the pit, it is to be rejected; again, after sunset he should fill the pit with water and leave it so through the night: if in the morning there is water in it, the ground is excellent: if moist, it is of middle quality: if dry, it is to be rejected."[27]

23 See Rhys David's *Buddhist India*, page 37.

24 अष्टशतग्राम्या मध्ये स्थानीयं चतुश्शतग्राम्या द्रोणमुखं द्विशतग्राम्याः खार्वटिकं दशग्रामीसङ्ग्रहेण सङ्ग्रहणं स्थापयेत्।

25 II, 7, 2, 3: अनूषरमविवादि भूमम्। ओषधिवनस्पतिवत्। (Jivānanda's edition). The translation followed is that of the *Sacred Books of the East*.

26 IV, 7, 8 (*SBE.*).

27 II, 8, 2, 3, 4, 5: जानुमात्रं गर्तं खात्वा तेनैव पांसुभिः प्रतिपूरयेत्। अधिके प्रशस्तं समे वार्त्तं न्यूने गर्हितम्। अस्तमिते पांसुपूर्णं परिस्रावयेत्। सोदकं प्रशस्तमार्द्रं वार्त्तं शुष्कं गर्हितम् चेत्

The villages were not probably much isolated from one another, and they were connected by a net-work of roads and cross-roads, which were no doubt occasionally used as chariot-roads.[28] That these roads encouraged inland trade is apparent from a hymn of the *Atharva-veda*.[29] Indra is invoked to confer blessings and success on the devotee-trader who has traversed a long distance: "I stir up the trader Indra . . . . . The many roads travelled by the gods that go about between heaven and earth . . . . . let them enjoy me with milk, with ghee, that dealing I may get riches . . . . This offence of ours mayest thou, Agni, bear with what distant road we have gone. Successful for us be bargain and sale; let return dealing make me fruitful. . . ."[30]

The Arable land (kṣetra, urvara).

The compactness of habitat necessarily involved the existence of the arable land outside the villages. Unlike the Teutonic system there appears to be no communic ownership of the *kṣetra* and no annually variable assignment of land to individuals for tillage. Who then cultivated the soil, and who possessed absolute property in soil?

मधुरास्वादम् । Having thus selected the site, the *Āśvalāyana* (II, 8, 9) says, the householder should have it measured off as a quadrangle with equal sides to each of the four directions, or as an oblong quadrangle (तत् षट्‌व मीत कृत्वा यथादिक् समचतुरस्रं मापयेत्): or, (as *Gobhila*, IV, 7, 15 enjoins) as a round island. In all the three forms of house-construction it appears that there was a middle post (मध्यमस्थूण: *Āśv.* II, 8, 15) and bamboo staffs joined this main post with the minor posts (*Āśv.* II, 9, 1). In one form we notice two main posts—the northern and the southern—with a beam connecting them (*Hiraṇya-keśin*: I, 8, 2, 3. 5 27). For other details see *Gobhila*, IV, 7, 18; *Khādira*, IV, 2, 14, 15; *Āśv* II, 7, 8, 10; see also Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben* (the edition available in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal), 149, 153.

[28] The *Gṛhya Sūtras* tell us of the crossing of four roads: *Gobhila*, IV, 6, 14; *Hiranyakeśin*, I, 5, 16, 8; *Khādira*, IV, 3, 10. The *Sāṅkhāyana* speaks of chariot-roads in IV, 7, 30.

[29] *Atharva-veda*, III, 15:

इन्द्रमहं वणिजं चोदयामि स न एतु पुरएता नो अस्तु ।
नुदन्नराति परिपन्थिनं मृगं स ईशानो धनदा अस्तु मह्यम् ॥ १ ॥
ये पन्थानो बहवो देवयाना अन्तरा द्यावापृथिवी सञ्चरन्ति
ते मा जुषन्तां पयसा घृतेन यथा क्रीत्वा धनमाहराणि ॥ २ ॥
इमामग्ने शरणिं मीमृषो नो यमध्वानमगाम दूरम् ।
शुनं नो अस्तु प्रपणो विक्रयश्च प्रतिपणः फलिनं मा कृणोतु ।
इदं हव्यं संविदानौ जुषेथां शुनं नो अस्तु चरितमुत्थितं च ॥ ४ ॥

[30] Whitney's translation.

From *Ṛgveda*, hymn I, 100, 18,[31] it appears that the Aryas after conquering the lands of the Dasyus used to divide them amongst themselves. Measurement for the purpose of division of soil is referred to in another hymn.[32] There are other Vedic texts too which go to show that the fields were cultivated if not owned by individuals or probably individual families.[33] But nothing definite can be ascertained from the *Ṛgveda* as to the exact nature of the rights of the individuals, such for instance as rights of alienation, gift, etc. In hymn VII, 6, 5, King Nāhuṣa is said to have forced his people to pay taxes,[34] in X, 173, 1, the king is installed into the throne of the kingdom[35] and in X, 173, 6, Indra is invoked to make the *viśāḥ* or the commonalty pay tribute to him.[36] The payment of *bali* or tax by the people might not imply absolute property of the king in the soil at that remote age, but might mean only a kind of personal tax paid out of field-produce[37]—the idea of tribal

31 दस्यूञ्छिम्यूंश्च पुरुहूत एवैर्हत्वा पृथिव्यां शर्वा निवर्हीत्।
सनत्क्षेत्रं सखिभिः श्वित्न्येभिः सनत्सूर्यं सनदपः सुवज्रः॥

32 *Ṛgveda*, I, 110, 5: क्षेत्रमिव वि ममुस्तेजनेनम् एकम् पात्रमृभवो जेहमानम्।
उपस्तुता उपमं नाधमाना अमर्त्येषु श्रव इच्छमानाः॥

33 *Ṛgveda*, X, 33, 6: यस्य प्रस्वादसो गिर उपमश्रवसः पितुः क्षेत्रम् न रण्वमूचुषे।
Cf. also *Ṛgveda*, VIII, 91, 5. 6:
इमानि त्रीणि विष्टपा तानीन्द्र वि रोहय।
शिरस्ततस्योर्वरामादिदं म उपोदरे॥ ५॥
असौ च या न उर्वरादिमां तन्वं मम।
अथो ततस्य यच्छिरः सर्वा ता रोमशा कृधि॥ ६॥
See also *Vedic Index* (Macdonell and Keith): *urvara* and *kṣetra*.

34 यो देह्यो अनमयद्वधस्नैर्यो अर्यपत्नीरुषसश्चकार।
स निरुध्या नहुषो यह्वो अग्निर्विशश्चक्रे बलिहृतः सहोभिः॥

Sāyaṇa explains बलिहृतः in this passage and in X, 173, 6 as करस्य प्रदातॄः। The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya explains *Bali* as a kind of religious tax in Bk. II, Ch. 6. Cf. the word *ubalike* in the Rummindei Pillar Inscription of Aśoka.

35 आ त्वाहार्षमन्तरेधि ध्रुवस्तिष्ठा विचाचलिः। विशस्त्वा सर्वा वाञ्छन्तु मा त्वद्राष्ट्रमधिभ्रशत्।
Sāyaṇa comments: हे राजन् त्वा त्वामाहार्षम् अस्मद्राष्ट्रस्य स्वामित्वेनानैषं। स त्वमन्तरस्माकं मध्य एधि। स्वामी भव........

36 ध्रुवं ध्रुवेण हविषाभि सोमं मृशामसि।
अथो त इन्द्रः केवलीर्विशो बलिहृतस्करत्॥

37 Cf. a custom that was in vogue about 500 or 600 B.C. The *Kurudhamma Jātaka* (No. 276, Fausböll) tells us that a man after carelessly taking a handful of rice from a paddy field remarks remorsefully: इमं हि केदारा मया रञ्ञो भागो दातब्बो, अदिन्नभागतो येव च मे केदारतो शालिसीसमुट्ठि गाहापितो।

leadership might not have been strongly associated with the idea of territorial sovereignty. But in the age of the *Brāhmaṇas* the Rājanya or the Kṣatriya kings were undoubtedly overlords with reference to land as well. The *Śatapatha* VII, I, 1, 8, refers to a Kṣatriya prince granting a settlement to a man.[38] In the *Aitareya* too the Kṣatriya king is enjoined to grant cultivable fields to the Brāhmaṇa who conducts the coronation ceremony,[39] and a reference is made to the Vaiśyas paying taxes.[40] In the *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya-sūtra* a reference is made to grant of villages by a prince to the priest who conducts the marriage ceremony.[41] From the above it would thus appear that from the age of the *Brāhmaṇa* at least, if not from an earlier date, absolute property in soil rested with the king or the tribal chief in places where the monarchical form of government prevailed. It is however probable that at the time when all had to fight equally against the Dasyu enemies,—when there was no such division of the people as the Rājanya (or fighting princely class) and the *viśāḥ* or the commonalty, the conquered lands were divided amongst, and owned absolutely by, the individual conquerors. It is therefore also probable that in regions where republican institutions prevailed such as the land of the Uttara-Kurus and Uttara-Madras whose political institutions were called *vairajya* or "kingless states,"[42] absolute property in soil rested with the individual. Both these customs as to property in land are recorded in the *Manusaṃhitā*,—thus showing their prevalence in subsequent times. Thus we are told that the king was the "Lord paramount of the soil,"[43] and that "land is the property of him who cut away the wood."[44]

[38] *SBE.*

[39] *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* (translated into Bengali by R. Trivedi), Ch. 39, Sec. 6.

[40] Ibid, Chap. 35, Sec. 5.

[41] I, 14, 14 (*SBE.*).

[42] *Aitareya*, Ch. 38, Sec. 3. Cf. Pāṇini's notice of tribal republics in आयुध-जीवि सङ्घान् ञ्यड्वाहीकेष्वब्राह्मणराजन्यात् (V, 3, 114); पर्श्वादियौधेयादिभ्यामणञौ (V, 3, 117); दामन्यादि, (V, 3, 116) etc.; etc. Cf. also *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. XI, Ch. 1 (कम्भोज-सुराष्ट्र-क्षत्रियश्रेण्यादयो वार्त्ताशस्त्रोपजीविनः, लिच्छिविक-वृजिक-मल्लक-मद्रक-कुकुर-कुरुपाञ्चालादयो राजशब्दोपजीविनः). See Mr. Jayaswal's "An Introduction to Hindu Polity" in the *Modern Review* for May-September, 1913; also Mr. Mukandi Lal's contribution in the *Modern Review* for January, 1920.

[43] *Manu*, VIII, 39: निधीनान्तु पुराणानां धातूनामेव च क्षितौ ।
अर्द्धभाग् रक्षणाद्राजा भूमेरधिपतिर्हि सः ॥

[44] Ibid, IX, 44: पृथोरपीमां पृथिवीं भार्य्यां पूर्वविदो विदुः । स्थाणुच्छेदस्य केदारमाहुः

Tillage and crops of the kṣetras.

The fields were furrowed with a plough pulled as now by an ox or a pair of oxen.[45] Later on elaborate ceremonies grew up around the various stages of agricultural operations. The *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya-sūtra*, for instance, enjoins that when the plough is being first put into motion a Brāhmaṇa should touch the plough reciting *RV.* IV, 57, 8.[46] Seeds were then sown and when crops ripened harvesting was done with a sickle (*sṛṇi*).[47] That the seasonal rainfall primarily served the purpose of irrigation is evident from the copiousness of hymns offered to Parjaṇya (rain-god). Though there are a few references to wells or reservoirs for irrigation or other purposes[48] and to manure,[49] intensive cultivation does not appear to be much advanced and was undoubtedly incipient.[50] The Vedic age, as will be shown later, represents that stage of cultivation in which the extensive and the intensive methods were combined.

शल्यवतो मृगम् ॥ Cf Kulluka's commentary: येन स्थाणुमुत्पाट्य क्षेत्रं कृतं तस्यैव तत्क्षेत्रं वदन्ति......

[45] *Ṛgveda*, IV, 57, 4: शुनं वाहाः शुनं नरः शुनं कृषतु लाङ्गलं।
शुनं वरत्रा बध्यन्तां शुनमष्ट्रामुदिङ्गय ॥

[46] *Śāṅ.* IV, 13, 4 (*SBE.*). The Vedic verse runs thus: शुनं नः फाला वि कृषन्तु भूमिं शुनं कीनाशा अभियन्तु वाहैः। शुनं पर्जन्यो मधुना पयोभिः शुनासीरा शुनमस्मासु धत्तं ॥

[47] *Ṛgveda*, X, 101, 3: युनक्त सीरा वि युगा तनुध्वं कृते योनौ वपतेह बीजं। गिरा च श्रुष्टिः सभरा असन्नो नेदीयइत्सृण्यः पक्वमेयात् ॥ In subsequent times while sowing seeds a handful of them drenched in water with a piece of gold was sown first and the following *mantra* was recited (*Arthaśāstra*, II, 24): प्रजापतये कश्यपाय देवाय नमः। सदा सीता मेध्यताम् देवी बीजेषु च धनेषु च ॥

[48] *RV.* X, 101, 5. 6: निराहावान् कृणोतन संवरत्रा दधातन। सिञ्चामहा अवतमुद्रिणं वयं सुषेकमनुपक्षितं ॥ इष्कृताहावमवतं सुवरत्रं सुषेचनं। उद्रिणं सिञ्चे अक्षितं ॥ Sāyaṇa...... आहावा निपानानि। Cf *Ṛgveda*, X, 68, 1.

There is also a reference to chain-pump (*kūcakra*) in *Ṛgveda*, X, 102, 11 परिवृक्तेव पतिविद्यमानत् पीप्याना कूचक्रेण व सिञ्चन। एषैष्या चिद्रथ्या जयेम सुमङ्गलं सिनवदस्तु सातम् ॥ But we cannot infer much from this solitary reference. Compare and contrast the later developments in the irrigation method; *Arthaśāstra*, II, 24. The *Kuṇāla Jātaka* (Fausböll, 536) refers to damming of a river for irrigation purposes.

[49] *Atharvaveda*, III, 14, 3: संजग्माना अबिभ्युषीरस्मिन् गोष्ठे करीषिणीः। बिभ्रतीः सोम्यं मध्वनमीवा उपेतन ॥ XIX, 31, 3: करीषिणीं फलवतीं स्वधामिरां च नो गृहे। औदुम्बरस्य तेजसा धाता पुष्टिं दधातु मे ॥

Contrast the subsequent developments as described in *Arthaśāstra*, II, 24.

[50] Otherwise sterility of *kṣetra* would not have been referred to in *Ṛgveda*, VIII, 91, 5. 6 (quoted at foot-note 33, p. 530). See also Sāyaṇa's commentary.

As to crops raised, in the *Ṛgveda* we come across only two names, namely, *yava*[51] and *dhānā*.[52] In the *Atharva* we find another name in addition, namely, *māṣa*[53]: and the maximum number of crops raised is given in the *Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā*: "Rice, barley, beans, sesamum, kidney-beans, vetches, millet, Panicum Miliaceum, Panicum Frumentum, wild rice, wheat and lentils."[54] The *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* further tells us that there were two harvests every year,[55] and describes the time best suited for sowing and harvesting. Thus we are told: "Barley ripens in summer (being no doubt sown in the winter): medicinal herbs in the rainy season: rice in autumn (being sown in the summer or early rains): and beans and sesamum in the *hemanta* and *śiśira* (winter), being sown in summer or in the rainy season."[56] From the above it is clear that the advantages of a rotation of crops were fully realised. Thus a season of barley (*yava*) would be succeeded by one of *vrīhi* (rice),[57] bean (*mudga* or *māṣa*) and sesamum (*tila*). Besides these other varieties of crops mentioned in the *Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā* were also sown on the principle of rotation. All these facts are quite in conformity with what is noticeable during the age of Kauṭilya. Thus the *Arthaśāstra*[58] tells us that panic seeds, Paspalum Scrobiculatum, Phraseolus Trilobus are to be sown before or at the commencement of the rainy season (*śāli-vrihi-kodrava-tila-priaṅgu-dārakāvarakāḥ pūrvavāpāḥ*); Phraseolus Mungo, Phraseolus Radiatus and *śaibya* in the middle of the season (*mudga-māṣa-śaibya madhyavāpāḥ*); safflower, *masūra*, *kuluttha* (Dolichos Uniflorus), *yava* (barley), *godhūma* (wheat), *kalāya* (leguminus), *atasī* (linseed) and mustard are to be sown last, i.e. in any suitable time after the rainy

51 I, 23, 15; II, 5, 6; V, 85, 3; etc. See *Ṛgvedapadānām Anukramaṇikā*.

52 I, 16, 2; III, 35, 3; etc. See *Ṛgvedapadānām Anukramaṇikā*.

53 VI, 140, 2; XII, 2, 53. See *Atharvavedapadānām Anukramaṇikā*.

54 व्रीहयश्च मे यवाश्च मे माषाश्च मे तिलाश्च मे मुद्गश्च मे खल्वश्च मे प्रियङ्गवश्च मेणवश्च मे श्यामाकाश्च मे नीवाराश्च मे गोधूमाश्च मे मसूराश्च मे यज्ञेन कल्पान्ताम्। *Vājasaneyī-Saṃhitā* (Jivānanda's edition), XVIII, 12. Griffith's translation has been followed.

55 द्विसम्वत्सरस्य शस्यम् पच्यते. *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* (Mysore Government publication), V, 1, 7, 3.

56 यवम् ग्रीष्मायौषधीर्वर्षाभ्यो व्रीहिञ्छरदे माषतिलौ हेमन्तशिशिराभ्याम् तेनेन्द्रं प्रजापतिरयाजयत्ततो वा इन्द्र.... *Taittirīya*, VII, 2, 10, 2.

See also *Vedic Index*, I, 182.

57 Cf. *Gobhila*, I, 4, 29 and *Khādira*, I, 5, 37: "From the rice (harvest) till the barley (harvest; or from the barley (harvest) till the rice (harvest) he should offer the *balis* or sacrificial rites."

58 Bk. II, Ch. 24.

season (*kusumbha-masūra-kuluttha-yava-godhūma-kalāya-atasī-sarṣapāḥ paścādvāpāḥ*).[59]

Seasons of the Vedic age.

As the Vedic seasons do not exactly coincide with ours, a short note on them here would not be out of place. In a hymn of the *Ṛgveda* three seasons are mentioned, namely, spring, (*vasanta*) summer (*grīṣma*) and autumn (*śarad*).[60] Elsewhere the rainy season (*prāvṛṣ*) and the winter (*hemanta*, *hima*) are mentioned.[61] The *Brāhmaṇas* too knew of these five seasons, and in addition another season, *śiśira*.[62] The *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya-sūtra*, however, mentions only five seasons.[63] It is probable that during the age of the *Ṛgveda* the year of twelve months[64] was generally taken to be divided into five seasons only,[65] though a sixth season is recognised in at least one of the *Brāhmaṇas*,—*hemanta* and *śiśira* being probably identified as one season. According to the *Arthaśāstra* the six seasons were thus distributed :—

varṣā (rainy season)	comprising	*Śrāvaṇa* and *Prosṭhapāda* (mid-July to mid-September)
śarat (autumn)	,,	*Aśvāyuja* and *Kārtika* (mid-September to mid-November)
hemanta } (winter)	,,	*Mārgaśirṣa* and *Pauṣa* (mid-November to mid-January)
śiśira } (winter)	,,	*Māgha* and *Phālguna* (mid-January to mid-March)
vasanta (spring)	,,	*Caitra* and *Vaiśākha* (mid-March to mid-May)
grīṣma (summer)	,,	*Jyesṭha* and *Āṣāḍha* (mid-May to mid-July).[66]

[59] Mr. Shamasastry's translation has been followed.

[60] *Ṛgveda*, X, 90, 6: यत् पुरुषेण हविषा देवा यज्ञमतन्वत ।
वसन्तो अस्यासीदाज्यं ग्रीष्म इध्मः शरद्धविः ॥

[61] *Ṛg.* VII, 103, 3: यदीमेनाँ उशतो अभ्यवर्षीत्तृष्यावतः प्रावृष्यागतायां । अख्खलीकृत्या पितरं न पुत्रो अन्यो अन्यमुप वदन्तमेति ॥ Cf. also VII, 103, 9. X, 161, 4: शतं जीव शरदो वर्धमानः शतं हेमन्ताञ्छतमु वसन्तान् । शतमिन्द्राग्नी सविता बृहस्पतिः शतायुषा हविषेमं पुनर्दुः ॥

[62] *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā*, VII, 2, 10, 2 (quoted at foot-note 56, page 533).

[63] *Śāṅkhāyana* (*SBE.*), IV, 18, 1.

[64] *Ṛgveda*, VII, 103, 9: देवहितिं जुगुपुर्द्वादशस्य ऋतुं नरो न प्रमिनन्त्येते ।
सम्वत्सरे प्रावृष्यागतायां तप्ता घर्मा अश्नुवते विसर्गं ॥

[65] See Tilak's *Arctic Home in the Vedas*, page 183; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, 373-4; and also *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 110-11.

[66] Bk. II, Ch. 10 (Shamasastry's translation).

The Pasture land (vraja, goṣṭha, suyavasa, and khila or khilya).

The next use of land was of course as pasturage of the cattle of the community. The generic terms implying pasture is *vraja*,[67] *goṣṭha*,[68] *suyavasa*.[69] It included firstly the *araṇyas* or forest lands[70] and waste lands, and secondly a class of land known as *khila* or *khilya*.

There are disputes with regard to the meaning of *khila* or *khilya*. The word occurs twice in the *Ṛgveda*—in VI, 28, 2.[71] and X, 142, 3.[72] The interpretation of Sāyana is quoted with the original in the foot-note. The *AV.* IV, 21, 2, quotes *RV.* VI, 28, 2; and here the scholiast gives a slightly varying rendering for *khila*.[73] In explaining *Atharva*, VII, 120, 4, he explains the word as *vraja*.[74] According to Roth these terms denote the waste land lying between cultivated fields; but he admits that this sense does not suit the passage of the *Ṛgveda* (VI, 28, 2) in which it is said that the god places the worshipper on an unbroken *khilya* (*abhinne khilye*), and he accordingly conjectures the reading *akhilye bhinne*, "land unbroken by barren strip." Pischel thinks that the meaning intended is broad lands, which were used for the pasturing of the cattle of the community, and were not broken up by cultivated fields. Oldenburg, however, points out that the sense is rather the land which

[67] *RV.* I, 10, 7 and 92, 4; IX, 94, 1; etc. See *Ṛgvedapadānāṁ Anukramaṇikā*.

[68] Or गोष्ठ. *RV.* VIII, 43, 17; X, 169, 4 and 191, 4; etc. See *Ṛgvedapadānāṁ Anukramaṇikā*.

[69] *RV.* VI, 28, 7; VII, 18, 4; VII, 99, 3; etc. See *Ṛgvedapadānāṁ Anukramaṇikā*.

[70] *RV.* X, 146, 3: उत गाव इव दन्त्युत वेश्मेव दृश्यते ।
उतो अरण्यानिः सायं शकटीरिव सर्जति ।

Cf. also *Ṛgveda*, IV, 1, 15.

[71] इन्द्रो यज्वने पृणते च शिक्षत्युपेद्ददाति न स्वं मुषायति ।
भूयो भूयो रयिमिदस्य वर्धयन्नभिन्ने खिल्ये नि दधाति देवयुं ।

Sāyana—अप्रतिहतं स्थानं तदेव खिल्यं । अन्यैर्गन्तुमशक्यस्थले नि दधाति ।

[72] उत वा उपरि वृणक्षि बप्सद्बहोरग्न उलपस्य स्वधावः ।
उत खिल्या उर्वराणाम् भवन्ति मा ते हेतिम् तविषीं चुक्रुधाम ।

Sāyana—सस्याढ्याभूमय उर्वराः । तासाम् मध्यस्थिनः प्रदेशाः खिल्याः प्राणिभिर्गन्तुम् योग्या भवन्ति ।

[73] Sāyana explains खिल्य as अप्रहतं स्थानं ।

[74] एता एना व्याकरं खिले गा विष्ठिता इव ।
रमन्तां पुण्या लक्ष्मीर्याः पापीस्ता अनीनशम् ।

Sāyana—यथा खिले व्रजे विष्ठिताः विशेषेण संभूयस्थिताः ।

lay between cultivated fields, but which need not be deemed to have been unfertile, as Roth thought. This agrees with the fact that in Vedic times separate fields were already known."[75]

It appears that all the scholars from Sāyaṇa down to Oldenburg have been confounded as to the real meaning of the word. It is evident, however, from their interpretations that *khilya* implies (*a*) a piece of waste land lying between cultivated fields, (*b*) which was used for the pasturing of the cattle of the community, and (*c*) which need not be deemed unfertile. The expression *abhinne khilye* proved a stumbling-block in their comprehension of the real meaning. Had the word been studied with special reference to the agricultural methods of the age, the sense would have been clear. The expression under question means nothing but an unfurrowed (न + भिद् + क) plot of land, or land which has not been taken up for cultivation, used figuratively in the sense of distant or unapproachable place or a plot of virgin soil which will bring an enormous yield. The existence of *khilas* shows that in the Vedic age the Field-grass or Pasture or Two-field System, as well as the Three-field system was still in vogue.

The Two-field and the Three-field Systems of the Vedic age.

Under the Two-field System there would be two plots of land, one remaining under cultivation in any particular year or season, and the other lying fallow (*khila*) after the last harvest. In alternate years or so the fallow lands serving temporarily as pasture land would be brought under cultivation. At a time when intensive cultivation was still in incipiency, this method would enable land to recover fertility easily. Sterility of *kṣetras* or cultivable fields owing to repeated cultivation is probably referred to in the *Ṛgveda*.[76] In very early times when the number of crops did not exceed one or two, the system was simple: one plot of land would in the particular season remain under cultivation, say of *yava* (barley) only, while the other would remain fallow, say after the rice harvest. But when the number of crops raised increased and the *kṣetrapati* (owner of fields) sowed and reaped more than two varieties in rotation,[77] the system followed must have been a Three-field System, three or four

[75] See *Vedic Index*: under *khila*.

[76] VIII, 91, 5. 6 (quoted at foot-note 33, page 530; see also Sāyaṇa's comments).

[77] *Vājasaneyi*, XVIII, 12, seems to corroborate this.

varieties being raised in two of the fields every year and the third lying fallow once in every three years. The "ideal system" that would work may be thus indicated :—

Let A, B, C be the three fields : then in the—

1st year,	A would produce in rotation, say, *yava* and *vrīhi*,	B similarly *tila* or *māṣa* and *godhūma* or *masūra*,[78]	C lying fallow.
2nd ,,	A would be cultivated intensively for one or two crops,	B lying fallow.	C producing two crops.
3rd ,,	A would lie fallow.	B would produce like A of the 2nd year,	C would produce like A of the 1st or 2nd year.[79]

The origin of the word *suyavasa* also points to the existence of the Field-grass system. The word is certainly cognate with *yava* (सु+यवस्), one of the crops raised in very early times. After the last harvest the *kṣetras* were abandoned for pasturage, whence the word is later used in the general sense of pasture or grass. The words *khila* and *khilya* are not very frequently mentioned owing to the fact that a piece of land did not lie fallow for a long time and that the generic terms *vraja*, *goṣṭha* or *gostha*, and *suyavasa* are used instead.

The Two-field and Three-field systems seem also to have survived much later. Thus, the *Yuktikalpataru* advises us to resort to this method when the fields lose their natural fertility owing to repeated cultivation.[80]

The Field-grass or the *khila* System would prevent two main defects. First, it would prevent compactness of the cultivable fields, rendering ploughing troublesome; and secondly, the growing crops of the fields, if not protected by fencing, would be liable to damage by the cattle grazing in the *khilyas*. Besides, the system rendered fencing,

[78] Compare *Vājasaneyī*, XVIII, 12; *Taittirīya*, VII, 2, 10, 2; and *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II, Ch. 24.

[79] If B produces one crop, C produces two, and *vice versa*.

[80] *Yuktikalpataru* (edited by Iśwarachandra Śāstri), p. 6: तथा वर्षेषु वर्षेषु कर्षणाद्गुणसंक्षयः । एकस्यां गुणहीनायां कृषिमन्यत्र कारयेत् ॥ ४९ ("दृतस्य वक्षभेदावधानं" अध्याये).

if there was any at all at that remote age,[51] not only highly scattered but also expensive. To remedy these defects the pasture-land, with the exception of the *aranyas* or forests, seems to have been differently organised later on during the age of Kauṭilya, if not during the Vedic age as well. The *Arthaśāstra* tells us that at a distance of one hundred *dhanus* an enclosure of timber-post shall be constructed for pasturage.[52]

The Forest lands (araṇyas).

The *araṇyas* including waste-lands were of great economic value to the Aryas. Hymn X. 146, *Ṛgveda*, clearly emphasises the manifold uses of the forest lands. First, they served as natural pastures.[53] Secondly, they were utilised as burial places,[54] and probably in some cases as cremation grounds too.[55] Thirdly, the produce of the *araṇyas* supplied beyond doubt an essential part of the economic needs of the community. They provided the householder with materials for construction of houses, chariots, sacrificial implements and the like. Above all, they were a constant source of fuel for the community.[56] Every householder of the Vedic age appears to have exercised the Right of Common or Estover over the woods and forests, like the tenement-holder of pre-Norman England. With the rise of a

[51] Instances of fencing fields are at least observable as early as 6th century B.C. Thus says *Sāli-kedāra Jātaka* (Fausböll, No. 484): तत्र कासियगोत्तो नाम सालिन्दियवासी ब्राह्मणो सहस्स-करीसमत्तम् खेत्तम् गहेत्वा सालिम् वपापेसि। उप्पन्ने सस्से वतिम् थिरम् कारेत्वा कस्सचि पण्णासकरीसमत्तम्.....दत्वा..... (Sanskṛt इति).

[52] *Arthaśāstra*, III, 10: समन्ततो ग्रामाद्धनुःशतापकृष्टमुपशालं कारयेत् ।

Cf. *Yājñavalkya*, II, 167: धनुःशतं परिहारो ग्रामक्षेत्रान्तरं भवेत् ।
द्वेशते खर्व्वटस्य स्यान्नगरस्य चतुः शतम् ॥

Cf. also *Manu*, VIII, 237: धनुःशतं परिहारो ग्रामस्य स्यात् समन्ततः ।
शम्यापातास्त्रयो वापि त्रिगुणो नगरस्य तु ॥

[53] *RV*. X, 146, 3 (quoted at foot-note 70, page 11).

[54] *RV*. X, 18, 4. 10. 12: इमं जीवेभ्यः परिधिं दधामि मैषां नु गादपरो अर्थमेतं ।
शतं जीवन्तु शरदः पुरूचीरन्तर्मृत्युं दधातां पर्व्वतेन ॥
उपसर्प मातरं भूमिमेतामुरुव्यचसं पृथिवीं सुशेवां ।
ऊर्णम्रदा युवतिर्दक्षिणावत एषा त्वा पातु निर्ऋतेरुपस्थात् ॥
उच्छ्वञ्चमाना पृथिवी सु तिष्ठतु सहस्रं मित उप हि श्रयन्तां ।
ते गृहासो घृतश्चुतो भवन्तु विश्वाहास्मै शरणाः सन्त्वत्र ॥

[55] For example, in places where there was no river.

[56] Cf. *Ṛgveda*, X, 146, 4: गामङ्गैष आह्वयति दार्वङ्गैषो अपावधीत् ।
वसन्नरण्यान्यां सायमक्रुक्षदिति मन्यते ॥

highly centralised autocracy under the administration of Chandragupta Maurya however such state of things came to an end, and the forests became state-monopolies [17]

[17] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II, Ch. 2 and 17.

GANGAIKONDA CHOLA.

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The Imperial Cholas.

The year A.D. 1000 opened for south of India with the Cholas in the flood-tide of their imperial career. Rising from the wreckage of an older dynasty of the Cholas a little more than a century before this year, the new dynasty had forced its way to dominance in south India by acquiring the Chola country proper, and proceeding onwards to a conquest of the Toṇḍamaṇḍalam territory dominated by Kāñchī. During the century following they made an effort at the conquest of the Pāṇḍya country and undertook successful invasions even of Ceylon. Immediately after, came a period of great struggle with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the hereditary enemy of the Pallavas, whose successors the Cholas had become by conquest of their territory. With the advance of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas came a period of storm and stress for the Cholas till the Rāṣṭrakūṭas themselves were overthrown in the seventies of the tenth century by the rising power of the Chāḷukyas. The removal of the overshadowing power of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the north opened the way for the Cholas who then were passing under the leadership of one of their greatest sovereigns Rāja Rāja I., a contemporary of the English William, the Conqueror's predecessor. He possessed the rare combination of qualities which distinguished all builders of empires. As a great conqueror he exhibited in a remarkably high degree the genius for organisation, both civil and military, that marked him out for an imperial position. He succeeded an uncle of his on the Chola throne about the year A.D. 985, and had been already ruler of the Chola kingdom for 15 years by A.D. 1000. Almost the first achievement of his was a stroke of diplomacy which brought into permanent alliance the Eastern Chāḷukyas, probably after a demonstration of power. A marriage cemented the alliance, Rāja Rāja giving his daughter by name Kundavvai to the Eastern Chāḷukya Vimalāditya.

The importance of the Chāḷukya alliance.

During the period of Rāṣṭrakūṭa power the Eastern Chāḷukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were constantly at war along the common frontier. Successive rulers of each dynasty give themselves credit for some achievement against their dynastic enemy. The overthrow of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the consequent rise to power of the Chāḷukyas would certainly have thrown the Eastern Chāḷukyas into alliance with their cousins of the west. Such a combination of the two branches of the Chāḷukya family would have been detrimental to the imperial interests of the Cholas and might even have endangered their position in the Tamil country. The permanent acquisition of power over the Eastern Chāḷukyas was a matter of vital importance to the Chola in the coming struggle against the Chāḷukyas of the west which Rāja Rāja apparently anticipated. The importance of this alliance in shaping the course of the imperial history of the Cholas will become clear as the history of the conquests of Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Chola unfolds itself.

Rāja Rāja's empire.

Rāja Rāja I had a long reign of more than 30 years. We have records of his 29th year in which he gives himself credit for a naval victory against the Cheras at Kāndaḷūr.[1] The next item is

[1] Modern Trivandram, as identified by the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao, who made an attempt to explain *Kāndaḷūr śālai* to mean feeding houses at Kāndaḷūr, a part of modern Trivandram; and the "taking of *Kāndaḷūr śālai*" is interpreted by him as putting an end to the free feeding-houses. This interpretation is hardly acceptable. The whole expression is *Kāndalūr śālai kalam iruttaruḷi*, "having broken or destroyed the *kalam* at *Kāndaḷūr śālai*." Mr. Rao was at great pains to show that *śālai* means a feeding hall. There is hardly any doubt about it; *śālai* means a feeding hall as well as various other kinds of hall. The actual word which contains the ambiguity, if any, is the word *kalam*. This word he interprets as meaning plates, and assumes that in the feeding houses food was served to Brahmans on plates, a feature exceedingly unlikely in itself. *Kalam* in the sense of ships is a very ordinary and well-worn term in Tamil. The Tamil classics often refer to *kālum kalanum* meaning carriages and ships by means of which articles are brought for trade. There is besides the feature that no Indian monarch is likely to take credit for himself having put a stop to feeding houses. Mr. Rao gets round this difficulty by saying that he put an end to the feeding only to reinstitute it in his own name. Nobody that knows Tamil will accept this interpretation of the term, *iruttu*. There is besides the feature that in refering to Kāndaḷūr the inscriptions of Rāja Rāja as well as those of Rājādhirāja give the attribute *Vēlai keḷu* meaning "of high waves." This feature would be out of place in connection with putting a stop to feeding-houses. The late Dr. Vincent Smith has accepted Mr. Gopinath Rao's interpretation, which has no legs to stand upon.

his conquest of Vengaināḍu, i.e., the coast country of the Eastern Chāḷukyas; then follows Gaṅgappāḍi 96,000 or southern Mysore; then follows Taḍigaippāḍi (sometimes also written Taḍigaivaḷi): this refers to the country including eastern Bangalore and the continuous tract to the east and north of it, as Nelamangalam and Bāṇāvara are stated to be in this division; then Noḷambappāḍi, the Tumkur and Chittaldrug districts in Mysore, perhaps also a certain amount of adjoining territory; Kuḍamalaināḍu the western hill country of Coorg; then follows Kollam (Quilon) capital of north Travancore; then comes Kaliṅgam (the country of Orissa) followed by Īḻamaṇḍalam (Ceylon); and then follow Raṭṭappāḍi 7½ lakhs and "the 12,000 old islands of the sea." Raṭṭappāḍi 7½ lakhs was the country till a few decades before under the rule of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and now in those of the Chālukyas; and the islands referred to are apparently the islands along the coast in the Arabian sea. These are the only conquests that the inscriptions of Rāja Rāja claim for him. In this recital there are one or two points that require to be explained. Taken as a whole, this would include all the Tamil country and Ceylon, the whole of the present day Mysore and Coorg, all of the Madras Presidency north of Madras to the frontiers of Bengal, including Orissa, the islands of the western sea and Bombay Presidency south of the Vindhyas, and the western half of the Nizam's dominions. Of these Raṭṭappāḍi comprising within it the Bombay presidency south of the Vindhyas and the western half of the Nizam's dominions could not have been acquired by Rāja Rāja although a victory against the ruler seems possible; and all the rest of them are places which were either directly under his rule or under rulers who acknowledged allegiance to him. Taḍigaivaḷi, it has been pointed out, had included in it perhaps the larger half of the Bangalore district with a portion of Kolar adjoining this. Taḍigaippāḍi seems to have been, in his time, composed of two divisions one of which extended into the Bellary district to take in the modern ruins of Hāmpi, the famous Vijayanagar of later history.[1] So the territory actually under Rāja Rāja had for its boundary the Tungabhadra in the north till it joins the Krishna and included the territory along an irregular frontier proceeding northwards from somewhere near Kurnool to the frontiers of the Orissa. This must be noted carefully to understand the wars and conquests of his son.

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, pp. 186–7; *Ind. Ant.*, 1901, pp. 110 and 206.

Rājēndra's Conquests in the Dekhan.

When his son Rājēndra, the Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Chola succeeded to the throne he had to begin his career of conquest from this northern frontier. He was, during the last five or six years of his father's reign, associated with him as the heir-apparent, and actually did the work of conquest for the father. He seems to have played an important part, and got his training in these wars. Among the records of his reign we do not see that he gives himself credit for any new conquest or achievement of his till we come to his sixth year. As a matter of fact one record of his third year is actually in continuation of that of his father and raises the presumption that perhaps up to his sixth year he did what he had done as his father's deputy. Records of his sixth year add to the conquests, Iḍaitturaināḍu (lit. country between rivers). This was hitherto understood to mean the Yeḍatore 2,000 in Mysore. That could hardly be a new conquest and the late Dr. Fleet's identification of this district with the Raichur Doab [3] satisfies the conditions quite well. Having mastered possession of this debatable frontier of all south Indian history he proceeded northwards into the southernmost districts of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa country. This territory was known as the Vanavāśi (Kan. *Banavase*), the territory associated with the rule of the Kaḍambas with two capitals Goa and Hangal. The next item in his list of conquests is Koḷḷippākkai. This has recently been identified with Kulpak in the Nizam's dominions described in Kannaḍa inscriptions as the "bolt of the south" [4] This is a place of strategical importance a little to the north-east of Hyderabad and a greater distance south-west of the later capital of Warangal. Next comes Maṇṇaikkaḍaham. This was identified by Mr. Rice with Maṇṇe [5] in the Nelamaṅgala Taluk of Mysore, one of the Ganga capitals. Taḍigaippāḍi included within it Nelamangala and Bāṇāvara, the railway station from which one proceeds to Nelamangala. This could hardly be a new conquest. *Kaḍaham* is the Tamil for *kaṭaka* of Sanskrit, and *kaḍaham* is a term generally used for a fortified city, generally a royal capital. Ibn Batuta uses the word *kaṭaka* with other descriptive epithets for Dēvagiri [6] itself. This

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, XII, pp. 272 and 295–6.

[4] *J. Hyder. Archæol. Soc.*, i, pp. 14–36; *Ind. Ant.*, xliv, p. 13.

[5] *Epi. Car. Mysore M.*, I, Intr., p. 10.

[6] Elliott, *History of India as told by her own Historians*, III, p. 598.

Maṇṇaikkaḍaham therefore is the Tamil representation of Mānyakhēṭa the Mankir of the Muhammadan historians. The first part, *mānya*, would be written *manne* in Kanarese, and should be *maṇṇai* in Tamil. This is described as of unapproachable strength and that is the strength of the fortress that was built by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, in the building of the walls of which the Eastern Chāḷukyas were compelled to assist after defeat.[7] Then comes a reference apparently to a new invasion of Ceylon, the carrying away of the crown and jewels of the king and the queen of Ceylon, and those of the Pāṇḍya left there for safety, and the conquest of the whole of Ceylon. We shall revert to this later. He had also to attack the king of Malabar again and take possession of the crown and treasures likewise. Records of his eighth year merely add the island of Paraśurāma by name Śāntimat with the adjoining islands. Leaving for the moment the conquest of Ceylon and Kerala, this series of conquests of Rājēndra advances him one step farther than his father, and brings him into touch with the Western Chāḷukyas along the whole length of frontier across the peninsula. This line has no natural frontier to mark it and could be held only by holding the frontier fortresses and by constant wars. Records of his tenth year describe accordingly a war with the Western Chāḷukyas whose ruler Jayasiṁha he defeated and put to flight at a place called Muyaṅgi. This must be the same name as Māsaṅgi or Maski where an Aśoka Inscription was found. The record further states that he captured Raṭṭappāḍi 7½ lakhs, and "the mountains containing the nine kinds of wealth." Rājēndra's achievement probably did not go beyond the defeat of Jayasiṁha. The capture and possession of his country is a mere hyperbole. His conquests just short of this may be taken to be real as we find his sons advancing therefrom for further conquests, the Chāḷukyas sometimes advancing as far south as the Pālār across the whole of the modern Mysore territory.

Rājēndra's Invasion of Kaliṅgam.

A record of his thirteenth year claims for Rājēndra conquests right up to the banks of the Ganges and across the Bay of Bengal in Burma also.

The Tirumalai inscription and others of that date, among which

[7] Fleet, *Bom. Gaz.*, I, (ii), p. 402.

No. 44 from Kolar is of special value, recite his conquests in the following order :—

Śakkarakkoṭṭam "belonging to brave warriors", Maduraimaṇḍalam "whose fortresses carried their old flags", Nāmanaikkoṇam "surrounded by dense groves", Pañjapaḷḷi "of the brave bowmen" and Māśuṇidēśam "surrounded by green fields." These records claim for him a victory over Indraratha "of the old dynasty of the moon" in a battlefield at Jātinagar "of old or undiminished fame." He captured Indraratha with numbers of people and a vast mass of his wealth. He then took Oḍḍa Viṣaya "which was surrounded by an unapproachable forest", and Kośalaināḍu "asylum of Brāhmaṇas." He then won a victory over Dharmapāla and took Daṇḍabhukti "surrounded by groves, the habitat of bees." He then acquired fame which spread in all directions by valiantly attacking Raṇaśūra and taking possession of his kingdom of Dakṣiṇa Lāḍa. He then compelled Govindachandra to get down from his elephant and flee, and took his territory of Bengal where the monsoon never ceases. He then reached the *mouths of the Ganges* and, having frightened in the field of battle Oṭṭamayīpāla, he took his elephants, the camp of his women and Uttara Lāḍa washed by "the great sea bearing pearls." He also took the good water of the wave-throwing Ganges. The reaching of the Ganges brings his conquests to a close according to his records up to the thirteenth year.

Rājēndra's Overseas Conquest.

No. 84 of Channapaṭna in the Bangalore district, however, also of the thirteenth year, adds other details which bring into the record the whole of his over-seas conquests. The inference therefore seems warranted that the overseas conquests of Rājēndra Chola took place *in his thirteenth year*. Apparently very soon after the conquest of Uttara Lāḍa and the bringing of the Ganges water to Rājēndra, then encamped on the Godavari, he is said to have sent out a fleet of ships into the middle of the ocean against Saṅgrāmavijayōttuṅgavarma, the king of Kaḍāram. He captured him with all his fighting elephants and took from him his royal wealth. He obtained possession of Śrī Vijaya in the midst of which was set the triumphal arch, Vidyādharatōraṇa, with its great doors set with jewels and trap doors. He then took the seaport of Paṇṇai, Malaiyūr "of ancient fame having for its ramparts many hills", Māyiruḍiṅgam "which had for its moat the

deep sea", Laṅkāśokam "with its impenetrable fortifications", Māppappālam "surrounded by deep waters let in for defence", Mēvilibaṅgam "with well-defended fortress walls", Vilaippaṇḍūr "provided with weapons of defence", Takkolam "celebrated by the learned", Mādamāliṅgam "of great defences", Īḷāmuridēśam "defended by a strong fleet of ships", Mānakkavāram "surrounded by groves containing honey-bees", and Kaḍāram "defended in great strength by the sea which touches it." This recital of his oversea exploits would bring under his control the whole of South Burma and the Malaya peninsula, perhaps including parts even of Siam.

The Distinct character of the Campaigns according to the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates.

The conquests of Rājēndra detailed above from records of his thirteenth year fall into two campaigns as distinct as the two campaigns already discussed before. After the war against the Raṭṭappāḍi of the Western Chāḷukyas he must have returned to his headquarters. If the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates,[8] just since published by the epigraphist, is to be taken as stating facts as they occurred, he definitely returned to his capital after the victory at Muyaṅgi and the taking of the mountains containing the nine kinds of wealth, wherefrom he set out on an expedition northwards with the specific purpose of bringing the water of the Ganges, in order that he might make his own country as holy in orthodox estimation as that of the region watered by the "holy Gaṅgā." Hence the inference has been drawn by the late Mr. Venkayya[9] that the expedition was no more than a royal pilgrimage to the Ganges, and that by deputy. The inscription on the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates apparently is a composition which treats of the achievements of Rājēndra as a *Digvijaya* (conquest of the quarters) of the conventional kind, and describes the whole series of his historical achievements in conventional epic manner. It is hardly possible even after making allowance for the author's sense of epic propriety to regard the campaign as a mere act of pilgrimage even by deputy. Rājēndra seems to have been an imaginative individual, with a great deal perhaps of the knight-errant in him, though the knight-errant part of his nature was

[8] I am very much obliged to Rai Sahib Mr. H. Krishna Sastri for kindly letting me have the use of a proof copy of this invaluable document for the purposes of this paper.

[9] *ASR.*, 1911-12, p. 173.

kept well under control both of the conqueror and the statesman as we shall show presently. The notion of the Ganges water must have got into him from the knowledge of the achievements of an early Tamil ruler Śeṁkuṭṭuvan Śēra [10] (Chera), the hero of the *Śilappadhikāram* who brought a stone from the Himālayas, had it bathed in the Ganges and brought it over to his capital Vañji on the west coast for making the image of the "Chaste Goddess" (Pattini Dēvi) in addition to having given his mother a bath in the Ganges. This Chera ruler's grandfather and a distinguished ancestor of Rājēndra Chola himself, the great Chola Karikāla is credited with having gone as far north, and to have obtained gifts from an ally, a treaty power and one who was a "negligible" neutral respectively of Vajra (the country on the banks of the Son), Magadha and Avantī [11] (Malva). All the three sovereigns, Chola, Chera and Pāṇḍya alike of ancient fame, lay claim to having cut out their emblems on the face of the Himālayas. There was precedent for imitation as one of the early Pallava rulers lays claim similarly, may be fictitiously, to having similarly cut out his emblem on the Himālayas in obvious imitation of the achievement of these predecessors of his in the south.[12] Rājēndra, the "Paṇḍita Chola" [13] as he is called, apparently read of these achievements and obviously wished to make a point to his credit similarly. The diplomacy and the warlike exploits of his father had brought him into touch with Kaliṅga (Orissa) in the north, and the Western Chāḷukyas along a somewhat irregular frontier extending from the region of Central India to Dharwar in the south of the Bombay Presidency. By the first two campaigns Rājēndra had secured his position both in the south in his rear and along this doubtful frontier. The next campaign seems to have had for it the definite object of bringing Kaliṅga, to the conquest of which his father's records vaguely lay claim, really under the Chola rule for which purpose we can give something of a potent reason presently. It will conduce however to clearness to take the two distinct campaigns of the records of the thirteenth year separately, and see what exactly we can make out of the recital of the specific details given in these records.

[10] *Śilappadhikāram*, cantos 26 and 27. [11] Ibid, canto 5, ll. 99-104.

[12] Amaravati Inscription of Simhavarman. *South Ind. Inscr.*, I., p. 27, l. 33.

[13] *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, canto 13, l. 62: *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, ii, p. 127: also *ASR.*, 1911-12, p. 176. Manuscript authority, since made available, seems to cast doubts upon the reading of verse giving authority for this inference.

The First Campaign.

Referring back for a moment to the Tirumalai inscription, we find among the places mentioned Śakkarakkoṭṭam, Maduraimaṇḍalam, Namanaikkoṇam, Pañjapaḷḷi and Māśuṇidēśam. These are all places of importance, or fortresses, which Rājēndra Chola's general is said to have taken. Then comes a victory against a certain "Indraratha of the dynasty of the Moon" in a battle field at a place which has hitherto been read Ādinagar, and which in one of his records is written "Śādinagar." These records describe the victory at this place decisive enough to give him possession of Oḍḍa-viṣaya and Kośalaināḍu. That is one definite part of the campaign. Reverting to the details the farthest place in this direction Rājēndra had advanced before starting on this campaign was Koḷḷippākkai in the Nizam's Dominions. I have pointed out already that Koḷḷippākkai is satisfactorily identified with Kulpak almost half-way between the present day Hyderabad and Warangal, the later Kākatīya capital. The campaign apparently began from there, or from somewhere not far off. The first place to find mention is Śakkarākkoṭṭam. The name of this place is found associated with the early campaigns of Kulottuṅga Chola with another place Vairāgaram, and the achievements, specifically associated with the two places, of that monarch are the taking of the former and the capturing of elephants in true Kedda fashion in the latter. The researches of Pandit Hira Lal of Nagpur have satisfactorily identified the latter with old Bastar near Jagdalpūr in the state of Bastar, and the latter in the same vicinity. Cakkarakūṭa is pointed out as the place referred to as Śakkarakkoṭṭam, which seems quite a satisfactory enough equation.[14] The rulers of this locality were Nāgavaṁśis at a particular time. The territory ruled over by the Nāgavaṁśis may be translated Māśuṇidēśam in Tamil, *māśuṇam* in Tamil meaning "snake."[15] The other three places Maduraimaṇḍalam, Nāmanaikkoṇam and Pañjapaḷḷi must be places in the vicinity. Maduraimaṇḍalam may be the Maduban, one of the Orissa tributary states. Names of places terminating in *paḷḷi* seem common enough in that region. One of these states is called Daśapalla, and there is a place referred to as Vaṭapalli in one of the inscriptions of the locality.[16] So probably all these are places which were in the

[14] *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 179. [15] *ASR.*, 1911-12, p. 174.

[16] Vaṭapalli in the Chattisgarh division of the C.P.; cf. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 342.

same vicinity and were places of some importance in the territory of one ruler, each one of these being either important from a military point of view or because it was the head-quarters of one of the number of feudatories that held the territory among them. It seems to me that Indraratha was the dominating ruler of the whole region, and these were places of importance in his territory; and Indraratha must have belonged to the dynasty of the Somavaṁśis of Cuttack, a ruler who has not yet come within the ken of the epigraphists though no doubt the late Professor Keilhorn noted an Indraratha among those defeated by King Bhoja of Dhāra. His capital Śādinagar (Śādinagar of Tamil, hitherto read Ādinagar, Jajnagar of the Muhammadan historians) is no other than Yayātinagar, believed to be the foundation of one of the early Kēsari kings of Orissa. This Yayātinagar is identified with a place called Binka (Sonpur Binka of the maps) on the river Mahānadi by Pandit Hira Lal.[17] Sonpur Binka is on the high road leading from the south towards Gaya and Patna, and on the road almost at right angles connecting Nagpur and Puri. The north-south road, apparently was the main road of communication between India south of the Vindhyas and the north, where the obstacle of the mountains was not so great and that of the rivers was probably not altogether impossible to overcome. As a matter of fact the Tiruvālangāḍu plates do describe in clear terms that Rājēndra's army crossed these rivers making use of the elephants as a bridge. The wording of the Tamil records makes it clear that the defeat and capture of Indraratha and his people enabled Rājēndra to take not merely the Oḍḍa-viṣaya which apparently was his direct territory, but also enabled him to bring under his control the whole of Kośalaināḍu, the Mahākośala country of the central provinces which then had become the asylum of the Brahmans. The reason for this last statement is not very far to seek. We are in the year 1025–26 and some years before this Mahmud of Ghazni had attacked Kanouj and had carried his campaign quite far into Bundelkhand. The Brāhmaṇas therefore of the "holy land of India" must have found reason to regard those places as not safe for their residence. We do find a number of records of rulers of the Kosala regions making grants and bringing in Brāhmaṇas from various localities to reside in the district. Hence the clear inference seems to be that Indraratha was the

17 Sirpur stone Ins., *Ep. Ind.*, XI, No. 19.

overlord of the regions of this part of Kaliṅga, and the definite defeat of him brought under the rule or political influence of Rājēndra the whole of the region, Mahākosala. This perhaps would exclude the coast regions of Orissa as we shall see presently. Hence it is that the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates describe in some detail, in verses 114–115, of the defeat of this Indraratha, which is metaphorically described as the fall of the lunar race itself from its height of glory.

The Invasion of the territory beyond Orissa.

This done, Rājēndra's general marched forward apparently in the direction of the Ganges, which could be reached either by marching straight north, or north-east, or east as the conquest of Mahākosala and the hinterland portion of Oḍḍa viṣaya brought him almost to the frontiers of Chota Nagpur. According to the Tamil records he advanced against Dharmapāla, and after defeating him took Daṇḍabhukti, "surrounded by groves, the habitat of bees." Here the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates differ from the Tamil records. The general is there made to defeat Raṇaśūra, the same apparently as the Raṇaśūra of the Tamil records, whose territory was according to this latter Takkana Lāḍa (Dakṣiṇa Lāḍa). Whether it was Daṇḍabhukti that was first conquered, or Dakṣiṇa Lāḍa would be a matter of some importance in the marking out of the route of the invasion. Necessarily therefore we shall have to settle what Daṇḍabhukti was, and what Dakṣiṇa Lāḍa before we can arrive at a definite conclusion in regard to which of the two was first attacked.

The Two Lāḍas, North and South.

To the solution of this geographical puzzle Mr. R. D. Bannerji has contributed the most. He quotes a Jaina inscription of the year 62 of the Kushana era referring to the country of Rāḍha, from which the Jaina monk, who was responsible for the record, came. He quotes two other records of more modern times. One of them, of the time of the Sēna king Veḷḷāḷa Sēna, is a record found in a village in the Burdwan district which states that the village granted, which is named, was situated in north Rāḍha (*Uttara Rāḍha maṇḍale*). The other record is of Narasimha II. of Orissa with date equivalent to A. D. 1296 and refers clearly to Rāḍha and Varēndri as well-known divisions of Bengal.[14] A direct

[14] R. D. Bannerji, "The Palas of Bengal", *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, No. 3, page 72.

reference having been found to Uttara Rāḍha there is a very strong presumption that there was at that period a Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha or Southern Rāḍha. The Chola record first refers to Takkana Lāḍam (Dakṣiṇa Lāḍa or Lāṭa), and then to Uttara Lāḍam (Uttara Lāḍa or Lāṭa). *Lāḍa* was equated with *Lāṭa*, quite correctly from the phonetic point of view, and taken to mean the country of Gujarat of which two divisions were known, northern and southern. It was the late Mr. Venkayya that changed the equation from *Lāṭa* to *Virāṭa*. He did not make the change on the basis of any real phonetic equivalent. It would be easy to point out authoritative usage for Virāṭa being written Virāḍa in Tamil, as Mahāraṭṭa is written Marāḍa and Lāṭa is written Lāḍa.[19] Mr. Venkayya's only authority for the equation was in a record which refers to a feudatory of the early Chola Āditya Karikāla as belonging to the Sagara-Virāṭa dynasty. The Tamil part of the record puts in *Ilāḍa* where the Sanskrit has *Virāṭa*. Hence his equation Tamil *Lāḍa* equals Sanskrit *Virāṭa*.[20] In itself it is far from satisfactory as it is apparently due perhaps to the ignorance of the writer of the Sanskrit record. Sagara is never connected with Virāṭa, and this association ought to have indicated that the Virāṭa, of the Sanskrit record is no other than Rāḍha, the existence of which as a division of Bengal the writer of the record apparently did not know. The connection with Sagara would refer the individual perhaps to a family of Bengal. The equation between *Lāḍa* and *Virāṭa* therefore has no basis in fact, and the apparent equation would perhaps support the conclusion that *Lāḍa* actually stands for *Rāḍha*. We are indebted to Mr. Bannerji for the equation of *Lāḍa* with *Rāḍha* in Bengal, and the discovery that a division of Bengal was known by the name Rāḍha, as else the inscriptions of Rājēndra would have lost the character for an accurate historico-geographical disquisition. The two Lāḍas[21] of the Tamil records

[19] *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, XI. V. 19.

[20] *Ep. Rep.* for 1906-7. Sec. 65, pp. 87-8.

[21] The Lāḍa that figures in the story of the Bengal Princess the mother of Simha Bāhu, the father of Vijaya, founder of Ceylon, is this Rāḍha or Lāḍa, and has nothing to do with Gujarat at all. There are references to Rādha in the Jaina *Bhagavatī Sūtra* and the *Acārańga Sūtra*. This is described as territory into two divisions Vajjabhumi and Sabbabhumi, Vajrabhūmi, and Śvabhrabhumis, hard rocky land and wiry. The Tamil commentator Adiyarkunallar know Vajra as the country in the basin of the Son river. The region was noted for diamonds from the days of Ptolemy to those of Tavernier. (See Ball's *Tavernier*, II, app. iii.)

are therefore an equivalent of the two divisions Rāḍha, the southern and northern.

Their Position relative to Daṇḍabhukti.

If northern Rāḍha corresponded to the Burdwan district of Bengal and the region immediately round it, southern Rāḍha must be the portion of Bengal immediately adjoining Burdwan in the south or southwest. It may even possibly be that between the two divisions came in some other territory. So much, however, is certain that southern Rāḍha must be south of Burdwan (northern Rāḍha) in point of bearing. The doubt actually arises whether there was any division of Bengal between the two because of the discrepancy in the order of the names between the Tamil records of Rājēndra Chola and his Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates which can hardly be regarded sufficient to definitely postulate intervening territory. The two Lāḍas being parts of Bengal we would be justified in looking for the other division Daṇḍabhukti not very far from either. In regard to this particular, the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates are certainly of great assistance. As we have already noted the Tamil records state that Rājēndra's general first defeated Dharmapāla and took his territory of Daṇḍabhukti, defeated Raṇaśūra of southern Rāḍha and took his kingdom before putting to flight Govinda Chandra and entering his kingdom of Bengal. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates on the contrary state clearly that Raṇaśūra was defeated and his territory taken before the general reached the territory of Dharmapāla whom he ultimately defeated also. The following *ślokas* of this record say in more detail what is stated in this *śloka* itself,[24] that the general reached the banks of the Ganges after defeating Dharmapāla and having subdued the princes who were ruling the territory on the banks of the Ganges, he got them to carry for his master Madhurāntaka the holy water of the Ganges. This may or may not be historically a fact. The description apparently is a copy of the achievement of the famous ancient Chera king Śeṁkuṭṭuvan (Red-Chera), who got the stone from the Himalayas carried by the defeated princes. That is only by the way.

Daṇḍabhukti identical with Bihar.

Rājēndra himself had advanced apparently with a reserve force as far as the Godaveri, where the general brought him the water of the Ganges after having overcome on the way Mahīpāla and taken from him "his fame and his royal wealth". We shall come to this detail later

[24] *Śloka* 113.

What is to the point here is (1) that according to the record southern Rāḍha was first conquered before the general reached Dharmapāla's territory, and (2) that the conquest of Dharmapāla's territory brought the general to the right bank of the Ganges. It must be remembered that before entering Rāḍha, wherever that was, the general had come in the course of his successful career of conquest to the northern frontier of the territory of Kośala and the hinterland of Orissa, wherefrom he started in his further march to the Ganges. If we could assume that the two Rāḍhas were adjacent to each other, say north-east and south-west of each other, southern Rāḍha and Daṇḍabhukti could be equally open to entry from his base. In such a case southern Rāḍha would correspond to Midnapur and the territory of Bengal and possibly even a part of Bihar set over against the tributary states of Orissa at the present time. Daṇḍabhukti then would have to be immediately adjoining it, and capable of being entered into by a hostile force either after subduing southern Rāḍha or without it. As a matter of fact the roadway seems to proceed through the tributary states to Ranchi and Gaya, and therefore it is possible the Tamil records are correct that he entered Dharmapāla's Daṇḍabhukti first, and either after defeating the ruler or in the course of the war itself he had to attack and defeat Raṇaśūra of southern Rāḍha on the flank. In either case he could not have marched to the banks of the Ganges leaving his flank open to attack by a hostile power like the ruler of Rāḍha. We are inclined to agree therefore with Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Sastri that Daṇḍabhukti corresponded to the modern province of Bihar minus Orissa. This arrangement would be exactly that suggested by the reference in the *Rāmapāla Carita* to a Lakṣmīśura, who is described as a king, contemporary of Rāmapāla "who was the head jewel of all feudatories of forest lands" (*Samastâṭavika-sāmanta-cakra-cūḍāmaṇiḥ*).[43] The territory of this ruler according to our arrangement must have been quite on the marches of Bengal on the south-west and in continuation of the forest tracts of the hinterland of Orissa, and quite within the limit of the great forest (*mahākāntāra*).

Daṇḍabhukti: a military fief.

Coming to Daṇḍabhukti, the name seems to suggest that wherever it was geographically, it was the territory given over to somebody and

[43] "The Pālas of Bengal," as quoted above, page 72.

enjoyed by him as a military fief (Daṇḍabhukti). When and in what circumstances could this part of the country between the Ganges, say from Allahabad to Bhagalpur, and the present day frontier of the Central Provinces and Orissa, have become such a fief? There are a few interesting details that Mr. Bannerji himself provides for explaining this position. He gives a number of interesting details of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa family in Magadha and their connection with the Pālas of Bengal. In fact Rāmapāla's mother was the sister of Mahana who played an important part in his reign. He further gives reference to a Jayasiṁha as lord of Daṇḍabhukti and identified Daṇḍabhukti with the district of Midnapur[14] which would certainly go against the course of Rājēndra's campaign according to his records. We need not go into the details of this reference so far as they are connected with Rāmapāla and his time. For our present purpose all that we require is the fact that there was a family of Rāṣṭrakūṭas in Magadha. When did they come there and why did this particular territory get to be called Daṇḍabhukti? The Mahamahopadhyaya identified Daṇḍabhukti with Bihar on the ground that the Tibetans called the town Ottantapuri, and the Muhammadans called it Advand Bihar. Mr. Bannerji would controvert this position by quoting the Rāmacarita where a feudatory of Rāmapāla by name Jayasiṁha, ruler of Daṇḍabhukti, defeated Karṇakēsari, king of Orissa, at the time. Hence he would place Daṇḍabhukti somewhere near Midnapur. The defeat of the king of Orissa by a ruler of Daṇḍabhukti does not necessarily involve that the attack must have been delivered from the north-eastern frontier of Orissa. It would depend upon what the actual extent of the Orissa territory was, and Orissa could be attacked straight from the north in behalf of Rāmapāla as from the north-east.

Bihar a military fief of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

That Bihar was Daṇḍabhukti would rest upon other considerations. As the name itself indicates Bihar must have been on the frontier of some important empire or kingdom, which on that side required protection against a powerful enemy. A chieftain or a family of chieftains must have been placed there in special charge of this military duty, and the province given to him as a military fief which gives for the province itself the name Daṇḍabhukti. The

[14] "Pālas of Bengal," pages 88–89; also *Ep. Ind.*, IX, 322.

existence of a family of Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the region of Magadha in the days of Rāmapāla, the last great Pāla ruler, would seem to offer the explanation. What had the Rāṣṭrakūṭas to do with Bihar, when did they come there and what was their position with respect to the Pālas of Gauḍa, the Gurjjaras of Kanouj and the Rāṣṭrakūtas of Malked? The answer to these questions would at once explain the position of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Karnāṭas in Magadha, and why Magadha came to be called Daṇḍabhukti. Two inscriptions of Govinda III state that the Rāṣṭrakūta Dhruva (cir. A.D. 780–800) "Quickly caused Vatsarāja, intoxicated with the goddess of the sovereignty of Gauḍa that he had acquired in the east, to enter upon the path of misfortune in the region of Maru." That means the Rāṣṭrakūṭas intervened with effect against the Gurjjaras conquering and taking effective possession of the country of Gauḍa (north Bengal), and confined them to their own territory in the desert regions of Rajputana extending to modern Gujarat. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa Karka II, A.D. 812–13 claims in the Baroda grant to have made his arm "the door bar of the country of the Lord of Gurjjaras, who had become evilly inflamed by conquering the Lord of Gauḍa and the Lord of Vaṅga."[15] This means again that this feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa perhaps took part in the same campaign to prevent the Gurjjara conquest of Bengal, north and south.

A Rāṣṭrakūṭa Family of Central India.

As against these must be noted the Paṭhāri stone inscription of Parabala of date A.D. 861. Parabala's grandfather was Jejja, and the record states that an unnamed elder brother of his acquired Lāṭa Rāṣṭra by defeating a very large number of Karṇāṭaka troops.[16] In the words of the late Professor Keilhorn "his elder brother, having defeated in battle thousands of Karṇāṭaka soldiers, whose might was increased by arrays of enemy's elephants, obtained the broad Lāṭa kingdom." This cannot refer to the Gujarat Rāṣṭrakūṭa Karka, or his father. Neither of them won victories against the Karṇāṭakas who at that time could have been no other than the Rāṣṭrakūṭas themselves. Jejja and his elder brother alike belonged according to the record to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family. The record itself is found in

[15] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part 1, page 486.
[16] *Ep. Ind.*, IX, No. 34, V. 7, pp. 252 and 255.

the north-western corner of the Central Provinces and almost in the north-eastern corner of the territory of Bhopal in Central India. This family of Rāṣṭrakūṭas in Central India at the time must have fought against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas themselves of the imperial family or of their relatives of Gujarat;[27] and if so, it probably was in behalf of the Gurjjaras. Where would the Lāṭa kingdom then have been, "the broad Lāṭa territory"? Would it not be the two Rāḍhas rather than the Lāṭa (Gujarat) where there was another dynasty of rulers at the period and which could not be held by two dynasties at one and the same time? It was Karka II of Gujarat that defeated the rebel Rāṣṭrakūṭas The record next proceeds to state that Jejja's son Karka (not the Gujarat Karka) defeated in battle a certain Nāgāvalōka and "caused him quickly to turn back." The late Dr. Keilhorn was inclined to identify this Nāgāvalōka with Nāgabhaṭa, the Gurjjara. The title Nāgāvalōka, however, has a family likeness to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa title such as Khaḍgāvalōka, and the reference in the record itself to the rows of "pālidhvaja banners" fluttering over the army that Karka defeated is a clear indication that the enemy defeated was the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭa of the south, or his Gujarat feudatory. Next we come to his son Parabala. We find him already entering into a family alliance with Dharmapāla of Bengal, who married Raññādēvi daughter of Parabala, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa who had been wrongly identified with Govinda III.[28] This was about the end of the 9th century A.D., the inscription being dated in 861.

The rise of the Chandels moves the Rāṣṭrakūṭas into Magadha.

The position of Paṭhāri and the assertion of the independence of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa governors thereof would warrant the inference that this family of Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatories in Central India became feudatories of the Gurjjaras, and by fighting successfully against the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas, made for themselves an independent position by transforming the military fief that was conferred upon them either by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor, or the Gurjjara ruler, into an independent kingdom of their own, in the century immediately following and amidst the innumerable changes of fortune between the Gurjjaras and the

[27] Fleet, *Bom. Gaz.*, I. ii, p. 402 and p. 408 for a specific reference to a rebellion of the tributary Rāṣṭrakūṭas against the accessions of Amoghavarṣa.

[28] Fleet, *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I. part 2, page 394.

Rāṣṭrakūṭas. This feudatory family played their part apparently so well that they removed themselves to the eastern part of their territory to be a little aside of the field of war. They quietly pursued their fortunes peacefully and created for themselves a kingdom in Magadha which bore the name Daṇḍabhukti as forming either a part or the whole of their former fief. As the late Dr. Hoernle points out, the end of the 9th century and the first decade of the 10th century find the old powers and the rising ones arranged in a kaleidoscopic pattern somewhat in this wise. The family of Chedis in Bundelkhand that was rising into importance had involved itself in a quarrel with the ruling prince of the Gurjjaras and got into an alliance with their enemy the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭa. The immediate neighbour of Chedi, the Chandel chief Yaśovarman who was rising into importance just then, had allied himself with the ruling Gurjjara.[23] Almost about the same period we find the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Magadha allying themselves with the Pālas of Gauḍa. The reference in the inscription of Krishna III that the Gurjjaras lost the hope of ever taking Kalañjara and Citrakūṭa is the result of this position. It seems therefore likely that Bihar was granted by the Gurjjaras or the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the first instance as Daṇḍabhukti to a family of Rāṣṭrakūṭas settled in Central India, who had so far developed this fief as to become in the generations immediately following almost an independent kingdom of their own.

The Pāla ruler of Daṇḍabhukti.

The ruler of Daṇḍabhukti, contemporary with Rājēndra Chola is stated in all his records alike to be Dharmapāla. About this time apparently Mahīpāla ruler of Gauḍa or Northern Bengal, had so far asserted his authority over the Karṇāṭa territory of Bihar, the ruler of which must have suffered a crushing defeat, possibly at the hands of the Gurjjara Mahīpāla and his feudatory allies rising in the immediate frontier, as to drive the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty into an eclipse. Dharmapāla ruling over Daṇḍabhukti therefore was apparently like the two others Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla who have left records in Benares, a relative of Mahīpāla governing for him the territory of Daṇḍabhukti at the time. The defeat of the Karṇāṭas by Mahīpāla, the Pāla king, and his

[23] *JRAS.*, 1904, p. 648.

conquest of the territory in consequence, are just possible on this basis, but it would, in the actual circumstances in which the fact is mentioned, be better to refer the defeat of the Karṇāṭakas to Mahīpāla, the Gurjjara. Commenting on the failure of Rājēndra's general to cross the Ganges and attack Mahīpāla of Gauḍa, Mr. Bannerji has the following: "Curiously enough he (Rājēndra Chola) did not attempt to cross the Ganges to the other side. The Tirumalai inscription being a *praśasti* does not mention such details, but the desired details are supplied by an ancient manuscript discovered by Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Sastri and now in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In 1893 the Mahamahopadhyaya published notes on a find of ancient Sanskrit manuscripts, among which was a drama named *Caṇḍa Kauśika* by Ārya Kṣēmīśvara. This play was enacted before the king by his order, and it contains a verse in which the king Mahīpāla I. is compared with Chandragupta and a people named Karṇāṭakas to the Nandas. So this contemporary work gives the credit of defeating the Karṇāṭakas to Mahīpāla. The *Karṇāṭakas seem to be the southerners, who invaded Bengal under Rājēndra Chola.* It appears that though Mahīpala I. was defeated by Rājēndra Chola when he crossed into Rāḍha from East Bengal, he prevented him from crossing the Ganges into Varēndra or Northern Bengal, and so the *Chola conqueror had to turn back from the banks of the Ganges.* The manuscript on which Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Sastri relies is not a modern one as it was copied in 1331 A.D. The invasion of the Chola king did not change the political divisions of the country, but had left one permanent mark in the shape of a body of settlers, who occupied the thrones of Bengal and Mithila as the Sēna and Karṇāṭa dynasties during the latter days of the Pālas."

Examination of Mr. Bannerji's views.

In this rather lengthy extract from Mr. Bannerji's paper there are a number of points connected with the Chola invasion of Bengal which require detailed consideration. The points which call for remark are (1) whether the drama *Caṇḍa Kauśika* was a play enacted before *Mahīpāla* of *Bengal*; (2) whether there were any Karṇāṭakas in the army of Rājēndra Chola for him to leave behind as a colony in Bengal which in the following century according to Mr. Bannerji rose to be rulers of Bengal itself; (3) whether the Chola conqueror turned back from the banks of the Ganges because he was defeated by the ruler of

the territory on this side of the river. I shall take them in the order in which I have noted them above. In regard to the drama *Caṇḍa Kauśika* the particular *śloka* concerned is set down below for ready reference.[30] This verse is described in the prose passage preceding it as "*apraśasti gāthā* (stanza in praise) which embodies the matter as those proficient in the knowledge of the past (*purāvidaḥ*) knew." Looking into the *gāthā* more closely the following facts stand out clear. As history knows Chandragupta adopted the policy of Chāṇakya, uprooted the Nandas and occupied the throne at Pāṭalīputra by taking possession of the capital as well as the territory, Magadha, of the Nandas. This is the first part of the *gāthā*. The second part says Chandragupta is born now as Mahīpāla, in order to uproot the Nandas who at the time had come into the world in the shape of the Karṇāṭas. There are two points of the four-footed comparison in the first part that do not come in for specific mention in the latter part of it. First there is no mention of the policy of Cāṇakya or anything similar; and secondly there is no mention of Magadha. As regards the first of these two defects the prose passage introducing this *gāthā* refers to it indirectly by saying that Mahīpāla was a king who was not to be restrained by the evil counsels of his ministers.[31] The second point, Magadha is certainly not specifically mentioned, but is obviously implied in the *śloka*. There will be no point in the comparison if the Karṇāṭas could not be referred to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who were the only reigning Karṇāṭas of the time, and the feudatory families from among themselves that they sent out as was pointed out above to govern distant provinces. It seems therefore warranted that the statement in the *gāthā* involves the conquest of Magadha and implies the extinction, at any rate a suppression for the time being, of the ruling dynasty of Magadha, the Karṇāṭas in this particular context. This leads us on to the second point of Mr. Banerji's argument that the Karṇāṭas were the garrison, or something similar, left by Rājēndra Chola in that region. It is impossible that any part of Rājēndra Chola's army could be considered Karṇāṭa in the ordinary sense of the term. It seems equally unwarranted to assume

[30] *Yaḥ saṁsṛtya prakṛtigahanām āryya Cāṇakya-nītiṁ*
jitvā Nandān Kusumanagaram Candragupto jigāya
Karṇāṭatvam dhruvamupagatān adya tānevа hantum
dordarpāḍhyaḥ sa punarabhavac Chrī Mahīpāla devaḥ

[31] *ādiṣṭosmi duṣṭāmatya buddhi vāgura alaṅghya siṁhavaṭhavā Śrī Mahīpāla devena.*

that Rājēndra ever had in mind occupation of enemy country. The purpose of the whole of his invasion was at the very most to compel the rulers of Bengal on this side of the Ganges to acknowledge allegiance to him. His real object such as we could infer from all that is known of this invasion will appear later. Granting that there was a contingent of the Karṇāṭa soldiers in the army of the invading Chola it seems at the very best doubtful that he would have left a distant province like Magadha in charge of what to him must have been a foreign contingent. Coming to the third point there is nothing in the evidence exhibited by Mr. Bannerji in this paper on the Pālas of Bengal, nor in the records available to me on the Chola side, to warrant any defeat inflicted by the ruler of Bengal upon the Chola. The limit of the Ganges seems to have been imposed upon the general by his own master. The real object of the invasion, apart from the epic motive, seems to have been the thorough conquest of Kaliṅgam which then, as traditionally before, was divided into three sections the Trikaliṅgam, and which his father Rāja Rāja claims to have brought under his influence.[32]

The Karṇāṭas of Caṇḍa Kauśika.

The conclusion therefore seems inevitable that the Karṇāta dynasty referred to in the *gāthā* of the *Caṇḍa Kauśika* is an older dynasty of Magadha which must have existed in that locality long anterior to the date of the Pāla king Mahīpāla. It would seem much better to refer the Mahīpāla of the *Caṇḍa Kauśika* to the Gurjjara king Mahīpāla of Kanouj. According to the investigations of the late Mr. Jackson, Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar and the late Dr. Hoernle, the Gurjjaras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were the hereditary enemies of each other, and at the commencement of the 9th century the Rāṣṭrakūṭas had the upper hand of it in Central India and asserted their authority so far as to drive Vatsarāja from the occupation of Bihar and Bengal into the deserts of Rajaputana itself. The Paṭhāri inscription of Parabala makes the point clear that Parabala and his father were influential rulers in the region, and perhaps the

[32] There is distinct reference to a Vaḍa-Kaliṅgam (North Kalinga) in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*. It is the failure of this ruler to pay tribute as distinct from that of Kaṭak (Cuttack), that brought on the great Kaliṅga War of Kulottuṅga I., Canto XI, St. 27. There are numbers of reference to the seven Kaliṅgas in the course of the work.

region adjoining in Magadha. Hence the explanation of the marriage alliance between Parabala's daughter Raññādēvi and Dharmapāla the Pāla king of Bengal. With the accession to power of Mihira Bhoja of the Gurjjaras, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa influence in Central India undergoes a visible decline. Bhoja and his successor Mahēndra Pāla extended the power and territory of the Gurjjaras to such an extent that Dr. Hoernle regards that the power of the Kanouj Gurjjaras reached its zenith under Mahēndra Pāla. According to the Bagumra grant Dhruva Rāja II. of Gujarat, for whom the date A.D. 866 is available, claims, "that, unaided, he easily put to flight the very strong army of the Gurjjaras which had been reinforced by *his kinsmen*; and that he defeated a powerful king called Mihira,"[83] Mihira Bhoja obviously. It was in the period immediately following that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Central India perhaps moved farther east, and the relative position of the allies indicated in a previous section came into active working to maintain the balance of power. It seems to be about that time that the Chedi rulers and the Chandels came into prominence in the region of Bundhelkhand and Central India, and that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas found it necessary to get into alliance with the ruler of Bengal. What exactly it was that brought about the change of relationship between the Gurjjaras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Magadha is not clear unless it be the alliance between the Chandels and Mahīpāla,[84] the territory of the former a great deal overlapping that of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Central India. Hence it seems a proveable hypothesis that the Karṇāṭas of Magadha that figure in the records of the Pāla kings of Bengal were the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who settled themselves in Central India, and cutting off political relationship with the mother dynasty made for themselves a kingdom first in Central India and subsequently in Magadha. It is the ascent to power of Mahīpāla, the Gurjjara, that brought them under a political eclipse so effectively that we lose sight of them altogether all through the tenth century. It is this fact that seems to be preserved in the *gāthā* of the *Caṇḍa Kauśika*. There is no need therefore to postulate a Karṇāṭaka contingent in Rājēndra Chola's army, and of its being left behind to hold the territory of Magadha in behalf of Rājēndra Chola.

[83] Fleet, *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part. 2, p. 409.
[84] *JRAS.*, 1904, pp. 647-8.

The General's tribute of Ganges water.

The Daṇḍabhukti of Dharmapāla therefore is Bihar from which the Chola general turned against Raṇaśūra and took his kingdom of Dakṣiṇa Lāḍa. He then marched east or north-east against Govindachandra of Bengal of whom we know as yet nothing. Turning from thence towards the mouths of the Ganges he took Uttara Lāḍa having frightened in the field of battle "Oṭṭa Mayīpāla". The general took the holy water of the Ganges and brought it down to his master who was then on the banks of the Godavari apparently on the march himself in support of his general, it may be for a further campaign overseas.

The tracing of this route of march for the general of Rājēndra becomes possible on the clear indication given by the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates that at least one of the main objects of the invasion was the bringing of the Ganges water. If this were all that was expected to be accomplished, it is apparent there is no particular reason that the general should have made any effort to cross the Ganges at all. The real object of the invasion seems, however, to have been the clearing of the flank for the over-seas expedition for which, for some reason or other, it was felt necessary that the whole of Orissa should be brought under Chola influence. Thus then Rājēndra's invasion of the north was to make an impression of his power upon the rulers on this side of the Ganges extending from perhaps Allahabad or Benares down to its mouth. Hence after leaving Daṇḍabhukti he had to attack Bengal, at least one part of it, then march southwards towards the Ganges-mouth attacking and putting under tribute probably the ruler of Rāḍha or Burdwan and going to the mouths of the Ganges, return towards the Godavari by way of the coast.

Who was the Mahīpāla attacked by the General?

Śloka 119 of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates states in clear terms "having defeated Mahīpāla and having taken possession of his fame and his jewels, the general brought to his master the water of the Ganges." The statement seems explicit that a Mahīpāla was defeated. In *śloka* 116 this record states clearly that Dharmapāla was defeated meaning apparently the ruler of Uttara Rāḍha. Then come in the details about the fetching of the Ganges water in the two *ślokas* following. Then occurs the mention of the defeat of Mahīpāla. The following *śloka* (120)

states that Rājēndra Chola himself captured a large number of elephants of the monarch of Orissa whom he killed in battle along with his brother and his army. It is in the course of this battle that Rājēndra Chola performed the feat of striking down dead a mad elephant furiously charging his own. Then having conquered by the great army that he sent forward, Kaṭhāha, he brought "the whole of the earth" under his authority and protected it for a long time. He then returned to his capital and set up there a "pillar of victory" made of the water of the Ganges which became famous in the world under the name Cholagaṅgam. For my present purposes the points to be noted in this account are (1) the conquest by the general of the region intervening the mouth of the Ganges and perhaps Orissa proper, defeating Mahīpāla there; (2) his joining forces with his master and going forward to attack the king of Orissa who was defeated and killed in battle; and (3) the sending of the naval invasion after these two events. In regard to No. 1, the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates are explicit, and the Tamil records properly understood would be equally clear; but hitherto the Tamil records have been somewhat misunderstood owing to imperfections in the writing, and this misunderstanding has been fruitful of errors in respect of the identification of the Mahīpāla of this campaign with the Mahīpāla of Gauḍa or Bengal. When first the Tamil records were published the record was apparently read *Mahīpāla of Śaṅgukkōṭṭam*. This misunderstanding arose from the fact that the inscription actually contained the expression *Śaṅgoṭṭamahīpāla*. The reading actually is, in the Tirumalai inscription, *Vaṅgāla-dēsamun-doḍugaḍar-chaṅgugoṭṭan-Mahīpalanai*. The variant is given in a footnote *Toḍu-gaḻar-chaṅguv-oṭṭal*.[55] It is this reading that led to the inference of a place Śaṅgukkōṭṭam of which Mahīpāla was the ruler. The same expression is given in the inscription 7-A of Nalamaṅgala taluk, Bangalore district, as *Toḍu-kaḍar-Śaṅgoṭṭal-Mayīpālalai*. It is apparent that in this particular reading the last letter is an error for *nai*. So it is likely that the *l* at the end of the word previous is a mislection also. Turning to 84 of Channapaṭna in the same district you have the reading *Toḍu-kaḍar-Śaṅgamoṭṭa-Mahīpālanai* which gives apparently the correct reading. Accepting this reading, the meaning of the whole expression would be that the

[55] *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 232.

person referred to is "Oṭṭa-Mahīpāla of Śagṅama which touches the sea." The first three words in full in Tamil would be Toḍukaḍar-Chaṅgamam, which means the river mouth which touches the sea. This gives altogether a different significance to the whole expression. It means nothing more than that the particular Mahīpāla's territory was on the sea-shore beginning with the mouth of the Ganges. The word *Oṭṭa*, the Tamil for *Oḍḍa*, placed before Mahīpāla defines the position of the ruler more closely than even the geographical adjuncts preceding. The word Mahīpāla is capable of being rendered merely king. It can also be a proper name Mahīpāla. As it occurs in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates the rendering that Mahīpāla was the proper name would be more acceptable. In the generality of the Tamil records either of the renderings will do equally well. Whether the word actually stands for a person Mahīpāla, or merely the king of the locality, it must be an *Oḍḍa* or Orissa king, and not Mahīpāla king of Bengal under any circumstances. The distinct personality of the ruler of Vaḍa-Kaliṅgam (North Orissa) in the *Kaliṅgattuparaṇi* would warrant a distinct ruler for the coast portion of Kaliṅgam, extending from the Mahānadī or Vaitaraṇī to the mouths of the Ganges. It is apparently the king of this north Kaliṅgam that is referred to in the inscriptions as Oṭṭa Mayīpāla. It seems clear therefore that Rājēndra's general did not come into direct contact with Mahīpāla of Bengal at all, unless it be through Dharmapāla of Daṇḍabhukti; and that the Mahīpāla who actually finds mention in the inscriptions is Mahīpāla of North Orissa. The conclusion indicated previously seems therefore warranted that the object of Rājēndra's invasion was limited to this side, on the nearer bank of the Ganges, and that therefore the assumption of any battle between the Chola army and the army of the Pāla king of Bengal is on the facts available unwarranted.

The Object of the Conquest of these Regions.

The second point: that the general brought the Ganges water to the Chola monarch on the banks of the Godaveri, the marching together of the monarch and the general into the territory of Orissa and the definite defeat of the king of Orissa with his brother in battle, are incidents that are described clearly only in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates. The other inscriptions mention the defeat of Orissa in general terms, and pass on to the details of the overseas expedition. The

additional details given in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates make the object of this invasion very clear, that is, the conquest of the whole country of Orissa, namely, the coast region and the country set over against it in the interior reaching up to the banks of the Ganges. Possibly it gives us an indication of what exactly is to be understood by the several references in the Tamil work *Kaliṅgattuparaṇi* of the seven Kaliṅgams (*Saptakaliṅgam*). The invasion therefore had no further object apparently than the complete subjugation of Kaliṅgam. This was particularly necessary in view of the overseas expedition that must have become necessary for some reason or other, and it will appear in the course of the narrative of that expedition that the Kaliṅgas were possibly rivals in the oversea empire in connection with which the overseas expedition was actually undertaken. All Rājēndra's records uniformly state that, having reached the mouth of the Ganges and having defeated the ruler there and brought Orissa under subjection, the expedition set forward in ships which drew out to mid-sea and set sail from there. The actual starting point of the expedition therefore was in the coast region of Kaliṅgam. Would the inference then not be warranted that the fleet of ships was got ready and the expedition set forward from Pālūr, the "Apheterion" of Ptolemy? This Pālur, Col. Gerini locates on the banks of the Ganjam (or Ṛṣikulya) river and has satisfactorily identified it with Pālūr bluff of the sailors, which is near Pālūr village, which again is not very far from the present day port of Gopalpūr.[38]

The overseas expedition : its objective.

According to these records of Rājēndra, a fleet of ships was got ready which drew out to sea and set forward from there against a king of the name Saṅgrāmavijayōttungavarman of Kaḍāram. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates do not give the name of the king, but mention the country as Kaṭāha. Before proceeding to consider the details of the expedition we shall have to settle what exactly the country was against the ruler of which Rājēndra sent out the expedition. The mention of the name Kaḍāram in the form Kaṭāha in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates would make the two places the same and establish the equations, Sans. *kaṭāha* equals Tam. *kaḍāram*. This place, the Kaḍāram of the inscriptions,

[38] Col. G. E. Gerini, M.R.A.S., *Researches in Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, p. 743.

had hitherto been identified with Burma, and of the other places mentioned in connection with this particular invasion the only place that was at all satisfactorily identified was Takkola. The identification of Kaḍāram with Burma stands upon a very slender footing as it seems, and cannot be held to be at all satisfactory. The large *Leiden Grant* of the year A.D. 1006 which made a grant of land to the Buddhist Vihāra at Negapatam, at the instance of the ruler of Kaṭāha gives a certain number of details regarding the monarch and his country. The Sanskrit part of the charter describes the ruler as Śrī Māravijayōttuṅgavarman son of Cūḍāmaṇivarman. He is said to have belonged to the Śailēndra Vaṁśa (the dynasty of Śailēndra), and was the *Adhipati* (ruler) of Śrī Viṣaya ruling over Kaṭāha. The Tamil part of the same charter describes Cūḍāmaṇivarman as the Rāja of Kaḍāram. We find again here Kaṭāha equated with Kaḍāram, and the ruler is described alike as the ruler of Kaḍāram and Śrī Vijaya. So whatever country Kaḍāram may be identified with will have to answer the other details as well. The ruler of Katāha was also the ruler of Śrī Viṣaya. The one may be the capital city and the other the name of the kingdom. It might just as well be that these two may be two parts of the territory ruled over by this dynasty of rulers. The identification therefore is of the utmost importance. To make confusion worse confounded we get another name in Tamil literature which in spite of apparent confusion does seem to throw some light actually. The early classical Tamil poem *Paṭṭinappālai* refers to the wealth of Kāḷaham among the imports into Kāvēripaṭṭaṇam. The commentator, who must have lived sometime about the thirteenth century, equates Kāḷaham with Kaḍāram.[37] Among the places from which imports are referred to in this particular connection the imports from Kāḷaham are described in general terms as "articles of consumption", the last word being used in the technically economic sense of the term. Noting this point we have arrived at this, that Kāḷaham and Kaḍāram are Tamil variants of the same name, or at least two names of the same place, the corresponding Sanskrit name for the locality being Kaṭāha.

[37] *Paṭṭinappālai*, line 191, and Nachchinārkiniyar's comment thereon. Mah. Svāminathaiyar's foot-note giving Burma as its equivalent is based on the epigraphist's identification.

Identification of Kaḍāram.

The records of Rājēndra makes it clear that the invasion was undertaken against the ruler of Kaḍāram. It would be necessary, first of all, therefore to settle where Kaḍāram was, and then, who the ruler of the locality was against whom Rājēndra felt it necessary to send an invasion. Reference was already made to the ruler of Kaḍāram who was on terms of alliance apparently with the great Chola Rāja Rāja, father of Rājēndra. The Kaḍāram under reference therefore is apparently the same Kaḍāram whose ruler applied for and obtained permission to grant a benefice to the Buddhist Vihāra in Negapatam. To identify Kaḍāram with Burma, there is perhaps very little ground, and the details in the inscription of Rājēndra would make it clearly impossible that Kaḍāram could refer to a country like Burma. The older epigraphists were led to the identification by the mention of the name Śrī Viṣaya which was equated with the name Śrī Kṣētra the name of the ancient capital of Burma, old Prome. This place is not reachable except by sailing up the river Irawady for a very considerable distance from its mouth. Such a position is hardly tenable when the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* describes it as Kaḍāram "with its surrounding vast waters"[33] which Kulottuṅga is said to have destroyed "on a previous occasion", an occasion previous to the conquest of Kaliṅga celebrated in the poem. Kaḍāram therefore must of necessity be an island, or at least a coast country, and we shall have to find a place accordingly. The researches of Col. Gerini upon the geography of Ptolemy leads him to the possibility of the identification of Kaḍāram or Kaṭāha with one of three places: first Kortatha of Ptolemy, which he identifies with a place of that name in East Borneo among certain alternatives[39]; second with Akadra or Kadranj on the east shore of the Gulf of Siam; and lastly with Kerti, more anciently Katarai or Katrea, on a river of the same name in the north coast of Sumatra. He seems apparently to reject the identification with Kattigara of Ptolemy, which is, according to him, Canton in China. There are various other places which he refers to incidentally as being possible of identification with this, and concludes by saying "in the absence of more particulars the final solution of the puzzle had best be left to Indianists who, after an examination of all the information available in South Indian records on Kaḍāram, should be able to decide with

[33] Canto 6, St. 8, 18, 25. [39] Note 1, page 568.

which of the places we have suggested above it should be preferably identified."[40] Accepting the responsibility thus thrown upon the Indianists, we shall identify Kaḍāram with the Katrea on the north coast of Sumatra, and explain our reasons presently. We have already pointed out that Kulottuṅga's (A.D. 1070–1118) poet laureate Jayaṅgoṇḍān refers to a destruction of Kaḍāram by Kulottuṅga in the war poem *Kaliṅgattuparaṇi.* The commentator Nachchinārkiniyar who must have lived not very long after him identifies Kāḷaham with Kaḍāram, and refers to her articles of consumption among the imports into the Chola capital Kāvēripaṭam. Among the articles the various missions from San-fo-ch'i took to the court of China occur a number such as rock-crystal, petroleum, ivory, olibanum, rosewater, dates and flat peaches, white sugar, finger rings of rock-crystal, glass bottles and coral trees, medicines, perfumes, drugs, etc. There was also some quantity of cotton cloth apparently. These could be described as articles of consumption. The Kaḍāram known to south India therefore was presumably the place of similar name in Sumatra as San Fo-ch'i is located in Sumatra. It was already pointed out that in the large Leiden Grant the Raja of Kaḍāram is associated with a place Śrī Viṣaya. This latter is written Śrī Viṣaya in Sanskrit; but several of the Tamil records of Rājēndra Chola write down the place as Śrī Viśaya. There are some of them however that write it down as Śrī Vijaya. Vijaya and Viśaya could be considered equivalent in Tamil: the *j* of the first word being a *grantha* letter which could be represented in Tamil only by the *ś*. So far as the Tamil records are concerned, therefore, there is no difficulty; but the Sanskrit Viṣaya introduces a difficulty in regard to the equation. This wrong equation may be merely due to the rendering of the Tamil word *Viśaya* into Sanskrit *Viṣaya* without any attempt at giving the exact Sanskrit equivalent to the name, a feature that one very often meets with in the Sanskrit rendering of vernacular names. If Śrī Vijaya could be satisfactorily located it would in itself give the clue to the exact identification of Kaḍāram. Old Prome was called Śrī Kṣētra, and this might be taken to be what was in the mind of the writer of the document where the name is given as Śrī Viṣaya. That equation may now be dismissed as untenable as at least in the century immediately following the period with which we are directly concerned

[40] Op. cit., p. 833.

that part of the country was known by the name Ramaññadēśa. Therefore that was not apparently the place from which the embassy came to Rāja Rāja. There is a Śrī Vijaya in Lower Siam at the head of the Gulf of Siam. That may suit if we can take Kaḍāram as the equivalent of Akadra. For the other details this might do except that it involves sailing round the Malay peninsula, or getting across the Isthmus of Kra, for either of which there is no warrant in the records of Rājēndra as we have them. Among the number of places mentioned in connection with Śrī Vijaya, and those rather closely connected with Kaḍāram itself as a country, occur places like Takkolam, Ilāmuridēśam and Mānakkāvaram. Leaving aside the other places for the present these seem to be identifiable without error. Mānakkavāram is undoubtedly the great Nicobar islands; Takkolam is the port of Takopa, not far from the river Takopa in the Malay peninsula set over against Sumatra. Ilāmuridēśam is the exact Tamil equivalent of the Arabic Lamēri, sometimes written as Lambri, in the northern extremity of Sumatra. These occur in intimate connection with Kaḍāram among the places that Rājēndra took in the course of this invasion. That leaves us in little doubt that Kaḍāram was a place in Sumatra, and as such Śrī Vijaya wherefrom Rājēndra carried off the triumphal arch must be the Capital of the ruler of Kaḍāram, or at least the headquarters principality of the ruling dynasty. According to Abu Zaid [41] the Maharaja of Zabej ruled over a large number of islands stretching for a distance of 1,000 *parasangs* (2,400 miles or more). Among his possessions are mentioned Sarbaza or Serboza equivalent of Śrī Bhoja on the east coast of Sumatra, modern Palembang; Rami equal to Bambri or Lameri, and Kālah in the Malay peninsula just opposite ruled in the time of Abu Zaid by the Jabha prince of India. Śrī Bhoja had the alternative name Śrī Rāṣṭra [42] which may be rendered in Sanskrit, Śrī Viṣaya. The State of Palembang in Sumatra was known up to the middle of the eighth century to the Chinese by the name *Shih-li Fo-shi* in T'ang history. When the State appears again in the Sung annals in the second half of the tenth century it is referred to in the form *San Fo-ch'i* (*San Fōt-tsai, San Fūt-zai*).[43] The first name is phonetically the equivalent of the Sanskrit Śrī Bhoja; the second (*San Fūt-zai*) seems to come near to the Sanskrit Śrī Vijaya. Śrī Bhoja to Śrī Vijaya is a transformation that one

[41] A.D. 888 to 916. [42] Op. cit., p. 567. [43] Op. cit., p. 614.

could understand when the state of Palambang rose to some kind of importance and built up for itself an empire in the period intervening the eighth and the tenth centuries. It would be ordinary vanity in the ruler to give his territory, preferably the capital city in it, the name Śrī Vijaya if he conquered and brought under subjection the neighbouring territory of the Tamil colonists and others. That seems what exactly is reflected in the change of the name for an analogy to which we might take the name Vijayanagar the name of the great mediæval empire of India, the city being called Vijayanagar in preference to Vidyānagar as a result of the vast conquests that those responsible for the new foundation made in the first period of its existence.[44] Śrī Vijaya therefore would thus be the eleventh century name for the state of Palembang which at the time had apparently conquered the neighbouring states in Sumatra as well as in the Malaya Peninsula opposite, and this is what we find stated by Mas'udi where he speaks of the empire of the Maharaja being conterminous with India. This position of Kaḍāram as essentially the island state of the empire would justify the attribute, already referred to in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, that Kaḍāram was washed by the sea, and would warrant the expression used in Rājēndra's inscriptions that he sent his fleet of ships "across the middle of the sea lashing with waves." If Rājēndra's fleet set sail either from Pālūr, the modern Gopalpūr, or from any where near the mouth of Ganges it must have had to sail amid sea to go to Kaḍāram, and the sending out of the fleet of ships in the middle of the sea would be just the expression to describe it. This has no reference to any peaceful mission, but is a continuation of the war against Orissa the causes of which are not explained to us though we can see exactly what they must have been. Kaḍāram then is Kerti on the north-east coast of Sumatra, and Śrī Viṣaya is Śrī Vijaya of this period, and Śrī Bhoja of an earlier; in either case equivalent to the modern Palembang.

Historical Evidence.

About the middle of the tenth century, the Empire of Śrī Bhoja (Vijaya) apparently underwent an expansion. Mas'udi says as was already pointed out, having reference to A.D. 943, that the empire of the Maharaja was conterminous with India, meaning apparently, India on the farther side of the Ganges, referring to Pegu and Burma. His

[44] *vijitya viśvam Vijayābhidhānām viśvēttaram yo nagarīm vyadatta.*

palace is described as having been built upon the edge of a tank, wherein, according to tradition, he caused a gold ingot to be cast every morning. Hence the tank came to be called "gold bars poud." Serira or Sarirah (Śrī Raṭṭa or Śrī Rāṣṭra) was one of the islands among his possessions; others being, as was already pointed out, Zanj or Zanej (Zabej ?), Ramni, etc. Therefore then, about this period it underwent an expansion which implied the passing under the rule of this Mahārājā of the possessions immediately adjoining, of which perhaps a considerable number were Tamil colonies and settlements. Embassies from San Fo-ch'i begin to appear in the court of China from this time onward at frequent intervals. About the end of the century there was a war between San Fo-ch'i and a state She-p'o. Tidings of these hostilities were received in China and even an application was made for Chinese intervention. During this period Sarbaza was the island on which the Maharaja resided according to Al-Faras. This statement is confirmed by Abul-Feda, who says that the largest of the islands forming Zabej is called Sarirah, 400 miles north and south, and 160 miles across, containing the capital town in the middle. The further details given by this writer who quotes Ibn-Sa'id (A.D. 1274), make us understand that at the time of the latter Zabej was the name applied to the whole island Sarbaza or Serirah being alternative names of its capital.[45] Hence it is clear that the island was under a dynasty of rulers, who extended its territory to occupy all Sumatra, the adjacent islands and a considerable portion of country on the peninsula set over against it. We have next a reference which leads to the identification more closely. In A.D. 1003 two envoys arrived at the Chinese court from a king Sz-li Chu-lo-mu-ni Fu-ma-t'iau-hwa. The embassy relates to the construction of a Buddhist temple, and applied for the exhibition of the emperor's benevolence by the giving of a suitable name to the temple and the presentation of bells. The name thus written is rendered by Col. Gerini as Śrī Cūḍāmaṇi Bhumyadēva, or Bhūpa-dēva; the latter part of the name seems however to be the Chinese transliteration for Varmadēva, the whole name reading Cūḍāmaṇi Varma Dēva. In the year A.D. 1021 this Cūḍāmaṇivarma Dēva's son Māra Vijayōttuṅgavarman sent an embassy to the Chola king Rāja Rāja I requesting his sanction to the gift of the village of Ānaimaṅgalam to the Cūḍāmaṇi Vihāra in

[45] Gerini, op. cit., p. 572.

Negapatam built in the name of his father Cūḍāmaṇivarma. Is not this Cūḍāmaṇivarma the father of Māra Vijayōttunga, the Cūḍāmaṇi varma of this embassy to China in A.D. 1003? There is another reference in *Ma Tuan-lin* to a mission to China from the Chola himself in the year A.D. 1015. The Chu-lien king is named there Lo-ch'a-lo-ch'a, clearly Rāja Rāja (A.D. 985–1016).[46] The next Chinese reference we come to is in the *Sung-shi* quoted by Professor Hirth and referring to two missions from Chu-lien one of date A.D. 1033 from Shih-li Lo-ch'a Yin-to-lo Chu-lo, and the other in A.D. 1077 from Ti-wa-ka-lo.[47] The learned Professor, however has gone wrong altogether in identifying Chu-lien with Orissa, and equating the ruler's name with members of the Kēsari dynasty. The first of the two names given above is unmistakably Śrī Rāja-Indra-Chola, and the second name is the exact equivalent of Dēva Kula. The full name of the latter ruler must have been Rājēndradēva Kulōttuṅga, of which the terminal syllable of the first word and the first syllable of the second seem all that are written in Dēva-Kula. The other details given in Chau Ju-kua's record work out quite well for the Chola country and the imperial Chola dynasty. Among the names that he transcribes in the course of this article he refers to a certain number of divisions ending in a word which he equates with the word *pura*, and he is in doubt whether he should equate them with towns or with wards. The reference is to 32 *puras* (*pulo* of the Chinese) which undoubtedly means the principal towns in the empire, and that is made absolutely clear by what he himself says in the note containing the list. That four of them end in *paṭam* (Ch. *p'u-teng*), and as many as 12 of them end in *maṅgalam* (Ch. *mung-ka-lan*, equated wrongly with Mangalore), is the clearest possible indication that it refers to the Tamil country and to the Chola empire proper.

The second mission was composed of 72 ambassadors and carried a variety of articles as tribute, "glass-ware, camphor, brocades (called *kim-haw*, kincob?), rhinoceros horns, ivory, incense, rose-water, *putchuck*, asafœtida, borax, cloves, etc.", for which they received as a return gift 81,800 strings of copper cash, which according to Professor Hirth is of the value of about as many dollars. This list of articles would more suitably be the articles sent by a state from the East

[46] Gerini, op. cit., p. 609

[47] *JRAS.* for 1896, pp. 489–490, note 2, superseded by Chau Ju-kua, translated by F. Hirth and V. W. Rockhill, pp. 92–102

Indian Archipelago somewhere rather than from India. The inference therefore seems warranted that it was a mission sent by the imperial Chola monarchs in behalf of their possessions in the East Indies. If so the expansion of the kingdom of Śrī Bhoja necessarily meant the coming of the kingdom into hostility with the overseas possessions of the Cholas. Hence the expedition of Rājēndra Chola, which, perhaps for nautical as well as for political convenience, set sail from somewhere in the Gangetic gulf after king Rājēndra and his general had successfully brought under control the rulers of Kaliṅga whose alliance with Śri Bhoja was probably anticipated by this move. Rājēndra's invasion is dated A.D. 1025 and was directed against Sangrāmavijayōttuṅgavarman of Kaḍāram. Almost 20 years before Māravijayōttuṅgavarman was on terms of friendship with Rāja Rāja, and just a few years before that the rulers of Śrī Bhoja had built or endowed the Buddhist Vihāra in Negapatam. Hence Rājēndra's enterprise was not a mere mission of peace to the East Indies, although the mission to China certainly must have been of that character.

Other Details.

From the Chola records themselves we obtain the names of three successive rulers of Kaḍāram, namely, Cūḍāmaṇivarman, his son Māravijayōttuṅgavarman, and his successor Sangrāmavijayōttuṅgavarman. The information available to us from Chinese sources seem to give us the name Cūḍāmaṇivarman with date A.D. 1003 as was already indicated. We have record of another mission of date 1008 from a king whose name is written Sz-li Ma-lo-p'i which Col. Gerini attempts to render Śrī Maruvi or Mallāvi or Maruppiya. It looks, however that the name is somewhat contracted from the second name of the Chola records, Māravijayōttuṅgavarman. It could be rendered, I think, Śrī Māra correctly enough. It is only the last group of sounds *p'i* that is not rendered. Can it be the first syllable of the word *vijaya*? If that should prove correct, we get the second name from Chinese sources also. Another mission is under reference with date A.D. 1017 and the name of the king is there given as Hsia-chih-su Wu-ch'a-pu-mi which Col. Gerini again renders Adhi-su-Bhoja-bhūmi. This seems to be the rendering apparently of another name of the king (Śrī Vijayavarman ?), whoever he be. The next mission which falls within the period of Rājēndra Chola is of date A.D. 1028

from a king Sz-li Tieh-wa, which is rendered Śrī Dēva which could mean no more than the king, although it is just possible it could be the actual name of a ruling sovereign. Then follow a number of very interesting references which refer to Chu-lien, the Chola country, having become tributary to San Fo-ch'i (Śrī Bhoja). They are of dates ranging from A.D. 1077 to 1106, all of which fall within the reign of the great Chola Kulottuṅga, who is credited, as was pointed out already, with the destruction of Kaḍāram. The inference that the Chu-lien of these references in the Chinese records is the Chola empire on the continent of India is entirely unsustainable by what we know of the history of that empire under Kulottuṅga I. His was a reign of great prosperity, and expansion during which another great conquest of Kaliṅga took place, and, except the allusion to the destruction of Kaḍāram[43] already referred to, we have no positive evidence of his empire having expanded overseas either to the islands round Sumatra or to the Malaya Archipelago. It seems as though the outlying imperial possessions of the Chola in the regions of the Malaya Peninsula fell off from allegiance to the great Chola some time during his reign. The cause of this may well be the activity of the rulers of San Fo-ch'i who extended their own kingdom, by occupying the outlying possessions of the Cholas, and the statements contained in the Chinese historians probably refer to this transfer of the Chola possessions in this region to the government of Śrī Bhoja, and the Chu-lien of those references could at the very best refer to the Chola possessions in the East Indian Archipelago and no more. The so-called smaller Leiden Grant of the year A.D. 1090 (20th year of Kulottuṅga) refers to a grant made with the sanction of the Chola king by the ruler of Kiḍāram. The name of this ruler is not specifically given in the grant, but he is specifically stated to have built or repaired two Vihāras one of them called after the name of Rāja Rāja and the other after the name of Rājēndra Chola, apparently the two great Cholas, Rāja Rāja the Great, and Rājēndra, the Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Chola. Of these two, the Vihāra, Rāja Rājapperumpaḷḷi appears from the record itself to be another name of the old Vihāra built in the reign of Rāja Rāja himself and called formally Śrī Śailēndra Cūḍāmaṇivarma-vihāra, this

[43] This destruction might, after all, be an achievement of Kulōttuṅga, as a Prince when he might have accompanied the expedition sent by his grandfather, as his own inscriptions seem to imply, though A.D. 1025 would seem too early a date for this assumption.

renaming clearly indicating the recognised subordination of the rulers of Kaḍaram. Two of the ambassadors of the king are named, one of them Rāja Vidyādhara and the other Abhimānōttuṅga. On their application and with the approval of the Chola foreign minister Rāja-vallabha Pallavaraiyan the grant of land was ordered to be made. It is clear from this series of references that the great Cholas had the over-sea adjunct to their empire which was brought back into allegiance as a result of the invasion, apparently of Rājēndra Chola, and remained in that allegiance till sometime in the reign of the great Chola Kulot-tuṅga. The rulers of Śrī Bhoja were able gradually to absorb these into their own kingdom, the imperial Cholas neglecting to re-assert their authority. The expedition of Rājēndra Chola across the seas was a warlike act and not a mere peaceful mission sent out towards the east.

Other places mentioned in connection with the invasion.

Among the places mentioned in connection with this invasion we have already identified Kaḍāram with Kerti in Sumatra applied almost to the whole kingdom; Mānakkavāram with the great Nicobars; Ilāmuridēśam with Lameri or Lambri in the north-west coast of Sumatra; Takkolam with the 'Takopa' of Ptolemy, the port of the Takopa district in Malaya Peninsula. The other places may tentatively be identified as follows—Mādamāliṅgam with Balonka or Kāmalanka on the Malay Peninsula, set over against Sumatra in a direction north-east from the northern extremity of the island; Mēvilibaṅgam with Phang-nga, another port of the Takopa district in the same region; Māpappāḷam with Papera, Laṅkāśopam (for which there is the variant in the inscriptions themselves of Laṅkāśokam) may safely be identified with Langsuka in the interior of the Malaya Peninsula; Māyiruḍiṅgam may be Besinga (Ṛṣi-śṛnga), the modern Rangoon; Malaiyūr is in all probability the Malayu or Malaya in the extremity of the peninsula. Two places for which I am not able to suggest satisfactory identifications are Paṇṇai and Vilaippaṇḍūr. The first would seem to answer for Pani[49] on the east coast of Sumatra; but so much seems clear, that all these must be looked for in the region round the island of Sumatra and along the western face of the Malaya Peninsula without getting into Pegu or Burma.

[49] Gerini, Op. cit., p. 513.

The titles of Rājēndra Chola.

Rājēndra Chola assumed a large number of titles, most of which occur in his records. Several of them are names and titles that other Cholas had assumed either before him or after, such as, for instance, *Madhurāntaka, Uttama Chola, Vikrama Chola*, etc., but some of them are peculiar to himself alone and indicate the special achievements in consequence of which, he assumed those particular titles. Of these the first and most important is that of *Muḍikoṇḍa Chola*. This title of Rājēndra occurs frequently in place names and even in the names of irrigation canals. I know at least of one branch of the Kaveri which goes by the name Muḍigoṇḍān. I believe there is a village of the name also. This was a title that he assumed because he took possession as spoils of war of the crowns and crown jewels (1) of the Pāṇḍyas that they left in Ceylon for safe custody; (2) of the Ceylon King, Queen and Prince along with the royal regalia; and (3) the crown and the crown jewels of the Kēraḷa ruler kept for safety in a western island. Of these three it is only one for which we can look for confirmation. The Ceylon chronicle confirms in every detail Rājēndra's capture of the jewels alike of the Pāṇḍyas as well as of the Ceylonese. There is a slight discrepancy in the detail. This achievement of Rājēndra, he is given credit for in his inscriptions before his sixth year. The actual event therefore must be referred to his fourth or fifth year. That would mean about A.D. 1014–15 or thereabouts; whereas according to the Ceylon chronicle it is precisely referred to the year A.D. 1037, thus making a difference of 22 years. Dr. Hultzsch, who studied the two histories comparatively, points out that this difference does occur between the two histories and suggests that the mistake must have arisen in the period of interregnum that preceded the advent of the Chola power in Ceylon. The name Muḍigoṇḍa Chola was perpetuated in the royal palace that he constructed in Madura after his second conquest of the country and apparently on the occasion of the appointment of a Chola Prince as Viceroy with the special designation "Chola-Pāṇḍya." That prince was given charge of Kēraḷa also, taking in that particular capacity the title "Chola-Kēraḷa." Śoḷa-Pāṇḍya and Śoḷa-Kēraḷa occur as names of halls in temples in various places. The greatest monument of all that took this name is the royal city of Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśoḷapuram itself, which had the alternative name Muḍikoṇḍaśoḷapuram according to the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates. The next

title of importance is that of Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Chola, the Chola that brought the Ganges. The third of the wars described above has reference to this particular achievement, and hence the title *Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Chola*. Almost every Maṇḍapa of a particular character in a large number of temples round Kanchi go by the name Gaṅgaikoṇḍām-maṇḍapam. There is one village in Tanjore, and one in Tinnevelly which go by the name Gaṅgaikoṇḍān. Another one which occurs in epigraphical records and which unmistakably was a title of Rājēndra also was Kaḍāraṅgoṇḍān. This title has been handed down to us in the name of a village which goes by the name Kaḍāraṅgoṇḍān in the Tanjore district, and also in the more abbreviated introduction to his inscriptions which merely state *Pūrvadēśamum Gaṅgaiyum Kaḍāramuṁkoṇḍa Kōpparakēsari Varma* referring to Rājēndra. The first part of the expression *Pūrvadēśamum* used generally to be interpreted as the eastern country. The Chattisgarh division of the Central Provinces, the part of Mahākośala of old, appears in certain inscriptions as Pūrvarāṣṭra. Pūrvadēśam seems to be a Tamil rendering of this Pūrvarāṣṭra. The taking of Pūrvadēśam therefore would not be the vague conquests of the east, but may refer to the actual reduction to subordination of this part of Mahākośala country.[60] The taking of Kaḍāram has already been shown above to be a historical achievement. It is this that is reflected in the inscriptions of his son and successor who claims having had under the shadow of his sole umbrella the Ganges in the north, Laṅkā (Ceylon) in the south, Mahodai (Tiruvanjikulam in Cochin) in the west, and Kaḍāram in the east which had been taken, by means of his army, by Rājēndra Chola, his father, meaning apparently that that was the recognised limit of the Chola empire in the days of Rājādhirāja. That it was not altogether a fictitious kind of conquest is in evidence in the alliances and the exchange of amenities between the rulers of Kanouj and the Chola country in the generations following. We have already adverted to another title of Rājēndra Chola namely, Paṇḍita Chola. He was apparently a scholar and a man of a considerable amount of imagination who gives a new character of learning to the charters that issued from the court of the Chola. He seems to have been largely responsible for the introduction of a number of colonies of Brāhmaṇas from the north and of a new form

60 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 283.

of Śaivism. A quotation from the commentary *Siddhānta Sārāvaḷi* of Trilōcana Śivācārya states clearly that on the occasion of his visit to the Ganges to bathe there he saw the holy Śaivas, and on his return brought a number of them and settled them in his own country.

A great work of public utility.

Of the administrative achievements of the Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Chola we cannot take space on this occasion for any elaborate description. One or two points, however, deserve treatment in this connection. The great invasion to the banks of the Ganges and the bringing of the Ganges water, vainglorious and imaginative as they may appear at first sight, were turned to practical public benefit. The Ganges water was brought and run into the water of the Kaveri so that the whole new region round his new capital, probably only very recently reclaimed for cultivation, might not seem a novel imposition. He constructed for himself a "pillar of victory" made up entirely of the Ganges water, according to the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates. The meaning of this is that he brought the Ganges water and let it in into the huge irrigation tank that he constructed in the capital, the overflow of which in those days went to make up the present day Vīrāṇam tank with 74 sluices, one of the biggest irrigation tanks in the South Arcot district. The tank bed alone is left nowadays of this magnificent work of public utility, and the people of the locality call it Ponnēri which received its water supply from a channel specially brought into it from the river Coleroon. There is a well in the temple at the place the top structure is of the form of a lion, a feature that one often meets in various big temples of South India. The Ganges water was put into that well in the first instance and that well was connected with the tank by an underground sluice. Meaningless as it may appear to us, it perhaps served in those days to remove objections to new settlers coming into the locality irrigated by the tank, and thus served the useful purpose of supplying the much needed agricultural labour to transform the comparatively barren country into a cultivated district. The vast wealth that he brought in as conqueror was utilised not merely to adorn his great capital, which in the first instance was built for strategical reasons, but was also liberally used for the purpose of transforming the uncultivated waste into an agricultural district with a plentiful supply of water.

Promotion of Education.

His anxiety for ministering to the public good did not stop here. Like his predecessors he was also liberal in his gifts to temples and institutions connected with them. That a considerable portion of these grants were turned to useful purposes of education, and education of an organised character, is evidenced in a few grants that have recently been brought to light.

An inscription of this Great Chola from a village in the South Arcot District called Eṇṇāyiram makes provision for an educational institution attached to the temple in the locality. In regard to the provision for education, we have hitherto had a very large number of references to provision made for items of learning which would be of the nature of a grant to the individuals for acquiring some kind of "Holy Writ" generally. There are a number of references to such provision made for the recitation of Hymns of *Tēvāram*, of parts of *Tiruvāśagam* and of either part, or the whole of the Vaishṇava Prabandham called generally the *Nālāyira Prabandham*. There are also records of similar provisions for the reading of *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* generally in temples. There is a recently discovered inscription of the tenth century which makes provision for the propounding of the *Prabhākara* in the Nāgēśvara temple at Kumbhakonam. There is an inscription, in Tiruvoṟṟiyūr where a large provision is made for the maintenance of a pavilion called Vyākaraṇa Maṇḍapam which seems to be as much for the celebration of the festival of Śiva's gift of grammar to the grammarian Paṇini, and for the study and teaching of grammar, apparently Sanskrit grammar. There is another record in the same place which provides for the teaching of Śiva Dharma and Siddhānta both meaning of course the teaching of Śaiva theology generally. But none of them makes any provision, so far as we have information at present, for any regularly organised institution such as a college for imparting instruction in such learning as was followed in those days. The new record from Eṇṇāyiram (No. 333 of 1917) exhibits in full detail, provision that was made for what would perhaps nowadays be described as a theological college attached to the temple at the place. It was composed of a college and a hostel for Vedic study. The record begins with an introduction describing the great invasion of the north, and of the splendid return of the conqueror from this great invasion of Uttarāpatha.

He is said to have built a hall called Gaiṅgaikoṇḍa-śoḷan apparently in the temple. In another connection, a palace with a similar name Muḍigoṇṇḍa-śoḷan is said to have been built in Madura by this monarch, "by the weight of which even the earth became unsteady." The record at Eṇṇāyiram was appparently indited at the instance of the assembly of Rāja Rāja Caturvēdimaṅgalam ordinarily known by the name of Eṇṇāyiram. This assembly made the following provision to the Paramasvāmin (the Supreme Lord) in order to secure success to the arms of the king. The God is described as standing "with a fierce appearance." The charity makes provision, as was already said, for a hostel and a college for Vedic study. The staff of the college was composed of :—

1. Four professors for the recitation of the *Tiruvāymoḷi*, the hymns of Nammāḷvār, in the temple,
2. Three professors to teach the *Ṛg-Veda*,
3. Three to teach the *Yajur-Veda*,
4. One professor for the *Chāndogya* (*Sāma-Veda*),
5. One for the *Talavakāra* (*Sama-Veda*),
6. One for the *Vājasanēya* (*White Yajur-Veda*),
7. One for teaching *Baudhāyanīya Gṛhya Sūtra*, the *Kalpa Sūtra* and the *Kāṭhaka*.

There was also a teacher for expounding the *Rūpāvatāra*, one for teaching Vyākaraṇa; and another for expounding the *Prabhākara*; last of all came a professor for expounding the Vēdānta. Thus there were fourteen professors, each of them on an average receiving one kalam of paddy a day. The Vyākaraṇa professor received a little more than others while the Rūpāvatāra lecturer was valued at only one quarter of the rest of them. They received in addition a money payment also, which is put down as ½ *kaḻanjus* of gold each, it may be, monthly. The Vyākaraṇa professor getting a preference even here of 8 *kaḻanjus* of gold.

The number of students that were educated in this college fall into two grades; one group of a lower standing whose business was probably to get by heart the Vedas and the Sūtras. These were distributed as follows:—75 were studying *Ṛg-Veda*, 75 *Yajur-Veda*, 20 *Chāndogya Sāma*, 20 *Talavakāra Sāma*, 20 Vyākaraṇa, 10 studying the *Atharva*, though no separate professor is provided for this, and 10 the *Baudhāyanīya Gṛhya*, *Kalpa* and *Gana*. There were besides 40 students

studying *Rūpāvatāra*, thus making a total of 270. These were young bachelors (*brahmacārins*) for whom the daily provision was six *nāḻi* of paddy.

The more advanced students were 70 in number of whom 25 were learning grammar (Vyākarṇam), 35 were learning Mimāmsa Philosophy (the *Prabhākaram*) and 10 were learning the Vēdānta Philosophy. The grand total of students was thus 340. These were all fed in the Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-śoḻan-maṇḍapam and were apparently taught in various other parts of the temple.

The total annual expenditure upon these institutions was 10,506 *kalams* of paddy and 61½ *kaḻanjus* of gold. The *kaḻanju* is probably the weight of gold which appears to have answered for a certain multiple of the current coin. At this time, the *kāśu*, the gold coin of the Cholas, was perhaps, a quarter of the *kaḻanju*. To provide for this income both in coin and kind, 45 *vēlis* (*vēli*=6⅔ acres) of land was set apart in two villages in the same district. Having given these detailed directions to the assembly, King Rājēndra ordered "in the presence of Kāli Ēkāmranār, the head of the village, that they should not show in the account books, any more taxes than $\frac{1}{16}$ *Mā* and one *Paḍakku* against the persons residing in the said two villages and cultivating the 45 *vēlis* of land." This grant of land indicates the existence of organised institutions for the purpose of imparting instruction.

From the point of view of our times the instruction imparted may be regarded as one-sided; but the grant is to a temple and the arrangement is in connection with the temple. The instruction would naturally partake of the character of religious instruction, and the institution that of a theological seminary. The inference, would seem, however, to be unwarranted that this was always the character of provision made for these institutions. Another record in the same place is available in an imperfect condition, and shows that provision was made for feeding five hundred and six Brāhmaṇas among whom were Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas in general and Śrī Vaishṇavas. Whether these five hundred and six included the three hundred and forty students is not clear. It is just possible that the number included those who were appointed for the chanting of the *Tiruvāymoḻi*, the *Tiruppaḍigam*, the *Tiruppugaḻ*, and those who uttered the *Ṣaḍ Yajñam*. There is a peculiar gift mentioned as *Jātaka Dakṣiṇā* which meant the presentation of a gold flower and a gold ring on the day of the

birth of Krishna (*Jayanti Aṣṭami*), to those Brāhmaṇas who completed the study of the *Ṛg*, the *Yajur* and the *Sāma Vedas*, in token of conferment of the degree. The provision that was made for this seems to have been made over to the merchant class of the city whose duty it was to supply excellently husked rice at the hostel at the rate of "two to five of paddy" for fifty Brāhmaṇas. The daily supply of firewood was looked after by the village provision-committee (*ūrvāryam*). The body of merchants who received this money in trust are described as "the Brāhmaṇa and the Vaḷanjiya (Banijaga) merchants who traded in the South Bazaar", who agreed to supply sugar and other requirements in lieu of the interest on the sum lent. All the excess ghī, milk and curds received over and above the requirements of the temple were to be made over to the hostel. Here again it is the Brāhmaṇa that comes in for the gift. Another record of the year, however makes provision for conducting a hostel (*śālai*) which fed daily fifty Brāhmaṇas and ten Śiva-yogins who were also supplied with oil for bathing. This record makes further provision for a free-school (*Dharmapaḷḷi*). It also provides for three water-sheds.

This gives us clearly to understand that institutions whose object was education—such as education was understood to be about eight hundred years from our date—did exist and something like even free-schools were known in those days. It may be noted that Rājēndra Chola's reign extended from A.D. 1011 to A.D. 1042, and possibly A.D. 1044. That this was not a mere isolated special arrangement is evident from the following which shows a continuity of policy in this matter both under his son and successor Rājādhirāja, and another son who succeeded him later Vīra Rājēndra.

Rājādhirāja's Foundations.

Inscription No. 176 of App. C. comes from a place Tribhuvani in the South Arcot District. The full name of the place is Tribhuvanamahādēvi-chaturvēdi-maṅgalam and is dated 30th year of Rāja Kēsarivaraman Rājādhirāja, A.D. 1018–1055. The record is actually of date A.D. 1048. On Wednesday the 2nd March of that year the great assembly of the village met together in the pavilion constructed by Śembiyan Umbaḷanāṭṭuvēḷār, and made the full transactions necessary for the establishment of the charity named Rājēndra-Śoḷan-uttamāgram in the temple. This charity was made by the Chola Commander-in-Chief

Rājēndra-Śoḷa-Māvali-Vāṇarājan " in order to secure the health of king Rājēndra Chola." This last name in the form Vijaya-Rājēndra-Śoḷa was assumed by Rājādhirāja, and hence apparently this designation. The assembly purchased 72 *vēlis* of land yielding 12,000 *kalams* of paddy, and made provisions with the annual income of the 12,000 *kalams* for an educational institution attached to the temple. The grant provides for a number of festivals in the Vishnu temple of Vīranārayaṇaviṇṇagar, the name apparently of the Vaishnava ward. Besides these festivals provision was also made for the feeding of Vaishnavas for the recitation of the *Tiruvāymoḻi*. The total annual requirements for these miscellaneous items of expenditure being 2,475 *kalams* of paddy. Apart from these the grant made provision for:

1. Three teachers of the *Ṛg-Veda* and three of the *Yajur-Veda*, one each of *Chāndogya-Sāma*, *Talavakāra-Sāma*, *Apūrva*, *Vājasanēya*, *Baudhāyanīya* and *Satyaṣṭa-(āḍha) Sūtra;* thus making a total of 12 professors with a daily allowance of 4 *kalams* of paddy.

2. One professor each for expounding the Vēdānta, Vyākaraṇa, *Rūpāvatāra*, *Śrī-Bhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Manu-Śāstra* and *Vaikhānasa-Śāstra*.

3. For 60 students each of the *Ṛg-Veda* and *Yajur-Veda*, 20 of *Chāndogya-Sāma* and 50 of other *Śāstras*; thus making a student roll of 190 persons with a daily ration allowance of 11 *kalams*, 10 *kuruṇis*, 4 *nāḻis*.

4. For 70 other students of the Vēdānta, Vyākaraṇa and *Rūpāvatāra*.

The total quantity of provision required for the whole establishment detailed above is stated to be 9,525 *kalams* of paddy. This provision together with the allotment for the festivals etc. comes up to 12,000 *kalams* which was the contracted amount to be made over from the produce of 72 *vēlis* of land by the holders. This quantity of land was purchased and put on the terms of a permanent contract with the holders with the special stipulation that not even the class to which the lands belonged should be revised even when general revision of classifications should be undertaken. This land was besides free from all taxes or obligations excepting Ēri-āyam, Pāḍikkāval and Ēri-amanji. The professors and the students were also declared exempt from certain payments and obligations. It will be found, on comparison with the previous institution of the father, that there was a standard

set up for these institutions which was adopted as a general rule. We might pass on with pleasure to a record of this Chola's younger brother Vīra Rājēndra which makes an interesting provision for a hospital.

A Mediæval Hospital.

Another interesting record referring to the reign of another of the great Chola rulers of the eleventh century, Vīra Rājēndra Dēva, gives the details of the provision made for a hospital, a school and a hostel from the funds assigned to a temple in the first instance. Vīra Rājēndra was a son, possibly a younger brother, who came after the great Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Chola and succeeded to the throne about twenty years after him. He had to battle hard on the north-western frontier against the great Chāḷukya Somēśvara and entered into a marriage alliance with his son giving one of his daughters in marriage to the Prince. He had to be active also on the east of this frontier where there were disturbances against him in the Veṅgi country. A number of great battles were fought by him against these two states the eastern and western Chāḷukyas at a place called Kūḍal Saṅgamam till recently identified with Karnul, but more recently with a place high up the Krishna near the frontier of the Kolhapur State, by the late Dr. Fleet. The decisive battle against the eastern Chāḷukyas was fought by charging across the river Krishna at Bezwada (the Vijayavāḍi of those days). His period of reign was the seventh decade of the century, and in the year A.D. 1067 he issued a grant to the temple of Mahāvishnu at Tirumukkūḍal in the Madhurāntakam taluq in the Chingleput district. A village named Viyalaikkāvūr, a free gift to this temple (*devadāna*) used to pay the *śāla* of that temple 75 *kaḻanjus* of gold. This payment had been stopped since the second year of his predecessor who is described as having conquered the western Chāḷukya country, defeated Āhavamalla twice, and brought peace and prosperity to the world. This description refers to his immediate predecessor Rājēndra Chola who ruled from A.D. 1052 to 1062. This lapse was reported to him while he was seated on the throne called Rājēndra-Śoḷa-Māvali-Vāṇarājan in his palace called Śoḷa-Kēraḷan at Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Śoḷapuram.

The king taking the matter into consideration was pleased to order not only the 75 *kaḻanjus* of revenue referred to above, but also the other taxes of the village for meeting the expenses

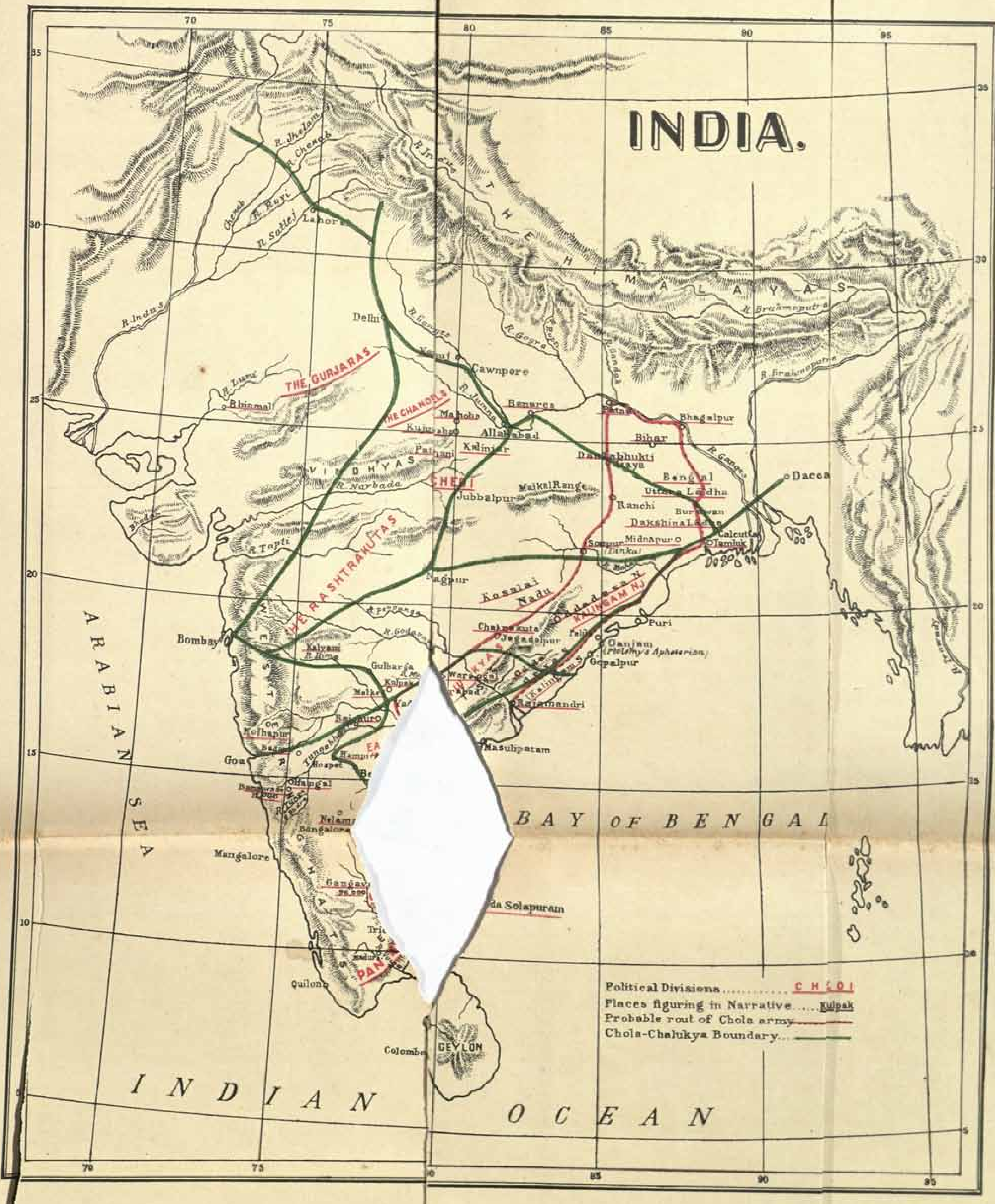
of the temple of Mahāvishnu at Tirumukkūḍal. These taxes include eleven items of which some of them are of the nature of profession-tax, and others, taxes on land and goods of various kinds. The order was communicated by a set of Secretariat Officers who are described as Uḍan Kūṭṭam (which might mean officers in personal attendance) and Viḍayil (office for despatch of orders); the former are stated to have been six and the latter thirty three. At the time the order was communicated there were present ten officers of the Puravuvari-Tiṇaikkalam, the officer in charge of Varipottagam (register of taxes), and various others. The total revenue of the village is assigned as 75 *kaḻanjus* of gold of the *vari* account (book of taxes), and 72 *kaḻanjus* and 9 *manjāḍis* of *aḍangal* including *pāṭṭams* (rates and miscellaneous cesses) making together a total of 147 *kaḻanjus* and 9 *manjāḍis* of gold. This was converted into grain at 16 *kalams* of paddy of the Rāja Kēsari measure for each *kaḻanju*. The other miscellaneous heads of income in gold amounted to 216¼ *kāśus* and two *mā* (twentieth). This total provision was made for the several services in the temple of which some of course went to meet the expenses of an annual festival on the birthday of the king, and an annual festival on the birthday of a Vaiśya, Mādhava, who revived the charities in the temple and made additions to the building, and for the regular recital of the Vaishnava scripture *Tiruvāymoḻi*.

Among the structures added to the temple by this Vaiśya Mādhava was the Jagannātha Manḍapa in which was located the school for the study of the Vedas, the Śāstras, Grammar, *Rūpāvatāra*, etc., and a hostel for students and a hospital. The students were provided with food, with oil for bathing on Saturdays, and with oil for lamps. The hospital was named Vīra-Śoḻan apparently in the name of the king and provided fifteen beds for sick people. Among the staff of the hospital, provision is made for one doctor, "in whose family the privilege of administering medicines was hereditary", one surgeon, two servants to fetch drugs, supply fuel and attend to other menial duties, two maid-servants for nursing the patients and a general servant who attended the hospital, school and hostel. Provision was also made for the supply of a regular quantity of rice, and supply of medicine was laid in stock for a year, of which as many as eighteen items are given, composed of drugs, and prepared medicine under

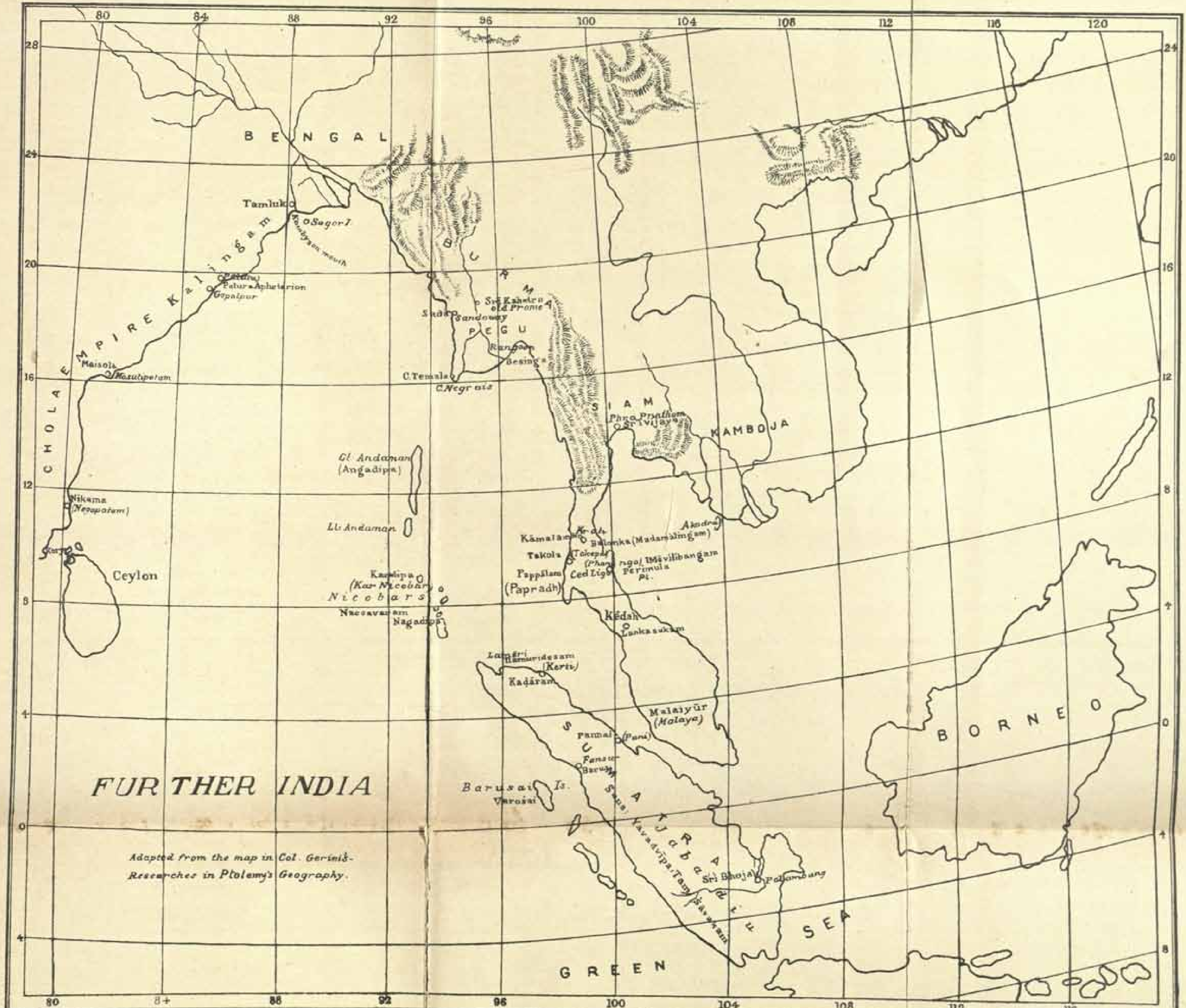
the ordinary Indian pharmacopœia. A regular supply of cow's ghī was assured, and provision was made for burning one lamp throughout the night. The inmates of this hospital were to be supplied with water brought from Perambalūr "scented with cardamoms and *khas-khas* roots."

This eleventh century organisation for a hospital is illuminating and it gives us, however imperfectly, a little more of insight into the actual administration of the funds which were in the first instance, ostensibly made over for the benefit of a temple. That educational institutions required to be provided with a hospital as well as an attached hostel would at first sight seem quite a modern idea. That the need was felt in the eleventh century and some kind of provision was made for it so early is to the credit of the organisers of these institutions in that comparatively early period.

It is impossible in the limits of a paper to discuss the whole of the administrative organisation of the imperial Cholas, which requires to be dealt with separately and elaborately, but a contribution on the great Chola Gaṅgaikoṇḍān to a volume which is intended to be intimately associated with the University of Calcutta would be incomplete if not defective, without a reference to these educational foundations. Hence, these few particulars alone from the administrative achievements of Rājēndra Chola and his sons are incorporated in this paper. Such as they are, they give an insight into the civil organisation of the eleventh century, which judged even by quite modern standards would be considered highly enlightened in its general character.



INDIA.
THE GURJARAS
THE CHANDELS
CHEDI
THE RASHTRAKUTAS
VINDHYAS
HIMALAYAS
Delhi
Lahore
Cawnpore
Benares
Allahabad
Mahoba
Kalinjar
Jubbalpur
Maikal Range
Patna
Bhagalpur
Bihar
Bengal
Uttara Ladha
Ranchi
Dakshina Ladha
Calcutta
Tamluk
Dacca
Nagpur
Kosalai Nadu
Chakrakuta
Jagadalpur
Puri
Ganjam
(Ptolemy's Apheterion)
Gopalpur
Rajamandri
Masulipatam
Bombay
Kalyani
Gulbarga
Kolhapur
Goa
Hospet
Hangal
Bangalore
Mangalore
Quilon
Colombo
CEYLON
da Solapuram
Bhinmal
R. Indus
R. Jhelam
R. Chenab
R. Ravi
R. Sutlej
R. Ganges
R. Jumna
R. Gogra
R. Narbada
R. Tapti
R. Godavari
R. Bhima
R. Brahmaputra
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
INDIAN OCEAN
Political Divisions............ CHEDI
Places figuring in Narrative...... Kulpak
Probable rout of Chola army
Chola-Chalukya Boundary



FURTHER INDIA
Adapted from the map in Col. Gerini's Researches in Ptolemy's Geography.
BENGAL
Tamluk
Sagor I.
CHOLA EMPIRE Kalingam
Paluru Apheterion
Gopalpur
Maisola
Masulipatam
Nikama (Negapatam)
Ceylon
BURMA
PEGU
Sri Kshetra old Prome
Sandoway
Rangoon
Besinga
C. Temala
C. Negrais
SIAM
Phra Pathom
Sri Vijaya
KAMBOJA
Gt. Andaman (Angadipa)
Lt. Andaman
Nicobars
Nagadipa
Kamalanga
Krah
Takola
Pappalam
(Papradh)
Kedah
Lankasukam
Malaiyur (Malaya)
Kadaram
SUMATRA
Barusai Is.
Sri Bhoja
Palembang
BORNEO
GREEN SEA

THE SARVĀSTIVĀDA SCHOOL OF BUDDHISM.

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Buddhism has at present two principal divisions, namely, Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, the former being subdivided into Vaibhāṣika and Sautrāntika, and the latter into Mādhyamika and Yogācāra.[1] Each of these four schools has its origin in the teachings of one great teacher, promulgated over 2,000 years ago, and has developed in its own way through several centuries. The present monograph aims to unfold the history of one of them, the Vaibhāṣika, formerly known as the Sarvāstivāda school, the appellation of Vaibhāṣika having been given to the school by Hindu philosophers in view of the fact that its doctrines were based upon the Vibhāṣā-śāstras compiled at the council of Kaniṣka.[2]

Almost all the treatises dealing with the schools exclusively or *inter alia* record their number as eighteen as traditionally fixed, affiliating them to one or other of the two primitive schools, Sthaviravāda and Mahāsāṅghika. Deviations from this sort of classification are found in the Tibetan work *Bhikṣu Varhhagrapṛstha*[3] and the Records of I-Tsing.[4] They affiliate the eighteen schools to the four original ones, viz. (1) Ārya-sarvāstivādina, (2) Mahāsāṅgbika, (3) Ārya-sammatiya, (4) Āryasthavira. The duration of existence of these four as independent schools was comparatively longer, and the number of adherents larger.[5] Other schools were short-lived, or coalesced into one another in spite of their points of difference. The most primitive school was the *Sthavira-vāda*, the doctrines of which have been fully preserved in the extant Pāli literature. The school that can claim priority in age and preservation of pristine originality next to the *Sthavira-vāda* is the *Sarvāstivāda*. Its literature is vast but to our misfortune, the whole

[1] For the tenets of the four schools, see Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyābhuṣaṇa's *Indian Logic*, (1st edn.), pp. 66 ff.

[2] Dr. S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, op. cit., p. 66.

[3] Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 180, ftn.

[4] Prof. Takakusu, *I-Tsing*, pp. 7-8.

[5] *JRAS.*, 1891.

of it is yet in manuscripts[6] some of which are in Buddhist Sanskrit and the rest in Chinese and Tibetan. The two schools mentioned above were associated with the names of two great emperors, Aśoka and Kaniṣka, through whose effort and patronage, they gained ground and produced a rich and extensive literature. The principal seat of the Theravādins was Magadha while that of the other was Kashmir in conformity with the location of the courts of the respective sovereigns from whom each drew its support.

Council of Kaniṣka.

An account of the Council of Kaniṣka[7] is furnished by the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang. It was held in Kashmir about 400 years after the death of Buddha at the instance of Kaniṣka. The king evinced interest to learn the truths of Buddhism but he was perplexed by the variant interpretations given of Buddha's teachings by the monks.[8] In concert with the head of the Buddhist church Pārśva, the king convened a council with the view to record the different interpretations and selected Kashmir as the place of meeting. Five hundred *arhats* were culled out for membership, the Sarvāstivādins forming the majority. The President of the meeting was Vasumitra who was also a Sarvāstivādin believing in the realism of material existence in the past, present, future,[9] and composing the two Abhidharma *pādas* (supplements) of the school.[10] Pursuant to the resolution of the council, were compiled the Vibhāṣās (commentaries or discussions) being the opinions of the different schools on the Sūtra, Vinaya, and Abhidharma, known respectively as the *Upadeśa Sūtras*, *Vinaya-Vibhāṣā Śāstra*, and *Abhidharma-Vibhāṣā Śāstra*. But as the decisions

[6] A few of these MSS. in Buddhist Sanskrit are deposited in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Efforts are being made by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, whose zeal for extending the bounds of knowledge is well known, to have them edited and translated by competent scholars and made accessible to the public.

[7] Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. i, pp. 270, ff. In later Tibetan works the Council is referred to and some particulars are also given but they do not agree in details with Yuan Chwang's account. See Ibid, p. 278 (citing Tārānāth, 58) and *Vasubandhu-chuan*, (No. 1463), Wassilief, *Der Buddhismus*, p. 283 ff.

[8] The modern N.-W. Frontier Province and Gāndhāra were inhabited by many sects of Hindus and Buddhists. Kashmir was the stronghold of the Mahāsāṅghika and Sarvāstivāda Schools. See Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. i, pp. 262, 283.

[9] Cf. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Points of the Controversy*, Intro., p. xix.

[10] *Abhidharma Prakaraṇa Pāda* and *Abhidharma Dhātukāya Pāda* ; see below.

of the disputed points rested on the President,[11] the accepted version should naturally be in most cases that of the Sarvāstivādins.[12] It is for this reason that the Vibhāṣā denoted the literature of the Sarvāstivādins and specially the Abhidharma commentaries, and the appellation Vaibhāṣika was given them by later writers.

Duration of existence of the Sarvāstivāda or the Vaibhāṣika School.

It was only after this Council that the Sarvāstivāda School rose to its highest importance. But the seed sown before the reign of the great Buddhist emperor Aśoka when the activities of the school were confined within the limits of the Prācya-deśa only, now grew into an extensive foliage sending forth its branches beyond these limits under the fostering care of Kaniṣka. This is inferred from the fact that Moggaliputta Tissa, the President of the Third Council convened by Aśoka, took notice of the doctrines of the school and tried to refute them in his *Kathāvatthu* from the standpoint of a Theravādin.[13] With the spread of Buddhism into Kashmir by the first Buddhist missionary Majjhantika sent by Aśoka under the advice of Moggaliputta Tissa, the Sarvāstivādins thought it advisable to depute their representatives to Kashmir in view of its growing importance as a proselytizing centre. Yuan Chwang[14] also tells us that Aśoka not only sent Buddhist monks but also built monasteries at that place. Now as the school of Buddhism planted here came from Pāṭaliputra and through the members of Moggaliputta's church, it would naturally follow that the first church founded in these places was that of the Theravādins. With the growing importance of the place as a centre of Buddhism, other schools also made their way to Kashmir, and it is not unlikely that Sarvāstivādins owing to their closer connection with the Theravādins would follow next. But it should be remembered that the Sarvāstivāda school of Kaniṣka's time brought in further changes in the doctrine for which it has been distinguished from the older school, which was named the Ārya-Sarvāstivādina.[15] However,

[11] Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. i, p. 271.

[12] V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, pp 267, 268. Smith is of opinion that the Council was of the Sarvāstivādins and the literature written at that time, viz., the Mahā-Vibhāṣā, belonged to this school.

[13] See Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Points of the Controversy*, Intro.

[14] Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. i, p. 269.

[15] Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 183 ff., quoting *Bhikkhu Varhhagraprstha* which

the original Sarvāstivada school had its birth before Aśoka's Council (3rd century B.C.) for the *Kathāvatthu*[16] which obtained its final shape in this council takes notice of same for refuting its tenets. The school does not seem to have gained much importance at this time or a century later, as the Sanchi or Bharhut inscriptions[17] did not mention it or any other schools which abounded in the later inscriptions. About the beginning of the Christian era, it came to be recognized as one of the principal schools not only in Kashmir and Gandhara but also in Central India. The adherents of this school began to be the recipients of donations in the shape of monasteries, images, etc., from monks, laymen, kings and queens.[18]

Fa-hien (A.D. 319–414) noticed the existence of this school in Pāṭaliputra and China while Yuan Chwang (A.D. 629–645) found it "chiefly in Kashgar, Udyana, and several other places in the Northern Frontier, in Matipura, Kanauj, and a place near Rājagṛha in Northern India and also in Persia in the West." Since this time the geographical expansion of the school continued further until in I-Tsing's time the adherents of the school were also found in Lāṭa, Sindhu, Southern and Eastern India, Sumatra, Java, China, Central Asia, and Cochin China.[19] Saṅkarācārya (eighth century A.D.), set himself to refuting the doctrines of the Sarvāstitvavāda from the standpoint of a Vedāntin,[20] while Mādhavācārya in the fourteenth century tried to give an exposition of the doctrines of the *Vaibhāṣikas*,[21] by which title the Sarvāstivādins were afterwards known. Thus we see that the school originating in the third century B.C., attained its highest development in the reign of Kaniṣka and lasted up to the fourteenth century, and counted as among the four premier schools of Buddhism, it stood on the same level with one of them, namely, that of the

puts Mūla-Sarvāstivādins as one of the four schools seceding from the Ārya Sarvāstivādins.

[16] Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Points of the Controversy*, Intro., p. xix.

[17] *JRAS.*, 1892, p. 597. (Bühler's letter.)

[18] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. ii, p. 212 (Kamari Inscription), Vol. viii, p. 181 (also Vol. ix, p. 29). (Set Mahet Image Inscription of the time of Kaniṣka or Huviṣka), Vol. ix, p. 135 ff. (The inscriptions on the Mathura Lion-capital.)

[19] Prof. Takakusu, *J.P.T.S.*, 1904-5, p. 71 citing Legge's *Fa-Hian*, p. 99; *JRAS.*, 1891, p. 420; and I-Tsing's *Record*, pp. xxii–xxiv.

[20] *Vedānta Sūtras* (translated in *S.B.E.*, Vol. xlviii), pt iii, pp. 500–516.

[21] *Sarva-darśana-saṁgraha* (translated by Cowell and Gough), Ch. II. See also *Ṣaḍa-darśana-samuccaya*, and *Advaita-brahma-siddhi*, pp. 67 ff.

Theravādins, who, by being compelled by force of circumstances to take shelter in Ceylon, have survived up till now.

Language used in the works of this School.

Wassiljew[22] on the authority of the Tibetan sources makes the statement that the literature of this school was in Sanskrit. The later works of this school, composed or compiled after the Council of Kaniṣka, were no doubt in Sanskrit,[23] but the earlier works seem to have been written in a Prākṛit dialect. This can be inferred from the following considerations. The Council of Kaniṣka was held in Kashmir, the literary dialect of which at this time was Sanskrit. Though the Vibhāṣās compiled at this Council have not come down to us, yet the fact that they were composed at the place inhabited by people among whom Sanskrit was prevalent as the literary language, and to whom, in a large measure, the Vibhāṣās were intended to appeal, is a strong reason for supposing that they were most probably compiled in that language. To this should be added the consideration that all the seven titles of the seven works on Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivādins in their Chinese version have been restored by Prof. Takakusu to Sanskrit originals. The names of those works appearing in the list furnished by *Mahāvyutpatti*[24] and *Abhidharma-koṣa-vyākhya*[25] are also Sanskrit showing a great probability of the compilations of the works in Sanskrit.

The discovery of manuscripts in connection with the excavations in Central Asia under the supervision of Dr. Stein lends support to the view and rouses the hope that more light would be forthcoming upon these obscure points. The order, in which, roughly speaking, Sanskrit and Prakrit alternated as the literary medium in N.-W. India, seems to my mind to be that in pre-Buddha period Sanskrit was generally used as this medium, but with the movement initiated by Buddha and afterwards taken up by Aśoka for spreading Buddhism, involving the necessity of appealing to the religious sentiments of the masses through a medium easily intelligible to them, the existing literary works began

[22] Wassiljew, *Der Buddhismus*, p. 294. I am indebted to Dr. B. M. Barua, M.A., D. Litt., for this information and a few other suggestions here.

[23] See Hoernle's *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature*, etc., p. 166.

[24] Published in the *Bibliotheca Buddhica*: see art. *Āgama*.

[25] *Kārikā* III, cited by Prof. Takakusu in the *J.P.T.S.*, 1904-5, p. 75, ftn. 1; see also p. 76, ftn., for the titles as restored from the Tibetan sources.

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to be rendered into the Prakrit versions and new Prakrit works began to be composed. The prevalence of Prakrit as the literary medium lasted for a long time and this was followed by a period when Sanskrit re-asserted itself as the medium for literary uses. The factors which contributed to these changes are many, of which only one or two are patent to us and the rest are either obscure or stand even beyond the range of guesses. The only inferences that we can draw in these circumstances are from the fragments of facts that are coming up into view at times, giving rise in our minds to hypotheses which fit in best with the bases of our present knowledge of Buddhistic history of the times; these provisional inferences will have to be modified in the light of facts that future may reveal.

Literature of the School—(1) Sūtras.

The translation of six hundred and fifty-seven Buddhist canonical works from Sanskrit into Chinese is attributed to Yuan Chwang. Sixty-seven of these works make up the *Sūtras*, *Vinayas*, and *Śāstras*[26] of the Sarvāstivādins. In Nanjio's Catalogue[27] under the heading *Hīnayāna Sūtras*, the four *āgamas*, viz., *dīrghāgama*, *madhyamāgama*, *ekottarāgama*, and *saṁyuktāgama* corresponding to the four Pāli Nikāyas, have been mentioned and the contents of the first three *āgamas* have also been given. By comparing the contents with those of the Pali recensions of those works it becomes evident that the Chinese translations were made from an original which is not identica- with texts as represented in the Pali recensions. The differences are not merely in texts but also in the number and arrangement of the *sūtras*. In spite of the differences, however, the names and the subjects of the *sūtras* are identical with those in the Pali works. The other Chinese works placed under the aforesaid heading (*Hīnayāna Sūtras*) seem to be separate translations of the important *sūtras* comprised in the four *āgamas*. In the *Mahāvyutpatti*,[28] the four *āgamas* bear the identical titles and to them a fifth *āgama* is added, namely, the *Kṣudrakāgama*. The Chinese translators do not expressly mention the school to which these *āgamas* or *sūtras* belong as they

[26] Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. i, pp. 20, 21; *Śāstras* here refer to the *Abhidharma-piṭaka*.

[27] Buniyu Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese translations of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*.

[28] *Mahāvyutpatti*, Art. *Āgama*.

have done in the case of the *Vinaya* and the *Abhidharma* except in the case of the translation of the *Buddhacarita* and *Abhiniṣkramaṇa Sūtra*,[29] in which the translator remarks that five different schools named the *Life of Buddha* in different ways :—

(1) *Mahāvastu* of the Mahāsāṅghikas,
(2) *Mahāvyūha* or *Lalita-vistara* of the Sarvāstivādas,
(3) Buddha's former *Nidāna* or *Avadāna* of the Kāśyapīyas,
(4) *Buddhacarita* of the Dharmaguptas, and
(5) *Vinaya-piṭaka-mūla* of the Mahiśāsakas.

The Chinese translators used, as a rule, to mention the name of the school to which the works translated by them belonged. Want of this indication in the case of the *āgamas* leads us to infer that the various schools were at one in their acceptance of the texts of the *āgamas*. It is natural that it should be so in view of the sanctity and reverence attached to Buddha's sayings which none of the schools dared to alter without committing sacrilege and, therefore, the differences were confined to the doctrines only, originating in the divergent interpretations of the same texts as also in variations in the stress laid on particular aspects of their meaning. The collection of these sayings varied in number in different schools, and this accounts for the varying number of *sūtras* on the same subjects in the compilations of the different schools. Though the *Udānavarga*[30] and the *Dharmapada*[31] are in verse, their Theravāda and Sarvāstivāda recensions agree in the main substance of the sayings versified in them, though they disagree as to the length and arrangement of their respective treatments of those sayings. The *Kathāvatthu* collecting the doctrines of different Buddhist schools makes it clear that though the doctrines differ, they all refer to the same *piṭakas* as their authority, which goes to support the inference. Further, in the *Kathāvatthu*, the authorities cited in support of the doctrines of each school have been traced in the Pali *piṭakas*, proving thereby that there was no variation in the main substance of the sayings though there might have been in recension. The *Prātimokṣa Sūtrā* of the Sarvāstivādins, and the fragments of the *Nikāyas* and the *Vinaya* found in Eastern Turkestan also corroborates the above inference.[32]

[29] Nanjio's *Catalogue*, col. 163. [30] Rockhill's translation (Trübner series).
[31] In the Kharoṣṭhī recension (ed. by Dr. Barua and Mr. Mitra).
[32] Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains, etc.*, pp. 166, 168, 173.

(2) *The Vinaya of the Sarvāstivāda School.*

The *Vinaya* unlike the *Sūtrapiṭaka* experienced a very different treatment in the hands of the *bhikkhus*. We learn from the Chinese translations that there were four *Vinayas* belonging to four different schools, viz., Sarvāstivāda, Mahiśāsaka, Dharmagupta and Mahāsāṅghika.[33] There were constant disputations among the *bhikkhus* on account of disagreement regarding minor rules of discipline, *e.g.*, cutting and wearing of robes, inclusion of meat and milk in the articles of food, residence in monasteries within towns and cities, worship of *caityas* and images, etc.[34] To ghten the importance of the rules adopted by each school, it invented, to adapt to its own purpose, episodes in the life of Buddha to serve as the basis of those rules. This accounts for a good many differences among the rules of several schools, but, besides, there were other causes such as divergences in the circumstances and surroundings that were also responsible for the like differences. Though there were alterations in the supplementary portions of the *Vinaya* as adopted by the schools, viz., in the *Mahāvagga* and *Cullavagga*, the original *Pātimokkha* seems to have remained the same in all of them. It is evident from the *Prātimokṣas* of the Sarvāstivāda, the Dharmagupta and the Theravāda schools that the differences between them are negligible.[35] Dr. Oldenburg has advanced his arguments to prove the *Pātimokkha* to be the oldest part of the *Vinaya*. The frequent mention of the *Pātimokkha* in the *Nikāyas* shows beyond doubt that this formed one of the earliest compositions of the Buddhists. Dr. Oldenburg after a comparison of the *Vinayas* of three schools Mahiśāsakas, Theravādins, and Sarvāstivādins arrived at the conclusion that all the *Vinayas* were fundamentally the same though later additions were made to some of them.[36]

The Tibetan version of the *Vinaya*, an analysis of which is

[33] Nanjio's *Catalogue*, col. 246 ff. Besides the complete *Vinaya* of the above mentioned schools, there were supplementary treatises dealing with portions of the *Vinaya* text.

[34] See my Introduction (Calcutta University *Journal of Letters*) Vol. III, re Devadatta's school and quarrel among Kosambi *bhikkhus*; Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. i, p. 150; Takakusu, *I-Tsing*.

[35] *JRAS.*, Vol. xix, O.S., pp. 407–408; *Prātimokṣa Sūtrā* (ed. by L. Finot). See also Hoernle, *op. cit.*, pp. 356–376.

[36] *Vinaya Piṭaka* (ed. by Oldenburg), Intro., p. xxxvii.

furnished by Csoma Korösi[37] was based according to Wassiljew, on the Sarvāstivāda recension of the *Vinaya*.[38] This inference finds support in the fact pointed out by Csoma Korösi that a picture representing Buddha in the middle with Sāriputra and Rāhula on his two sides appears on the first leaf of the Tibetan manuscript. The significance of this picture from our point of view lies in this that Sāriputra and Rāhula were the special objects of worship of the Sarvāstivādins. Rāhula, a disciple of Sāriputra has been mentioned by Chinese authorities as the founder of the Sarvāstivāda school.[39] It also appears from a passage in the manuscript that the Tibetan rendering was made by an inhabitant of Kashmir who was a follower of the Vaibhāṣika school which is nothing but a variant appellation of the Sarvāstivādins.

Thus, we see that the Sarvāstivādins had a complete *Vinaya* in all its divisions, viz., (1) *Vinaya-vastu*,[40] (2) *Prātimokṣa sūtrā*,[41] (3) *Vinaya-vibhāga*,[42] (4) *Vinaya-kṣudraka-vastu*[43] and (5) *Vinaya-uttara-grantha*.[44] Prof. Csoma Korösi's analysis of the Tibetan *Vinaya* furnishes details of the first part of the book only, i.e., the *Vinaya-vastu*.

By way of illustration of the degree of similarity and dissimilarity existing between the Tibetan and Pali versions of the Vinaya, I give here a rough sketch of the inferences that may be drawn from a comparison of the two versions of the first part of the Vinaya, viz., the *Vinaya-vastu*. I should mention at the outset that throughout the *Vinaya* we see as a rule that particular events are taken up by Buddha as the subjects of anecdotes pointing to a moral, which has been reduced by him into rules for the guidance of his disciples; and thus the Vinaya naturally divides itself into two portions one giving the anecdotes and the other the rules though, of course, the former are in every case followed by those of the latter to which they appertained.

In the two versions of the *Vinaya* there is very little disagreement as to the rules but it is found that the same rule has been elicited from different anecdotes. As for example, in the Pali version, the rule that

[37] *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. xx.

[38] Wassiliew, *Der Buddhisimus*, p. 96.

[39] Edkins, *Hand-book of Chinese Buddhism*, sv. Rāhula.

[40] Corresponding with *Mahāvagga* of the Pali *Vinaya-piṭaka*.

[41] & [42] Corresponding with *Sutta-vibhaṅga* of the Pāli *Vinaya-piṭaka* (including *Pātimokkha*).

[43] Corresponding with *Cullavagga*. [44] Corresponding with *Parivāra*.

a person cannot be ordained unless he has obtained the permission of his parents has been educed from the ordination of Rāhula, who had not taken his mother's consent.[45] In the Sarvāstivāda version appears the same rule but the occasion is differently stated, viz., a young man leaves his home secretly and joins the order without the knowledge of his parents.[46]

It may also be mentioned as a distinctive feature of the Sarvāstivāda version of the Vinaya that it is more diffuse at places than the Pali version. Another distinction lies in the fact that certain points occurring in the former are altogether absent in the latter. In leaf 195 of the second volume of *Vinaya-vastu*, reference has been made to the abstract meditation carried to excess by the priests of the Śākya clan, and explanations given of the terms relating thereto. In leaf 20, of the same volume, five sorts of *ghaṇṭis* (plates of metals) are mentioned as required at the time of prayer and the recitation of the *Prātimokṣa*. The fourth volume of this book contains 470 leaves in which a complete life of Buddha has been given embodying accounts beginning with the origin of the Śākya race and ending with Devadatta's (*Lhas-byin*) efforts to injure Buddha and cause divisions among his disciples. The subjects of the third volume, are not found in the Pali *Vinaya*, but appear in its *Sūtra-piṭaka*. Thus, the Sarvāstivādins mixed up the *Sūtra* and *Vinaya* while the Theravādins kept them separate. The belief current up to now that the one is a redaction of the other is baseless. Both have come from a common source, and by reason of development in different centres, minor accretions have grown round them creating differences in their exterior. The commonness of the names of places, where the various scenes[47] mentioned in the *Vinaya* are laid, supports the above inference while the mention of Kashmir in connection with its conversion to Buddhism found only in the Sarvāstivāda version speaks a good deal in favour of the aforesaid probability of the existence of a close connection between this school and Kashmir.[48]

[45] Dr. Oldenburg, *Vinaya*, Vol. i, p. 83, (i. 54, 6).

[46] *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. xx, leaf 115 of the Tibetan *Dulva*.

[47] Such as, Rājagṛha, Śrāvastī, Sāketa, Vārāṇasī, Vaiśālī and Champa. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. xx, p. 44.

[48] Some points of agreement between the two versions: *Vinaya-vastu*, Vol. i, leaves 1-193, contain the subject of entering into the religious order—*Pravrajita-vastu* corresponding with the *Mahākhandhaka paṭhama* of Pali Vinaya, Vol. i, p. 98.

Yuan Chwang informs us that the Sarvāstivādins of some places allowed the use of the three kinds of pure flesh and the drink of grape-syrup as an orthodox beverage which was contrary to the principles of Mahāyānism of which he was an adherent. In the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins as well as the Theravādins the eating of meat with some restrictions was considered as orthodox.[49] The Sarvāstivādins had a peculiar mode of wearing and colouring their robes not approved by the followers of several schools.[50]

(3) *The Abhidharma of Sarvāstivādins.*

It is the Abhidharma literature of the Sarvāstivāda school that deserves special attention. Prof. Takakusu has rendered valuable service by furnishing us with the contents of the seven *abhidharma* books at present unique and preserved in the Chinese translations.[51] The number of books in this collection is just the same possessed by the Theravādins, the difference being that the latter collection consists of seven independent works while the former of one principle treatise the *Jñānaprasthāna Sūtra* of Kātyāyanī-putra with its six *pādas* or supplements.[52] They are—

(1) *Saṅgīti-paryāya* of Mahākausṭhila,
(2) *Dhātu-kāya* of Pūrṇa,
(3) *Prajñāpti-sāra* of Maudgalyāyana,
(4) *Dharma-skandha* of Sāriputra,

Leaves 193–357 contain "the description of the confession or self-emendation, and general supplication" corresponding with the Pali *Uposatha Khandhaka*.

Leaves 357–378 "on passing the *Vassa*" corresponding to *Vassupanāyika-khandhaka tatiya* (*Vinaya*, Vol. i, p. 158) and *Pavāraṇa-khandhakam* (*Ibid*, p. 178).

Leaves 378–408 (end of this Vol.) and leaves 1–10 (of the next Vol.) "on the subject of leather and skin" corresponding with *Cammakhandhakam pañcamam* (Ibid, Vol. i, p. 198).

The second volume of the *Dulva* contains the chapter on medicaments (leaves 11–78) and garments of priests (leaves 78 ff.) corresponding with *Bhesajjakkhandhakam* (Vol. i, p. 251) and *Kaṭhinakkhandhakam* and *Civarakhandhakam* (*Ibid*, pp. 265–310).

[49] Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. i, pp. 53, 60; Korösi's analysis in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. xx, p. 67 and *Vinaya*, *Mahāvagga*, vi, 31, 14. The admissibility of grape-syrup as a drink is found only in a quotation by Dr. Watters. See Watters, op. cit., pp. 237 ff.

[50] Watters, op. cit., Vol. i, pp. 150f. Takakusu, I. *Tsing*.

[51] "The Abhidharma Literature of the Sarvāstivādins" by Prof. Takakusu in *J.P.T.S.*, 1904-5, pp. 67–146.

[52] *J.P.T.S.*, 1904-5, pp. 74f.

(5) *Vijñāna-kāya* of Devaśarman, and

(6) *Prakaraṇa-pāda* of Vasumitra.

Prof. Takakusu on a comparison of the Abhidharma works of the two schools comes to the conclusion that the "two sets have no real connection." Though there is no apparent connection between the two sets, yet it is clearly noticeable that most of the subjects treated in the two sets are found in the *Sūtra-piṭaka* but the mode of treatment in one is different from that of the other. The first *pāda* reveals a close relation of the Abhidharma works of the Sarvāstivādins to the Sūtras of the Theravādins. Prof. Takakusu hints that the first *pāda*, *Saṅgiti-paryāya*, has been modelled on the *Saṅgiti-suttanta* of the *Dīgha-Nikāya*.[63] He remarks that "the contents....of the ones, twos, threes, etc., (in the *suttanta* and *paryāya*) are usually different." But it should be pointed out that the contents do agree with one another except that the instances of ones, twos, threes, etc., as given in the Pali text exceed greatly those of the other as explained below.[64]

If a text on account of its pithy baldness be considered earlier than another on an identical topic presented at length with much elaboration of details, then the *Pāda* should be regarded as anterior in age to the *Suttānta*. The statement of Prof. Takakusu giving an earlier origin to the *Suttānta* cannot from this standpoint be regarded as

[63] *Dīgha Nikāya*, Vol. iii, *Suttanta* No. xxxiii.

[64] E.g. (1) Section on *Eka-dharmas* :—

All beings live on food, etc., Prof. Takakusu's contents.

Sabbe sattā āhāraṭṭhitikā.

Sabbe sattā saṅkhāraṭṭhitikā. (*Dīgha Nikāya*, Vol. iii, p. 211.)

(2) Section on *Dvi-dharmas* :—

Mind and matter (*nāma-rūpa*).

Means for entering into meditation and coming out of meditation, etc., corresponding with Nos. i and ix of the *Saṅgiti Suttānta*, I, 9 The *Suttānta* enumerates 33 *Dvi-dharmas*.

(3) Section on *Tri-dharmas* :—

Prof. Takakusu's list can be identified with the following numbers of the *Suttānta*, i, ii. iii, v, vi, xi, xxvi, xxviii, xxxvi, xxxvii, lviii, except the three *āpattivyutthānas*. In the former list, the total number is 36 threes whereas in the *Suttānta*, it is 60.

(4) Section on *Catur-dharmas* :—

Prof. Takakusu gives us only seven fours out of the total 21 fours, 5 of the fours correspond with the following number of the *Suttānta* i, ii, vi, xv, xlvii and the number of fours in the latter is 50.

In this way all the *ten dharmas* can be traced but it will be noticed that the *Suttānta* list is much longer than the *Pāda* list.

unimpeachable. His next remark that the "work was compiled after the council of Vaiśāli which was held chiefly for suppressing the ten theses of Vajjian *bhikkhus,*" based on a passage of the *Pāda* referring to the Vajjian *bhikkhus* of Pāvā, does not rest on a sound basis. Mr. Wogihara was right in rendering the passage to the effect that it was Nighaṇṭha Nāṭaputta of Pāvā and not the Vajjian *bhikkhus.*[55] The Vajjian *bhikkhus*, again, were inhabitants of Vaiśālī and not of Pāvā the residents of which place, namely, the Mallas were partly followers of Nighaṇṭha Nāṭaputta and partly of Buddha. The object of Sāriputra in putting the *dhārma* as the summation of a few metaphysical and religious truths for its followers was to avert the danger of a split in the Buddhist church as had happened in the Jaina *saṅgha* just at that time.[56] The close correspondence between the *Suttanta* and the *Paryāya* specially in their introductory and concluding passages shows that one is based upon the other and that the author is the same for both. Prof. Takakusu preferred the tradition which ascribed the authorship to Mahākaushṭhila but the coincidence of the other tradition (ascribing it to Sāriputra) with that of the *Saṅgiti Suttānta* leads us to infer that Sāriputra was the author of the work.

The fourth *Pāda*, the *Dharma-skandha*, is said in the colophon to its Chinese translation to be "the most important of the Abhidharma works, and the fountain-head of the Sarvāstivāda system." The subjects treated contain nothing which can be claimed by the Sarvāstivāda system as its own. They constitute the essence of Buddhism and if the claim of the Sarvāstivādins be admitted, that of the Theravādins of a similar nature cannot be denied an equal force on the same ground. It is only natural that, as Prof. Takakusu points out, the *Saṅgiti-Paryāya* should often quote this book, traversing as they do the same ground.[57]

Thirteen sections, again, of the above book are found in the seventh section of the *Prakaraṇa pāda*, "Discussions on one thousand questions,"[58] the author of which is Vasumitra. I think that as Vasumitra was a Sarvāstivādin, the section was meant to be a supplement discussing the expositions embodied in the *Dharma-skandha*.

The composition of the second *pāda*, *Dhātu-kāya*, is attributed to either Vasumitra or Pūrṇa according to different traditions.

[55] *J.P.T.S.*, 1904-5, p. 99, ftn.

[56] *Dīgha Nikāya*, Vol. iii, p. 210.

[57] *J.P.T.S.*, 1904-5, p. 115.

[58] *J.P.T.S.*, 1904-5, p. 106.

Preference should be given to the former tradition in view of the fact that this *Pāda* is only an enlarged treatment of the topics contained in section 4 of the *Prakaraṇa-pāda* of Vasumitra.

The fifth *Pāda, Vijñāna-kāya*, is said to have been the work of Deva-śarmā, an arhat of Viśoka (near Kausâmbi) who lived sometime before the 5th century after Buddha. Yuan Chwang informs us that Deva-śarmā refuted the views of Moginlin (Moggallāna) who denied the reality of past and future[59] one of the chief principles of the Sarvāstivāda doctrine. This remark of Yuan Chwang finds support in the fact that the first section of this *Pāda* records the opinion of Maudgalyāyana about *pudgalas, indriyas*, etc., the next section containing *inter alia* a discussion of the theory of *pudgala*[60] (soul). This work was highly appreciated by the Vaibhāṣikas who gave it a canonical position which was denied to it by the Sautrāntika.[61]

The third *Pāda, Prajñāpti-sāra*, gives an account of the life of Buddha and its authorship has been ascribed to Mahā-Maudgalyāyana.[62]

[59] Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. i, p. 373.

[60] *J.P.T.S.*, 1904–5, p. 108.

[61] Watters, op. cit., p. 374.

[62] *J P.T.S.*, 1904–5.

CONTAMINATION IN LANGUAGE.

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Modern Linguistics takes into consideration all the subtle psychological processes that influence human speech. We cannot obviously frame "laws" for this aspect of language just as we do, for instance, in the case of Phonetics. But we can trace the probable causes which give rise to a particular linguistic result observed. Neither can we clearly classify the various observations under several distinct headings, because, depending as these do on mental processes, these would tend to overlap each other.

Contamination is one special type of phenomenon observed in all languages, which is the result of subtle and delicate psychological adjustments in the brain of the speaker. We must never forget, while dealing with linguistics, that behind the language there is the *human being* that is speaking. Paul, perhaps the greatest living authority on the psychological aspect of language, thus defines "Contamination" :—

"We call the process 'contamination' when two synonymous or similar-sounding forms or constructions force themselves simultaneously, or at least in the very closest succession, into our consciousness, so that one part of the one replaces, or, it may be, ousts a corresponding part of the other; the result being that a new form arises in which some elements of the one are confused with some elements of the other."[1]

To this definition I would add contamination of ideas as well.

In certain respects it is very hard to distinguish between

[1] The above definition is from the English version of Paul's book by Strong, Logemann and Wheeler. The actual definition, as given in Paul's own words in the 4th edition (1909), is as follows: "Unter Kontamination verstehe ich den Vorgang, dass zwei synonyme oder irgendwie verwandte Ausdrucksformen sich neben einander ins Bewusstsein drängen, so dass keine von beiden rein zur Geltun kommt, sondern eine neue Form entsteht, in der sich die Elemente der einen mit Elementen der andern mischen."

contamination as defined above and "Analogy." Still, a few points of difference may be noted.

1. Contamination is essentially an individual peculiarity and also momentary.[2] Often it takes the form of a *lapsus linguae*, as far as word-contamination is concerned. Hence such instances are not necessarily repeated by others and they do not acquire a permanent place in the language and become "usual" as analogies tend to do.

2. Contamination may take place between one word and the meaning of another word which has a somewhat similar sound.

3. Contamination also takes place in sentence-constructions. Here, too, the result of the mix-up may give such an odd type of sentence that it is effectively prevented from becoming "usual" in the language. Sentence-contamination, however, tends to persist much more than word-contamination, because "two sentences rolled into one" give a degree of facility of expression which is valuable in speech and writing. Hence sentence-contamination tend generally to become "usual."

4. In analogy the alteration of one form is due to a more or less conscious compliance with a rule abstracted from other examples of a group to which the new form does not, strictly speaking, belong. Contamination does not take cognisance of any special rule. One single more or less similar or synonymous form may suffice.

Word-Contamination.

If we consider how words are contaminated, we need not be surprised to know that comparatively few contaminated words can become permanent or "usual." "The very grotesqueness of the result would probably bar the way to the spreading of the word." We may, however, try to arrange them in various classes, though it must be remembered that such a classification is by no means exhaustive nor does it avoid overlapping:

1. A great many cases are due to a *lapsus linguae*. Such, for instance, are what are known in English as *Spoonerisms*,[3] where two

[2] "Auch dieser Vorgang ist natürlich zunächst individuell und momentan."—Paul.

[3] So named after Dr. Spooner of Oxford, who did suffer from a tendency to "slipping of the tongue." A great many of the Spoonerisms are however later inventions—such, for example, as refers to the one to which the Doctor is said to have owed his matrimonial felicity. The story says that once at a tea-party he, at the command

consecutive words mutually exchange letters or syllables; e.g., *soy and jorrow* (joy and sorrow), or *Iceland's greasy mountains* (Greenland's icy mountains). Of course these can never become "usual," but may serve as jokes; one of the best quoted is that fathered upon Dr. Spooner of Oxford, that his luggage consisted of *two rags and a bug* (two bags and a rug).

2. Another type of word-contamination is where synonymous forms near enough in sound are mixed up together. These very often have a good chance of surviving side by side with the other form, most usually with a change of meaning. For instance, O. Eng. *byrðen* (a load) became *burthen* and was confused with *burden* (the refrain of a song) which is from O. Fr. *bourdon*. So also in the Gujarati proverb नहि मामा करतां काणा मामा सारा, the word काणा was originally कह्याणा (one only in name) and was confused with काणा (<Skt. काणः one-eyed), and now the proverb is explained as meaning "an uncle with one eye is better than no uncle," while the real meaning is that "an uncle in name is better than no uncle." Another good example is the new-coined word used in India mainly by Indian writers, the word *cowshade*. Here the *shade* is evidently the result of a confusion with *shed*, doubtless under the influence of words like *sunshade*. Such words arise mainly on account of a misunderstanding of synonyms by half-educated people or by foreigners. Another good example from English is *shamefaced* for the original *shamefast*.

3. *Malapropisms*. These are also due to a confusion of words, but here the confusion is due to just a bare resemblance in the sound and none in the meaning. Sheridan has used this very effectively in his wonderful character sketch of Mrs. Malaprop, whence the name. Thus, from Mrs. Malaprop herself, we hear of the "allegory (alligator) on the Nile." Other instances (within my own personal experience) are "He is a stamina (stigma) to the family", "He standards (tenders) his apology."[4] The queer word *allegator* (one who alleges) also is an example, which may become "usual" in comic writing; but generally these words have no currency beyond a limited circle of friends who have known the original joke.

of the hostess, approached the young daughter of the house in order to request her "to make tea," but his actual words were: "Miss, will you kindly *take me?*" And she did!

[4] Some very fine instances are found in Sir A. Quiller-Couch's entertaining little book, *Troy Town*.

4. *Portmanteau-words.* This is the name given to those words which have "two meanings packed up in one word" like a portmanteau. They are formed of two words syncopated or fused into one by the loss of certain letters or syllables from each. The talented and eccentric author of *Alice in Wonderland*, Lewis Carroll, has given a very fine set of such words in his poem on the "Jabberwock."[5] These words too are more or less ephemeral, but sometimes they are catching and are definitely accepted into the language. Two at least of Carroll's portmanteau-words deserve to be permanent acquisitions in the language. These are *slithy* (lithe *plus* slimy) and *galumphing* (galopping *plus* triumphing). Such words become "usual" and are accepted in the language very often, but there seems to be no fixed rule which may be formulated with regard to the conditions of their acceptance beyond the whim of the public. As examples of accepted portmanteau-words may be quoted: Fr. *oreste* (orage *plus* tempeste), and in English, *cameleopard* (camel and leopard), *anecdotage* (anecdote and dotage), *electrocution* (electric execution), *Bakerloo* (Baker Street and Waterloo),[6] and the quite recent Americanisms, *cinematinées* (cinema matinées) and *filmads* (film-advertisements). There is also the remarkable word *govertisement*, quite recently coined by a very clever person during "the universal eruption of posters to subscribe to the War-Loan," and "indicating the emergence of a new art—that of Government by advertisement." Residents of Calcutta are also familiar with the firm of *Carnobis* (Carr and Mahalanobis). To this same type may belong the words made up of initials of several words, such as, *Cabal* the name of a notorious ministry of the reign of Charles II of England, whose members were Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington and Lauderdale.[7] The Great War has also given us the immortal *Anzac* (Australia and New Zealand Army Corps) and the much maligned *Dora* (Defence of the Realm Act).

5. Confusion of words and grammatical inflections is a fruitful source of contamination. These words are often found in standard

[5] *Through the Looking-glass and what Alice found there.*

[6] This was the name suggested for a new underground route started in London, being composed of the names of the two terminal stations. It was a remarkable circumstance that though this name was acceptable to the public, the name suggested for another such route and composed on the same principles was rejected.

[7] The accidental resemblance to the Hebrew word *kabal* (secret) gave added pique to this name.

literature and are hard to distinguish from analogy. The only point of distinction between these and analogy seems to be that these former do not become "usual" but are mere sporadic curiosities of literature. Examples are Vedic गृभाय (for गृभाण=गृहाण)[8] and forms, which Whitney called barbarous, like पचतितराम्, पचतितमाम्, अलभततराम् etc.[9] So also the form मातॄन् (RV., x. 35.2),[10] which is contaminated by पितॄन्.

6. Another case of contamination which is hard to distinguish from analogy is what is called "double terminations." This happens when a speaker forgets that a word has already got a grammatical ending and, therefore, adds another ending to it of a similar signification, e.g., *worser*, *leastest*, *most unkindest*, and in Skt. पुरुषत्वता,[11] देवासः (देवास् *plus* अस्),[12] श्रेष्ठतम, etc. When in the course of development of a language the older terminations are forgotten such forms with double endings become "usual"; e.g., *songstress* (where the *-ster* is an old fem. ending),[13] *children* (*childer* was the old plu.).[14] The श्रेष्ठतम from Skt. has also tended to become "usual," in other words, the old superlative श्रेष्ठ is felt to be a positive form. Sometimes we get a queer double working of contamination and analogy together. The word *aftermost* seems to be a superlative with the ending *-most*. But really the word was in M.Eng. *eftermeste* < O.Eng. *æftermest*, which latter itself has got the double ending *-ter-mest*. Goth. shows a similar form with a double superlative termination, *aftumists* (*af-tum-aists*). The *-most* in the Mod. Eng. form is doubtless due to analogy.

Sentence-Contamination.

Contamination, however, plays a far more important part in the building up of sentences. Here the origin is to be traced to a confusion of two sentences while writing or speaking. Many such contaminated sentences, by their very force and pithiness, tend to become "usual."

[8] Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 732.

[9] The *tara* and *tama* are perhaps here words meaning "better" and "best." In Av. we find the peculiar form *taraδātō* (better created).

[10] Instead of the regular मातॄः.

[11] RV., iv. 54. 3 and v. 48. 5.

[12] Cf. Av. *daēvåŋhō*.

[13] Cf. *spinster*, lit., "the woman who spins."

[14] The plu. in Ger. is *Kinder*, showing the *-er* suffix.

and become regularly accepted as standard. We may also attempt to classify sentence-contamination.

1. Putting together as co-ordinate two entirely different ideas, which have no connection logical or otherwise, forms one type. The putting together is due to the two sentences having several words in common. Jane Austen and Dickens are very fond of such constructions. The effect is quite startling and novel, hence these tend to become accepted, e.g., "She was roused from her seat and her reflections"; "Miss Bolo went home in a flood of tears and a sedan-chair." In both these examples we see that the predicate part is common to both the parts which make up the full sentence. The principle is the same as in the case of "portmanteau-words" and we may with justice call these "portmanteau-sentences." The technical name for these is *Zeugma*.

2. The above mentioned variety is not defective grammatically. But in other kinds of sentence-contamination we have a result which is obviously defective in grammar. These are allied to the "slips of the tongue" in word contamination. There is a mental slip, and the author or speaker begins with a sentence of one type and ends with another quite different. We find such constructions even in the best authors but very few of them become "usual" in the language. Thus in Shakespeare we read:

> Why do I trifle thus with his despair
> Is done to cure it. (*Lear*, iv. 6.)

This is a mixing up of "Why I trifle is to cure" and "My trifling is done to cure."[15]

The RV., too, has got quite a number of examples of this sort. Thus, in the cases where the vocative is conjoined with the nominative we have a contamination of this sort; e.g., in इन्द्रश्च सोमं पिबतं बृहस्पते, we see that the sentence is made up of इन्द्रः सोमं पिबतु and त्वं च बृहस्पते सोमं पिब. Similarly, in विश्वे देवा यजमानश्च सीदत, we have a confusion of the same type. In cases like सोमं मन्यते पपिवान्, there is also a combining of two constructions. Strict grammar would require the word पपिवन्तम् (as may be seen in आत्मानं रथिनं विद्धि). Undoubtedly the confusion is due to the subject being unexpressed, and therefore the

[15] Abbot, *Shakespearean Grammar*, § 411: the whole of the section entitled "Irregularities" (paras. 406–418) may be read with advantage in this connection.

nom. पवित्रान् refers to the subject. The सोमम् too adds to the confusion. In some cases the cause is "case-attraction," as in इन्द्रो ब्राह्मणो ब्रुवाणः (Taitt. Saṃ.) where the subject इन्द्रः has attracted the object into the nom. case. A very remarkable case is the phrase कृष्णो रूपं कृत्वा (Taitt. Saṃ.), which is a combination of the two कृष्णं रूपं कृत्वा and कृष्णो भूत्वा. Whitney explains this as a "pregnant construction" with a "predicate nominative instead of an objective predicate in the accusative."[16] All "pregnant constructions" are, of course, the result of contamination.

Another construction of this type is found in Skt. with the indeclinable इति. Here we often get a nom. case used before the इति, which is grammatically unconnected with anything else and the word logically connected with this nom. may be in any other case. Thus, स्वर्गलोक इति यं वदन्ति (AV.). Phrases like अमुक इत्यनेन प्रकारेणोक्तम् are common in Skt. and we find similar phrases in Marathi; अमुक यानें प्रकारें केलें, in both of which the pronoun is more or less redundant.

3. One very fruitful source of contamination is the loose use of the negative. This is very often done by uneducated people for the sake of emphasis, e.g. "I never said nothing to nobody". The same desire for emphasis is responsible for the double negatives found in good literature, especially when other words intervene: thus, "No son . . . . might not marry" (Ascham). In Skt. we find double negative prefixes (*an-a*), as in अनतिप्रयुक्त. Sometimes the outward form shows only *one* negative, but this is due to the fact that one other word has got a negative significance. In such cases the confusion is even more natural, e.g., "You may *deny* that you were *not* the cause."

Sanskrit shows a very noteworthy use of the negative particle न, the इवार्थे न,[17] or the negation used as a particle of comparison. It has been very ingeniously explained as being due to a very special mental process. The two things may be so similar that, in order to distinguish the one from the other, we have to say that "this one is *not* that"; thus the sentence सृजा वत्सं न दाम्नो वसिष्ठम् (RV., vii. 86. 5), if the above explanation is correct, may be explained as being made up of सृजा दाम्नो

[16] § 268*a*.

[17] Peterson, *Hymns from the Rigveda* (1st series), p. 65: see also the *St. Petersburg Dictionary*, under न.

वत्सं वसिष्ठम् an वसिष्ठो वत्सो न. In Vedic Skt. this construction has become quite "usual."

4. Closely related to these are double comparatives and superlatives, one or two of which have been already instanced above. These are partly due to a desire for emphasis, and partly due to the fact that an original comparative or superlative form has ceased to be felt as such owing to phonetic decay or some other cause. But a more strange form is the confusion of comparative and superlative constructions: e.g. in the very common constructions "the best of you two" or "the better one among you all."[15] Similarly, from Sanskrit we may quote अज्ञेभ्यो ग्रन्थिनः श्रेष्ठा ग्रन्थिभ्यो धारिणो वराः (Mbh.). Closely akin to this type is the following example from a recent writer. "Mr. Stanley was the only one of *his predecessors* who slaughtered the natives of the region he passed through." This sounds quite "Irish", but it has a magnificent Classic precedent, the beautiful lines of Milton:

> Adam the goodliest man of men since born
> His sons; the fairest of her daughters Eve. (*Par. Lost*, iv. 324-25.)

5. The last two instances might almost be explained as due to a confusion of the time element. This arises from the idea of the past time rising into the mind simultaneously with that of present time. As an example we may quote from Shakespeare,

> These dispositions which of late transform you
> From what you rightly are. (*Lear*, i. 4.)

In Latin there is a similar construction used in the special case of the present imperative with the adverb *iamdudum* to mean past time, as in:

> Iamdudum sumite poenas (Thou shouldst have submitted to the punishment immediately). (*Virgil*, ii. 103.)

This is a confusion between "Submit thou immediately" and "Thou shouldst have submitted long ago." A similar construction of the "historical present" in Skt. with the particle स्म is another example of

[15] In fact only *two* "degrees of comparison" (not three) are needed, if we are quite logical. Languages, as they progress, definitely move in this direction. This is evidenced by the French mode of forming the "degrees of comparison"—by prefixing *plus* and *le plus*,—and in Persian by the suffixes تر (*-tar*) and ترین (*-tarin*), with very slight differences between the two, as it were, indicating their essential similarity. In Bengali and other Aryan Vernaculars of India usually there is no difference made between the comparative and superlative; e.g., রাম গোবিন্দ চেয়ে বড় and রাম সব চেয়ে বড়.

this sort of confusion and is very probably due to a vivid imagination. The narrator in these cases, as it were, actually sees the events passing before his eyes and expresses them just as if they were happening at the moment of speaking. The present and the future are also thus confused similarly in all languages ; here also the imagination leaps forward into the future. Thus we say : "I *am* going to Benares *next month*." The so-called First Future (the Periphrastic Future) in Skt. has evidently arisen by exactly this process of confusing the present and the future. **गन्तास्मि** means literally "I am a goer" (i.e. "I am going"), in other words, "I will go." The early use of these forms indicates this confusion clearly for the forms bear either tense value, e.g., **हन्ता यो वृत्रं सनितोत वाजं दाता मघानि** (RV., iv. 17. 8), where either **अस्ति** or **भविष्यति** may be taken as being understood.[19]

6. Among verbal forms there is often a confusion of moods as well. The three moods, subjunctive, optative and imperative, are very frequently mixed up in actual usage. They merge so insensibly and gradually into each other that, though broadly speaking they are distinct enough, there is inevitable confusion in many cases. In Skt. this confusion has led to the almost complete suppression of the subjunctive as an independent mood. The 1st person forms in the Imperative in Classical Sanskrit are in form the same as the subjunctive and very often they are subjunctive in meaning also. As an instance we may quote from the Hitopadeśa : **कथमेते गुणवन्तः क्रियन्ताम्** (How may they be made good ?), and from the Atharva Veda we get a sentence where all the moods are co-ordinated together and have exactly the same meaning : **इयमग्ने नारी पतिं विदेष्ट...सुवाना पुत्रान्महिषी भवाति गत्वा पतिं सुभगा विराजतु** (O Agni ! may this woman find a spouse ; giving birth to sons she shall become a chieftainess : having attained a spouse let her rule in happiness). In the sentence **किं करोतु सः** (What shall he do ?) the confusion is between the interrogative and the imperative.

7. The inability, clearly to distinguish between the exact senses of various forms leads to what is called a "pregnant construction," where one form contains within itself the significance of another. The contamination of moods as mentioned above may also be regarded as a type of pregnant construction. Another variety of this is to be found in Skt. in the confusion of cases. Here, too, the line of

[19] Whitney, §§ 271*d* and 942-947.

demarcation being vague, there is a great lot of overlapping. This takes place in Skt. most often with the genitive case. The *sūtra* संबंधसामान्ये षष्ठी is necessarily so vague that confusion is bound to arise. Such, e.g., is the genitive of the recipient—राज्ञो निवेदितम् (communicated to the King,—and *made his* in consequence). Similarly the partitive genitive is a pregnant construction of another type. पिब सुतस्य (drink—a portion—of the Soma). The same idea lies at the root of the partitive genitive in French. This shades off by imperceptible degrees into phrases like "a drink of water" or the Skt. ददात नोऽमृतस्य, which may be called the "objective genitive." Another type is the "genitive of authority or rule," e.g. ईशिषे वसूनाम् (RV., i. 170. 5), यथाऽहमेषां विराजानि (AV). Here the confusion seems to be between the two ideas, "to rule *over*" and "to be master *of*." In a few cases the genitive is used for the ablative, as in, यो राज्ञः प्रतिगृह्णाति लुब्धस्य (whoever receives from a greedy king), the confusion being between the ideas "receiving *from* the king" and "receiving that which is *his*." In the phrase शृणु मे (hear *from* me) परमं वचः a similar sort of confusion has arisen. Other cases have also become similarly confused and this confusion and the consequent overlapping have been mainly responsible for the reduction in the number of cases in the modern I.-E. languages. The two prepositions सह and विना when strictly applied should be used with the instrumental and the ablative respectively, but owing to the confusion of ideas and also to "analogy by contrast" we get strange phrases like: वत्सैर्वियुता (separated from the calves), अयमेकपदे तया वियोगः प्रियया (this sudden separation from her, the beloved).[40] We may compare with these the English phrases "part with" and "part from" and the colloquial "differ with." The ablative used for the genitive, as in मिथुनादेकं जघान is due to an obvious confusion. A construction of this type with the locative may be instanced in पपात मेदिन्याम् (he fell—so as to be—upon the earth); and also in स इद्देवेषु गच्छति (RV., i. 1. 4) the locative implies that the offering goes unto to the gods and stays there.

8. In Skt. some very quaint constructions with numerals may be quoted which are due to contamination, though the exact process of their origin is not quite clear. Thus, द्वादशम शतम् means 112, but the accent of द्वादशम् shows that it is an adjective.[41] The literal sense of

[40] Note that in these instances the preposition as such is absent.

[41] Whitney, § 479, the numeral would be accented द्वादश.

this phrase seems to be "one hundred characterised by (an increase of) twelve."[22] This can be understood in this manner, but there are some phrases with a "wholly illogical construction" to be found in the Brāhmaṇas, which are almost impossible to explain. Thus द्वे चतुस्त्रिंशे शते is not as we may expect 2 × 134 (=268) but 234, and त्रीणि षष्टिशतानि is not 3 × 160 (=480) but 360. We may here explain the चतुस्त्रिंशे as being influenced by case-attraction, but even then this is not a sufficient explanation. Similarly in the Gujarati multiplication tables we get phrases like बेचोत्रिसां (234) and त्रणसाठां (360) which form almost exact parallels.

9. Another well-marked variety of contamination is called "attraction" where a word takes a wrong case or number owing to the influence of a neighbouring word. The double dual in the *devatā dvandva* compounds where each member is in the dual, e.g. मित्रावरुणा. So also in the sentences याज्ञवल्क्यं द्वौ प्रश्नौ पृच्छामि, इन्द्राय वै देवा ज्येष्ठाय नाऽतिष्ठन्त, अहं रुद्राय धनुरातनोमि ब्रह्मद्विषे शरवे हन्तवा उ (RV., x.126.6).

In English we frequently get a confusion of numbers owing to proximity, as,

> Equality of two domestic powers
> Breed scrupulous faction. (*Ant. and Cleo.* i. 3).

The use of the form ending in *-s* is also a notable feature in Shakespeare,[23] e.g.:

> These high wild hills and rough uneven ways
> Draws out our miles, and makes them wearisome. (*Rich. II* ii. 3.)

Abbott regards these as examples of the early northern plural in *-s*, but these may also be due to the attraction of other words in *-s* in close proximity. Thus,

> The imperious seas breeds monsters. (*Cymb.* iv. 2.)

10. There is often a redundant pronoun (mostly in the accusative case) which is used as it appears for the sake of emphasis or clearness. We find a large number of cases in Shakespeare and other older writers, e.g.:

> We'll hear him what he says. (*Ant. and Cleo.* v. 1.)
> Mark King Richard how he looks. (*Rich. II*, iii 7.)

In Skt. also we get phrases like यदि नो पाहि यद्धनम्, where there is the redundant relative. This construction is extremely common in the Avesta. We may also mention here phrases like स एषः, सोऽहम्, स त्वम्, etc., and the vulgar English "this 'ere."

[22] Cf. Gujarati चोमांसो, साठसो, etc. [23] Abbott, *Shakespearian Grammar*, § 333.

11. Sometimes it happens that a word mentioned earlier in the sentence is forgotten and is, therefore, repeated without any reason. Of course, if the sentence is long and involved, or if there is any special need for the repetition, it is justifiable as a rhetorical device. Prepositions in English very often suffer from this sort of needless repetition. Thus even from good writers we get:

> *To* what form but that he is, should wit larded with malice and malice forced wit turn him *to*? (*Tr. and C.* v. 1.)
>
> I bemoan Lord Carlisle, *for whom*, although I have never seen him and he may never have heard of me, I have a sort of personal liking *for him*. (Miss Mitford.)

In Skt., too, this device is to be noted with prepositions, chiefly for the sake of emphasis; e.g., अधिष्ठाय वर्चसाऽध्यन्यान् (AV.), उदेनमुत्तरं नय (AV.).

12. Change of thought is also largely responsible for contamination and this approaches closest to our definition of contamination. A very good instance is:

> One of the prettiest touches was *when* at the relation of the queen's death . . . . *how* attentiveness wounded his daughter. (*Win. T.* v. 2.)

Here the confusion of thought is responsible for the change from time to manner in the adverbs.[24]

Another example is:

> Rather proclaim it, Westmoreland, through our host
> That he which hath no stomach to this fight
> Let him depart. (*Hen. V.* iv. 3.)

Here the diction of the proclamation suddenly changes under the influence of indignation to command.

13. Change of thought in the working out of a metaphor may result in a grotesque mixed metaphor, which is popularly called a "bull." Serious writers and speakers have made such "bulls" but they are only to be quoted and never become "usual." Examples:

> Mr. Speaker, I smell a rat, I see it floating in the air, but I shall put salt upon its tail and nip it in the bud.
>
> The scourge of tyranny had breathed his last.
> This pillar of the state,
> Hath swallowed hook and bait.[25]

14. One fruitful source of contamination is the influence of foreign languages. This is specially noticeable in India where the English-educated imitate English syntax in writing in the Vernaculars. This

[24] Abbott, op. cit. § 415. [25] *King's English*, p. 204.

gives rise very often to very strange sounding Vernacular sentences, when the writers happen (as is but too often the case) to be worse educated in their mother-tongue than in English. Thus, in the very common phrase, तो जो के used by Parsi writers, for the English "although" the first word is quite redundant. Such sentences become accepted after a while in the Vernaculars as quite correct. The Latinisms in English writers, especially like those in Milton, are of this type.

15. Very often writers join together two phrases or idioms which may have some words in common: but the whole combination sounds quite incongruous. For example:

The railway has done all and more than was expected of it.

Things temporal had and would alter.

To the same type belong two sentences joined together which do not seem harmonious together. These are styled *unequal yokefellows*, a very appropriate name[26]:

Its hands require strengthening and its resources increased.

'Which' differs from 'that' and 'who' in being used both as an adjective as well as a noun.[27]

16. Wrongly used idioms, misquotations, anachronisms, pleonasms, tautology, etc., may also be regarded as contamination; e.g., the famous Bengali version of the well-known English idiom, "To set the *Hugli* on fire."[28]

My publisher was not like Shakespeare's *Cassio* strictly 'an honourable man.'[29] (Should be Cassius.)

But they had gone on adding misdeed to misdeed, they had *blundered after blunder*.[30]

It remains to to be seen whether . . . the footing which she (Germany) has won will form the starting point for further achievements or will merely represent . . . . the *end of the beginning*.[31]

Petty spites of the village *squire*. (The true quotation is: "Pigmy spite of the village spire.")

Dr. K. admitted that his opinion had been consulted (confusing "Dr. K. had been consulted' and "his opinion was taken").[32]

[26] Ibid, pp. 311 ff.

[27] This is from the late Prof. Henry Sweet. Even Homer nods!

[28] Of course the Hugli is used for "the Thames" in the original. Undoubtedly the name Hugli gives local colour!

[29] Marie Corelli. [30] L. Courtney. [31] Perhaps this is an intentional blunder.

[32] This and the other instances have been quoted in *King's English* and in G.C. Whitworth's *Indian English*, both extremely fine books.

THE PASSIVE IN BENGALI

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THE INFLECTED PASSIVE IN BENGALI.

Primitive Indo-European does not seem to have possessed a passive conjugation. In the Aryan (Indo-Iranian) period the passive developed out of the middle or reflexive, but it was confined to the present stem and to the third person singular of the aorist only. The distinctive affix of this inflected passive was **-yá-** in the present stem, and the personal terminations of the middle voice were employed. Old Indo-Aryan (Vedic and Sanskrit) has preserved this passive. In Middle Indo-Aryan (Old, Middle and Later or Apabhramsa Prakrits) the conjugational system underwent the greatest decay imaginable, but the passive was retained, being found in the present indicative and the imperative. The **-yá-** affix occurs as **-ijja-** > **-īja-** or as **-ia-** in Middle Indo-Aryan ("Prakrit" and Apabhramsa), or is assimilated with a preceding consonant. The middle inflections of course are changed for those of the active; and the passive is extended to a number of neuter roots, forming deponents, in Prakrit and Apabhramsa. The New Indo-Aryan languages inherited the **-ijja-** > **-īja-** or **-ia-** passive from Apabhramsa, but it is not preserved in all of them. Early in the history of the New I-Ar. tongues, the analytical mode of expressing the passive came into being, and in most of them the old inflected passive fell into desuetude. The languages of the West have preserved it, but those of the Midland, the South and the East have either entirely lost it, or has retained it as an obsolete or archaic form. Western Panjabi, Sindhi and Rajasthani, for instance, employ **-īj-** or **-ī-** to form the passive: e.g. W. Panjabi **mārdā** <**mārănda-** *striking*, **mārindā** *being struck*; **cāhdā** *wanting*, **cāhidā** *being wanted*; **padhē** *reads*, **padhīē** *is read*; Sindhi **karījē** *is done*, **padhījē** *is read*; Marwari **karanō** *doing*, **karījanō** *being done*. 'Modern Gujaráti has *i* only in *-ie*, a 3rd sing present passive form which is used in a reflexive sense as a

substitute for the 1st plur. active [e.g., **hū karū** *I do* = **aham karōmi**, but **amē karīē** *we do* = **asmābhiḥ kriyatē** instead of **vayam kurmaḥ**]...., and in all other cases substitutes the potential passive in *â*.'[1]

The western languages are thus more or less conservative in the matter of preservation of this inherited form. The Midland languages, Brajbhakha (and Awadhi) for instance, have curtailed the old passive, but relics do occur: e.g. Braj. **mārai** *strikes*, **māriyai** *is struck*. Bhandarkar and Tessitori have given instances[2] from the Middle Awadhi of Tulasidasa. The modern Hindi respectful imperative or precative forms like **kījiyē** or **kariyē** *please do* have in all likelihood been influenced by the passive, if it is not of passive origin.[3] An expression like **kap^aḍā cāhiyē** '*cloth to sell*' is undoubtedly a passive one, where **cāhiyē** = *is wanted*: compare the Bengali চাই in কি চাই **ki cāi** *what do you want?* literally *what is-wanted!* তোমার আসা চাই **tōmār āsā cāi** *you must come*, literally *your coming is-wanted*: Bengali **cāi**, Hindi **cāhiyē** are from a Middle Indo-Aryan passive form ***cāhia(d)i** = Old Indo-Aryan ***ca(g)h-yatē**. Compare these with কি চাও **ki cāō** *what do you want* and তুমি আসিতে চাও **tumi āsitē cāō** *you must come*, where **cāō** = চাহ **cāhā**, 2nd pers. (plural), present and imperative = **cāhaha** (Skt. **-atha** and **-ata**). However, the **-ī-** or **-ijja- -īja-** affix for the passive is quite common in the language of the *Prākṛta Paiṅgala*, which represents the stage immediately before Modern Hindi: and the loss of this affix is quite a remarkable feature in Hindi when compared with Rajasthani. The **-īj-** passive was also quite frequent in Early Marathi, as Bhandarkar has noticed it[4]; but it seems to have died out in Modern Marathi.

It would be interesting to see how far the inflected passive is preserved in Old and Middle Bengali and in other Magadhan languages. Till recently, we had no materials for the study of Bengali prior to the 16th century. But with the publication of the 47 *Caryāpadas* in

[1] L. P. Tessitori, *Notes on the Grammar of the Old Western Rajasthani*, § 136 (Indian Antiquary, 1915). R. L. Turner suggests another explanation of the Gujarati **-īē**, as being from **-imaḥ**, through **-imo** > **-imu** > **-ī** > -i, + ē of the 3 pl. (**-anti** > **-ahiṃ** > -ē), to distinguish it from the absolutive in -i < earlier **-ia** (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1916, p. 227, foot-note).

[2] R.G. Bhandarkar, *Wilson Philological Lectures* (Bombay, 1914), p. 227; Tessitori, *Grammatical Forms in Old Baiswari*, J.R.A.S., 1914.

[3] Cf. A. F. R. Hœrnle, *Comparative Grammar of the Gauḍian Languages* (London, 1880), § 480, 481, 499.

[4] Bhandarkar, *Wilson Philological Lectures*, pp. 226–227.

Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasada Shastri's *Hājār Bacharēr Purāṇa Bāṅgalā Bhāṣāy Bauddha Gān Ō Dōhā*[5] (*Buddhist Songs and Couplets in Bengali Language a Thousand Years Old*), and of the *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrttana*[5] of *Caṇḍīdāsa* under the able editorship of Babu Basanta Ranjan Ray, students have been provided with texts of unique importance in the study of Old and Middle Bengali. The *Bauddha Gān Ō Dōhā* contains the following texts: (i) the *Caryā-carya-viniścaya*, consisting of a number of mystic songs (*Caryās*) of a late Mahāyāna Buddhist (the Sahajiyā) cult, with a Sanskrit *ṭīkā*: the language of these songs, showing New I-Ar. simplification of Prakrit double consonants, is Old Bengali[6]; (ii) and (iii) *Dōhākōṣas* by *Sarōja-vajra* and *Kṛṣṇa-pāda*, consisting of distichs

[5] Published by the Vangiya Sahitya Parishad in the Bengali year 1323.

[6] Doubt has been expressed by some scholars as to the Bengali character of the language of the *Caryāpadas*. The text has been received in a very corrupt form, but certain peculiarities which are preeminently Bengali are noticeable in the language and spirit of the poems. Bengali traits in the grammar are: use of **-e, -ê** for the nominative, and for the instrumental, **-ka, -re** in the dative, **-ta, -e** in the locative, **-ra, -era** in the genitive, in the declension of nouns; **-il- -ib-** (not **-al- -ab-** of Bihari) for the past and future bases of the verb; **-iā** for the conjunctive historical, and **-ile** for the conjunctive conditional; and verbal noun in **-ana**. The above are most noteworthy in morphology. All other grammatical peculiarities can be explained in the light of historical grammar, with reference to forms actually existing in Middle Bengali and in Modern Bengali, standard and dialectal. The Bengali character of the vocabulary has been thoroughly discussed by the editor. Some of the idioms are peculiarly Bengali. There are parallel passages to and echoes of some of the lines in later Bengali literature. The local colour of many of the songs (e.g. the frequent reference to boats) is quite characteristic of Bengal; and there are some references to Vanga or East Bengal. The Sahajiyā tradition, moreover, with similar poems, was carried on in Bengal only; and later Vaishnava and other developments, religious and literary, seem to have some Sahajiyā background. From a careful study of the language, the present writer is convinced that it is Old Bengali, and not a mixed jargon or a *Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa*.

There are nowever, especially in some of the poems, a number of forms which are not Bengali or Magadhan, but are peculiar to the *Sauraseni Apabhraṃśa*: e.g. nouns and passive participles in **-u, -iu**, pronominal forms like **jō, sō, tasu**, etc. A Western *Sauraseni* dialect, as a precursor of Brajbhakha and (Modern) Hindostani, was current in the Magadhan area, as a vernacular of culture, and people in Eastern India used to compose in it (e.g. *Sarōja*, *Kṛṣṇa* and other Buddhistic writers, and *Vidyāpati*, who wrote both in their vernaculars, Old Bengali and Maithili, and in this Western speech). It would not be strange that there would be some influence of this Western speech on Old Bengali, especially when the former had a greater and more ancient literary prestige. Moreover, the MS. of the *Caryāpadas* was written in Nepal: the scribe apparently did not know the language, and the substitution of forms from the more familiar *Sauraseni* speech was easy. (Professor Hermann Jacobi of Bonn has recognised that the language of the *Caryās* is Old Bengali: *Sanatkumāracaritam*, Munich, 1921, pp. XXVII, XXVIII.) The *Caryā* songs would seem to represent Old Bengali of 950–1200 A.C.

and poems in a Western Apabhramsa dialect based on the *Sauraseni Prākṛta*, with a Sanskrit commentary; and (iv) the *Ḍākārṇava*, which contains verses in Sanskrit and a very debased kind of Apabhramsa, which has not been identified or explained. The language of the *Dōhākōṣas*, a Western Apabhramsa with a slight Eastern influence, presents a stage earlier than that of the *Caryāpadas*, which, according to their discoverer and editor, is Old Bengali of the 10th–11th centuries.

The *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrttana* is our earliest[7] Middle Bengali text; and fortunately for us, it has been preserved in a MS. which is, according to expert opinion, contemporaneous with the author (Caṇḍidāsa, second half of the 14th century). The phonetics and morphology of the languages of the *Caryās* and of the *Ś.K.K.* bear testimony to their genuineness and antiquity; and, until further texts of similar antiquity come to light, they will have the same place in the study of the Bengali speech the languages of Layamon, Orm and Chaucer which, as well as Old English, have in the study of English.

The language of the *Dōhākōṣas* shows some cases of the -i- or -ijja-, -īja-, as well as the assimilated passive, e.g. *Bauddha Gān Ō Dōhā*—

p. 89, **purāṇē vakkhāṇijjaï**

It is described by the Purāṇa;

p. 103, **sō ē māï kahiajē**

That has been declared by me;

ibid., **sō paramēsuru kāsu kahijjaï**

For whom is that supreme lord (to be) described?

p. 105, **visaya ramanta na visaa vilipyaï** (=**vilippaï**)

Enjoying the world, yet the world is not attached to him;

p. 106, **dēva pi** (=**vi**) **jjaï** (=**jaï**) **lakṣa** (=**lakkha**) **vi dīsaï, apyaṇu** (=**appaṇu**) **mārii sa [ki] kariaï?**

If the deity is seen face to face, self becomes dead: he (=by him) what can be done?

p. 107, **jāva ṇa dīsaï**

Until it is seen;

[7] Rai Bahadur Yogesh Chandra Ray Vidyanidhi has called into question the genuineness of the *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrttana* on linguistic and other grounds in an article to the Journal of the Vangiya Sahitya Parishad (Vol. 26, No. 1). I believe that this great and versatile scholar is wrong in his conclusions, and this has been shown in the pages of the Journal referred to by Babus Satish Chandra Ray and Basanta Kumar Chatterji, but the present occasion is hardly suitable for a detailed study of the question.

p. 109. **kāsu kahijjaī**

To whom is it (to be) declared?

p. 129. **aīsō sō nibbāṇa bhaṇijjaī,**

jahi mana mānasa kim pi na kijjaī

Nirvāṇa is described to be such, that there nothing is done of the mind or of the qualities of the mind;

p. 130. **jaī pavana-gamana-duārē [didha] tālā vi bhijjaī,**

jaī tasu ghōrāndhārē mana diva hō kijjaī

If the strong lock at the door for the passage of the wind is shut (**bhijjaī**, cf. Bengali root √ভেজ **bhēj** *to shut*=Skt. **abhy-ajyatē** ?); *if in that, in the deep gloom the mind is made as a lamp:* etc., etc.

In this Western Apabhramsa dialect, the **-ijja-** affix is more common than the **-i-**, and it is in full force as a passive form. The Old Bengali of the *Caryāpadas* has some instances of the inflected passive, but the affix is **-i-**, not **-ijja-** or **-īja-**; besides there are a few of assimilated **yá-** forms: e.g.—

Caryā No. 1, সঅল স[মা]হিঅ কাহি করিঅই

saala sa[mā]hia kāhi kariaī

What is attained by all samādhi ?

No. 6, হরিণা হরিণির নিলঅ ন জাণী

hariṇā hariṇira nilaa na jāṇī

The abode of the Stag and the Doe is not known;

ibid., হরিণার খুর ন দীসঅ

hariṇāra khura na dīsaa (=dīsaī)

The Stag's hoof is not seen;

No. 26, পাবিঅই **pāviaī** *is obtained;* ভাবিঅই **bhāviaī** *is thought of;*

No. 33, দুহিএ **duhiē** *is milked;*

No. 46, ছিজই **cchijaī** =**chidyatē** *is cut.*

The analytical passive with root √জা **jā** *to go* following the verbal noun in **-ana** has already become established in the language of the *Caryāpadas;* and the analytical √**jā-** passive seems to have been influenced by, if not actually developed out of, the older inflectional **-ij-** form, in New Indo-Aryan.

It would seem that in *Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa*, the source of Old Bengali, the two forms **-ia-** and **-ijja-** occurred side by side. **-ia-** seems to be the genuine Magadhan affix, and **-ijja-** borrowed through the influence of the Western speeches, and not native to the East. The **-ia-** was

preserved, although as an obsolete form, in Old and Middle Bengali, but its real nature seems to have been lost to the speakers quite early.

The examples of the **-ia-** passive in the 47 *Caryāpadas* are not so few, there are some twenty. In Middle Bengali literature we find similar relics of the inflected passive—a linguistic survival which seems not to have been noticed before. The affix loses its prominence as the language progresses, and is ultimately merged into the 1st and 3rd personal affix: and in this way the passive verb is transformed into an active one.

There are numerous cases of the passive in **-i(a)-** in the *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrttana*: for instance—

p. 19, যত নানা ফুল পান করপুর সব পেলাইল পাএ।
উঠিআঁ বড়ায়ি রাধাক বুইল—হেন কাম না করিএ॥
jātā nānā phulā pānā kārāpurā sābā pēlāilā pāē।
uṭhiā̃ Bāḍāyi Rādhā-kā builā—'hēnā kāmā nā kāriē.'॥
All the various flowers, betel leaves and camphor and all she threw away with her foot. The Old Lady got up and said to Rādhā, 'you should not do so' (lit. *such a deed should not be done*: **kāriē**).

p. 57, আইহন বীর তিন লোকেঁ ভালে জাণী।
Āihānā bīrā, tinā lōkẽ bhālē jāṇī
That Āihana is a hero is known (**jāṇī**) *well in the three worlds.*

p. 59, দান সাধিএ রতি পতিআশে।
dānā sādhiē rati-patiāśē
The toll is demanded (**sādhiē**) *with the expectation of dalliance (with thee).*

p. 118, ভুখিল হয়িলেঁ কাহ্নাঞি দুই হাথে না খাইএ।
bhukhilā hāyilẽ, Kānhāñi, duī hāthē nā khāiē
When one is hungry, O Kānha, one should not eat (lit. *it should not be eaten*: **khāiē**) *with both hands.*

p. 137, আপনা রাখিয়ে আপণে।
āpānā rākhiyē āpāṇē (=ātmā rakṣyatē ātmanā)
Self is to be preserved by self.

p 145, নাএর আন্তরে গেলী চন্দ্রাবলী রাহী।
তার পাছে আর যত গোআলিনী সহী॥
কথো দূরে গিআঁ দেখিএ একখানি নাএ।
সত্বর হঁইআঁ রাহী তার পাস যাএ॥

nāĕrå āntårē gēlī cāndrābålī Rāhī ।
tårå pāchē ārå jåtå gōālinī såhī ॥
kåthō dūrē giā̃ dēkhiē ekå-khāni nāē ।
såtwårå håyiā̃ Rāhī tārå pāsā jāē ॥
In search of a boat went Candrāvalī Rādhikā ;
After her, all her milk-maid friends ;
Having gone some distance, a boat is seen **(dēkhiē)**.
Quickly Rādhikā goes to its side.

p. 184, বোলেঁ চালেঁ না পাইএ পরার রমণী ।
bōlē̃ cālē̃ nā pāiē pårārå råmåṇī
Another's wife is not won **(pāiē)** *by (mere) talk and (gallant) ways.*

p. 185, গোপত কাজত কাহ্নাঞি ছয় আখি বারী ।
gōpåtå kājå-tå, Kānhāñi, chåyå ākhi bārī
In a secret deed, O Kānha, six eyes are barred (**bārī**).

p. 236, ত্রিভুবন নাথ তোহ্মে হরী । প্রভু হয়িআঁ হেন নাহি করী ॥
tribhubånå-nāthå tōmhē Hårī ।
prâbhu håyiā̃ hēnå nāhī karī ॥
You are Hari, the Lord of the three worlds ; being the Master, you should not do so (lit. *it should not be done :* **karī**).

p. 289, পুনমীর চান্দ তোহ্মার বদন ঘুসিএ জগতজনে ল ।
punåmīrå cāndå tōmhārå bådånå ghusiē jågåtå-jånē, lå
O, your face is proclaimed **(ghusiē)** *by the people of the world as the moon of the full-moon night.*

p. 367, সোণা ভাঙ্গিলেঁ আছে উপাএ জুড়িএ আগুন তাপে ।
পুরুষ নেহা ভাঙ্গিলেঁ জুড়িএ কাহার বাপে ॥
sōṇā bhāṅgilē̃ āchē ūpāē, judiē āgunå tāpē ।
puruṣå-nēhā bhāṅgilē̃, judiē kāhārå bāpē ? ॥
If gold is broken, there is a way—it is joined **(judiē)** *by the heat of fire ; but if a man's love is gone, whose father (=what man) will restore it ?*

There are numerous other instances of a similar type in the *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrttana*. The general tendency will be to explain the forms in ইএ **-iē** as being in the indicative present, the ই **-i-** being regarded as identical with the ই **-i** of the first person, and the এ **-e** only as a final lengthening for reasons of metre. But পাইএ, করিএ **pāiē, kåriē**, etc., are real passives, and it will be seen that in the instances quoted above, the passive construction gives a truer explanation of the passages than the

active first person: পাইএ, করিএ etc., thus represents the *Caryā* forms like পাবিঅই, করিঅই **pāviaï, kariaï**=Sanskrit **prāpyatē, kriyatē**. The passive was already decaying in Old Bengali; and in Middle Bengali it would be easily confused with the active first person from similarity in form. We may recall as a parallel instance the Gujarati use of the passive third person singular as the first person plural active; **amē utārīē, amē cālīē**, etc., have been explained as being really passive forms (see *ante*). The passive in its origin is connected with the reflexive, and the transition to the active is always easy.

There was, again, in the early periods of Bengali, a confusion between the instrumental and the nominative[1], from which the language even now is not wholly free. To give the instance of the pronouns: the old nominative was *হউ, হাঁউ, ***haū, hāũ** for the first person singular (=**aha-ka-m** <**aham**, found as **hakaṃ** in the Orissan inscriptions of Asoka): this is preserved in Gujarati and Brajbhakha as **hū̃, haū**. হউ, হাঁউ **haū, hāũ** occur in the Old Bengali of the *Caryāpadas*; and it was added to the past and future passive participles, to form active past and future tenses in Early Middle Bengali: করিলা + হউ **kārilā** + hāū=*done* + *I* > করিলাহোঁ **kārilāhō̃** (*Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrttana*) > করিলোঁ **kārilō̃** > করিলুঁ **kārilū̃** > করিলুম **kārilum** > ক'রলুম **kōrlum**, also **kōllum** *I did*; করিবা + হউ **kāribā** + **haū**=*to be done* + *I* > করিবাহোঁ **kāribāhō̃** (*Ś.K.K.*) > করিবোঁ **kāribō̃** > Standard Colloquial ক'রবো **kōrbō** *I shall do*. Eastern Bengali *করিমো **kārimō** > করিমু **kārimu** > করিম্ **kārim**, ক'রমু **kōrmu** etc. But the nominative হউ **haū** was curtailed even in the Old Bengali period by the instrumental মোএ, মএঁ **mōē, māẽ**=Middle and New Bengali মুই **mui**=Skt. **mayā** + instr. **-ēna**; and this instrumental singular form became the ordinary nominative one, side by side with the plural form আহ্মি, আমি **ām(h)i** (< **amhēhī**=**asmābhiḥ**) in Middle Bengali. So too, with the second person তু **tu**=Skt. **tvam**, instrumental তোএ, তুই **tōē, tui**=Skt. **tvayā** + **-ēna**. As in other modern Indo-Aryan languages the inflected past of the active verb did not occur in Bengali in its earliest period. The past form of the transitive verb was the passive participle (adjective) qualifying what later became the object, and it was governed by the subject in the instrumental.

The future tense in the Eastern group of languages was also a

[1] This is a prominent feature in the Magadhan languages, and the influence of Tibeto-Burman on these languages at their formative period may have something to do with it. Cf. H. A. Jaeschke, *Tibetan Grammar* (London, 1883), § 30.

passive participle governed by the instrumental nominative. And the distinction between the nominative and instrumental affixes in *Māgadhi Apabhraṃśa* and Old and Early Middle Bengali was very slight—both ended in এঁ ẽ, এ ē, and the instrumental only had nasalisation originally, which was frequently dropped. In fact the nominative, the accusative and the instrumental were all confused as to their forms in Early Middle Bengali. The transition from the decaying passive, which was less and less perfectly understood, to the active was therefore very easy, was indeed quite a matter of course. The passive use of the neuter verb is also common in Old and Middle Bengali: e.g., *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrttana*—

p. 364, পুণ্য কইলেঁ স্বগ্‌গ জাইএ, নানা উপভোগ পাইএ।

puṇyâ kailẽ swâggâ jāiē, nānā upâbhōgâ pāiē (=**gamyatē, prāpyatē**)

Practising virtue, heaven is attained, and many enjoyments obtained.

Examples of the inflected passive are frequent in Middle Bengali literature. A few are given, taken from Rai Sahib Dinesh Chandra Sen's 'Typical Selections from Bengali Literature' (*Vaṅga-Sāhitya-Paricaya*, Calcutta University, 1914):

From Vol. II.—Poems by *Caṇḍīdāsa*, pp. 968 ff.:

নীল মুকুতার হার মনোহর শোভিত দেখিএ গলে।

nīl(â) mukutār(â) hār(â) mânōhâr(â) śōbhitā dēkhiē gâlē

A charming necklet of blue pearls is seen handsome in her neck.

অবলা পরাণে এত কি সহিএ।

âbâlā pârāṇē ētâ ki sâhiē

Can so much be endured in the life of a weak woman?

ক্ষুরের উপর রাধার বসতি, নড়িতে কাটিএ দে।

kṣurēr(â) upâr(â) Rādhār(â) bâsâti, nâḍitē kāṭiē dē

Rādhā's abode is on (the edge of) a razor, her body is cut at the (slightest) movement.

মানুষে এমন প্রেম কোথা না শুনিএ।

mânuṣē emân(â) prēm(â) kōthā nā śuniē.

Such love in man has nowhere been heard of.

From the *Caitanya-caritâmṛta of Kṛṣṇa-dāsa Kavirāja*, p. 1223:

সনাতন কৈল গ্রন্থ ভাগবতামৃতে।
ভক্তি-ভক্ত-কৃষ্ণতত্ত্ব জানি যাহা হইতে॥......
হরিভক্তিবিলাস গ্রন্থ কৈল বৈষ্ণব আচার।
বৈষ্ণবের কর্ত্তব্য যাঁহা পাইয়ে পার॥

Sânātân(â) kạjlâ grânthâ Bhāgâbâtāmṛtē ।
bhâkti-bhâktâ-Kṛṣṇâ-tâttwâ jāni jāhā hâitē ॥
Hâri-bhâkti-bilās(â) grânthâ kạjlâ bạjṣṇâb(â)-ācār(â) ।
bạjṣṇâbēr(â) kârttâbyâ jāhā pāïyē pār(â) ॥

Sanātana made the book Bhāgavatâmṛta, *from which are known the doctrines of bhakti and bhakta, and the nature of Kṛṣṇa ; he made the book* Hari-bhakti-vilâsa, *on Vaiṣṇava ritual, in which the duties of a Vaiṣṇava are made to cross over, as it were (i.e. described in detail).*

Bhāgavata, by *Daivakī-nandana Siṃha*, p. 844 :

যে অঙ্গে দেখিএ সেই অঙ্গে অলঙ্কার ।
jē ângē dēkhiē sēi ânge âlânkār(â)
Jewels on every limb that is viewed.

বিনি না পুছিলে কারো না জানিএ জাতি ।
bini nā puchilē kārō nā jāniē jāti
No one's family is known without asking.

Instances like the above are fairly common in early Bengali literature, and it is not necessary to give further quotations. Maithili and Oriya, too, show similar forms, e.g.—

Maithili—*Vidyāpati* (Vangiya Sahitya Parishad edition) :

p. 6,
lakhaï na pāria, jēṭha kanēṭha
Cannot be distinguished, whether old or young.

p. 9,
jata dēkhala, tata kahahi na pāria
All that has been seen cannot be described.

p. 19,
paḍhahi na pāria ākhara-pâti
The rows of letters cannot be read.

p. 21,
sē nahi dēkhala je diya upāmā
That has not been seen with which a comparison can be made.

p. 30,
saba taha sunia ạjsana bēwahārā
That such is his behaviour is heard from all.

p. 39,
Madhu-ripu sama nahi dēkhia sohāwana,
jē dia tanhika upāma rē

Nothing handsome like the Foe of Madhu is seen,
With which his comparison can be made.

p. 44,

na jāniya kiya karu mōhana cōra
What this charming scamp may do is not known.

p. 499,

kajjala-rūpa tua Kālī kahiao . . . Gaṅga kahiē pānī . . .
Bramhā-ghara Bramhānī kahiē, Hara-ghara kahiē Gaurī
In favour like lamp-black, thou art called Kālī; she is called Gaṅgā when in watery form; in the home of Brahmā, is called Brahmāṇī; is called Gaurī in the home of Hara.

Oriya—From *Jagannātha-dāsa's Dhruva-caritra* (Contai edition):

p. 5,

kåmpii (=kampyatē) tåhårå nijå dēhī
Her own body trembles.

p. 33,

dēhå månå diśåï, khårjurå-bṛkṣå-prāyå
His body's measure is seen, like a date-palm.

p. 11,

dåśå-diśi åndhåkårå, kichi hi nå diśi
The ten quarters are dark, nothing is seen.

The older literatures of Oriya and Maithili will undoubtedly demonstrate the presence of the inflected passive, as a decaying form, no doubt, but still existent.

The so-called middle-voice (*karma-kartṛ-vācya*) of Bengali, which we find in impersonal constructions, seems originally to have been this inflected **-yá-** passive: e.g. কলসী ভরে, **kålåsī bhårē**, *the jar becomes full*; কাপড় ছেঁড়ে, **kāpåḍ chẽḍe**, *the cloth gets torn*; বই কাটে, **båï kāṭē**, *the book sells*; বাঁশ ভাঙ্গে, **bå̃ś bhåṅgē** *the bamboo breaks*; শাঁখ বাজে **śå̃kh bājē** *the conch-shell is sounded*; ভরে, ছেঁড়ে, কাটে, ভাঙ্গে, বাজে, etc., are to be explained as passive forms, derived from forms like ভরিঅই **bhariaï** > ভরিএ **bhåriē**, ছিণ্ডিঅই **chiṇḍiaï** > ছিণ্ডিএ **chiṇḍiē**, কাটিঅই **kāṭiaï** > কাটিএ **kāṭiē**, ভঞ্জিঅই **bhañjiaï**, or ভঙ্গিঅই **bhangiaï** > ভাঙ্গিএ **bhāṅgiē**, বাজিঅই **bājiaï** > বাজিএ **bājiē** etc., of Old and Early Middle Bengali. A similar use of the passive is known also to Sanskrit.

The inflected passive is also preserved in a curious idiomatic usage in Modern Bengali, in which both its form and nature are disguised. We have expressions like এ কাজ করে না **ē kāj kårē nā** *shouldn't do this,*

রবিবার দিন মাছ খায় না **râbibār-din māch khāy nā** *shouldn't eat fish on Sundays*, জ্বর হ'লে নায় না **jwâr hōlē nāy nā** *shouldn't bathe when suffering from fever*, etc., etc., where the forms করে, খায়, নায় etc., are used with the negative particle, and are apparently 3rd person indicative present, the subject, however, being difficult to find; and such expressions have a general prohibitive imperative force. In Middle Bengali there are instances of this construction: cf. *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrttana:* p. 236, প্রভু হয়িআঁ হেন না করী **prâbhu hâyiā̃ hēnâ nā kârī** *shouldn't do so, being the Master*; p. 185, লোভ হয়িলেঁ কাহ্নাঞি আরতি না করী **lōbhâ hâyilē̃ Kānhāñi ārâti nā kârī** *O Kānha, shouldn't yearn (too much) although there is desire*; p. 257, কেহ্ তার না কহিএ মরণে, **kēhâ tārâ nā kâhiē mârânē** *none should speak of his death*, etc., etc. The Middle Bengali forms in ই -i-, ঈ -ī- indicate that this construction is a passive one originally; একাজ করে না, **ē kāj kârē nā** is really **ētat kāryam na kriyatē**: **kriyatē** would be করিঅই, করিএ, করী **kariaī, kâriē, kârī** in Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit) and Old and Middle Bengali. As in the other cases, the passive nature of it was lost, and the active form, only apparently so, came in. Probably there was the influence of the similar imperative use of the optative, active and middle, and passive of Sanskrit. General statements in which the subject is not definite or important, are in the third person. But it is just likely that there was the passive originally in such popular expression as—

> জামায়ের জন্য মারে হাঁস। গুষ্টি-শুদ্ধ খায় মাস॥
>
> **jāmāyēr jânyâ mārē hā̃s । gusṭhī-śuddhâ khāy mās ॥**
>
> *The goose is killed for the son-in-law, and the meat is eaten by the whole family*;
>
> এক দেয় বর দেখে। আর দেয় ঘর দেখে॥
>
> **ēk dēy (dæy) bâr dēkhē । ār dēy (dæy) ghâr dēkhē ॥**
>
> (*The daughter*) *is given* (*in marriage*), *taking into note* (lit. *seeing*) *either the bridegroom or his family*;

and similar proverbial couplets.

In the *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrttana*, there is a form in ইউ -iū which is rather puzzling. This is illustrated by the following examples:—

> p. 140, নাআ বান্ধিতেঁ গিআঁ করিউ যতনে।
>
> **nāā bāndhitē̃ giā̃ kâriū jâtânē**
>
> *Let us make an attempt to build* (lit. *bind*); *the boat.*
>
> p. 141, আনহ সকল সখিজন মেলী করিউ যুগতি।
>
> **ānâhâ sâkâlâ sâkhi-jânâ, mēlī kâriū jugâti.**

Bring all girl friends, let us hold a consultation together.

p. 141, পসার সাজিউ দধি দুধে, সেসি জীবার উপাএ।

pāsārā sājiū dādhi dudhē, sē-si jībārā upāē

Let us arrange our milk and curds for sale, that indeed is the means of livelihood.

p. 204, নানা ফুল ফুটিলছেঁ মাঝ বৃন্দাবনে।
তাক পিন্ধি মথুরাক করিউ গমনে ॥

nānā phulā plutilā-chē mājhā Brndābanē ।
tākā pindhi Māthurā-kā kāriū gāmānē ॥

Flowers of many kinds have blossomed in the middle of Vrndāvana ;
Wearing these, let us go to Mathurā.

p. 253, যমুনাক যাইউ রাধা লয়িআঁ সখীগণে।

Jāmunā-kā jāiū Rādhā, lāyiā sākhī-gāṇē

Let us, O Rādhā, go to Yamunā, taking (her) girl-friends.

p. 270, দধি বিকেঁ জাইউ মথুরা।

dādhi bikē jāiū Māthurā

Let us go to Mathurā to sell curds.

p. 292, সত্বরে রাধা লইআঁ জাইউ ঘর।

sātwārē Rādhā lāiā jāiū ghārā

Let me take Rādhā quick to her home.

p. 310, বাঁশী চোরায়িতেঁ করিউ যতনে।

bāśī cōrāyitē kāriū jātānē

Let us make an effort to steal the flute.

p. 345, বারতা পুছিউ রাধা সব জন থানে।

bārātā puchiū Rādhā sābā jānā thānē

Let us ask for news, O Rādhā, from every body.

p. 347, কদমতলাক জাইউ চিত্তের হরিষে।

kādāmā-tālā-kā jāiū cittērā hāriṣē

Go to the foot of the Kadamba tree, with joy in mind.

This ইউ -iū form appears to be an equivalent of the passive imperative : in meaning it is always optative or imperative. In an example like বাঁশী চোরায়িতেঁ করিউ যতনে, করিউ যতনে is in all likelihood from a form in the passive=Skt. **kriyatām yatnaḥ** ; জাইউ=cf. **gamyatām** ; বারতা পুছিউ =**vārttā prcchyatām**. The above instances in ইউ -iū probably represent a mixed form, with the old ই -i- infix of the passive *plus* a new

ঊ -ū affix, which is hard to account for. Probably it is the 3rd imperative singular affix, উ -u > -tu : cf. **calatu** > **calaū**, Old and Middle Bengali **calu**, later চলুক **câlu-k** ; with possible influence of the ওঁ **-õ** affix of the first person (<**haū**, cf. above, for the singular, and <**-wā**, **-wõ** < **-mo**, **-maḥ** for the plural) when the sense is 'let us,' and of the উ **-u** affix of the 2nd person (as in * তো চলু **tō calu** = **calahu**, where **-hu** = **-sva** of the Skt. *ātmanēpada*), present and imperative, when the 2nd imperative is meant (as in কমতলাক জাইউ চিত্তের হরিষে above). This **-iu** is also found in old Bengali : e.g. *Caryā* 15, বাট জাইউ **bāṭa jāiu** *go the way*.

Analytical Formation of the Passive in Bengali.

The inflected passive is a fossil in Bengali : the living method is analytical and periphrastic. The following are the ways in which the passive is formed in Bengali :

I am seen=(1) আমি দেখা যাই **āmi dēkhā jāi**, (2) আমাকে (আমায়, আমারে) দেখা যায় **āmākē (āmāy, āmārē) dēkhā jāy**, (3) আমাকে (আমায়, আমারে) দেখন যায় **āmāke (āmāy, āmārē) dēkhân jāy**. 4) আমি দেখা পড়ি **āmi dēkhā pâḍi** (5) আমাকে (আমায়, আমারে) দেখা হয় **āmāke (āmāy, āmārē) dēkhā hây**, (6) আমি দৃষ্ট হই **āmi dṛṣṭā hâi**.

Of these (1), (4), and (6) are true passives (*karma-vācya*), and these correspond to the passive forms of English, French and other Modern Indo-European languages. The other forms, (2), (3) and (5) are instances of the neuter construction (*bhāva-vācya*) in Bengali. All the above forms are used in Bengali, but there are slight shades of difference in their meaning.

(1) আমি দেখা যাই **āmi dēkhā jāi** *I am seen* is best explained as being composed of the past participle adjective in আ **-ā** and √ যা **jā** *to go*, which assumes the function of the substantive verb. But this form, though allowable, would not ordinarily be regarded as very idiomatic or natural in Bengali : the passive proper, with the object in the nominative, would not be regarded as a construction natural to the language, especially when the nominative is a definite person. But an indefinite and general statement can be easily made with an impersonal construction in the passive : e.g. দেখা যায় **dēkhā jāy** (subject ইহা **ihā** *this*, *it* understood) *it is seen* ; যদি বলা যায় **yâdi bâlā jāy** *if it is said* ; শোনা যাইতেছে or যাচ্ছে **sōnā jāitēchē**, **jācchē** *it is being heard*. In the passive construction, the mind of the speaker is loth to forget that what is the grammatical nominative is the real object, and hence the feeling of

the native speaker has this preference for the neuter construction, with the nominative-object in the dative, e.g. আমাকে দেখা যায় or আমাকে দেখা হয় **āmākē dēkhā jāy, hây**. The conscious use of the passive would bring in a certain amount of emphasis; and to make a statement emphatic or definite, the dative with কে **-kē** is preferred to the accusative or nominative without any inflection, when we are speaking of a sentient or animate being: for instance, মুটে ডাক **muṭē ḍākâ** *call a porter*, but মুটেকে ডাক **muṭē-ke ḍākâ** *call the porter*, or মুটেকে পয়সা দাও **muṭē kē pâysā dāŏ** *give the porter his hire*; গোরু চরায় **gōru cârāy** *tends kine*, but গোরুকে ঘাস দাও **gōruke ghās dāŏ** *give the cow grass*. So আমাকে (আমারে, আমায়) দেখা যায় **āmākē (āmārē, āmāy) dēkhā jāy** would be preferred, as the idea is definite so far as the object of sight is concerned, to আমি দেখা যাই **āmi dēkhā jāi** where আমি **āmi**, although formally nominative, is in sense really the oblique or accusative. Names of inanimate objects as a rule do not take কে **-kē** when they are in the objective or dative: hence ঘর দেখা যায় **ghâr dēkhā jāy** *the house is seen* (not ঘরকে **ghâr-kē**), where ঘর **ghâr** can be easily parsed as being the subject of the passive sentence. (This reminds one of the 'high-caste' and 'caste-less' nouns of Dravidian.) আমি দেখা যাই **āmi dēkhā jāi**, however, would seem to be the older form, and আমাকে দেখা যায় **amākē dēkhā jāy** later. আমি করা যাই **āmi kârā jāi** *I am done* would be bad Bengali, because here the first personal pronoun would require the কে, **-kē** as it is very definite, and করা যাওয়া **kârā jāŏā** is rather vague: the passive would not be used when both the subject or object and the verb are so very indefinite, and therefore the construction would be regarded as clumsy. But আমি ধরা যাই **āmi dhârā jāi** *I am caught* would be quite correct, as ধরা **dhârā** refers to a definite action.

(2) আমাকে (or আমারে, আমায়) দেখা যায় **āmākē (āmā-rē, āmay) dēkhā jāy** *I am seen*, or, with a slight potentiality implied, *I may be seen* (=*they can see me*). There is a difficulty in explaining দেখা **dēkhā**. Generally it is looked upon as a verbal noun in আ **-ā**, derived ultimately from the passive participle in **-tá-** of Indo-Aryan, the nominal use of which is also quite common in Sanskrit. It would thus be explained as meaning *with regard to me, a seeing goes on* (or *takes place*). The occurrence of (3) আমাকে দেখন যায় **āmākē dēkhân jay**, *with regard to me, a seeing takes place* would lend countenance to the above explanation. But it would seem that in an expression like আমাকে দেখা যায়, দেখা is really a passive participial adjective, and the whole construction is in the impersonal,

which is so characteristic of the Western and Southern Indo-Aryan languages. আমাকে দেখা যায় would be best explained as being, literally, *with regard to me, it is seen.*

If we had evidence from Old and Middle Bengali remains on this point, we might expect a solution of the difficulty. But the passive with the past participle in আ -ā was not at all a popular form, and rather rare is its occurrence in the plain direct narration of Middle Bengali verse. Stray instances in the *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrttana* like তোহ্মা জাইবেঁ মার **tõmhā jāibẽ mārā** (=মারিত, মারিঅ, মারঅ **mārita, māria, mār-ā**; Modern মারা < মারিঅ + আ affix, pleonastic, **mārā** < **māria** + **ā**) *you will get killed* (p. 33), বান্ধিল জাই **bāndhilā jāi** *becomes tied up, is put in bonds,* (p. 71—where we have the old passive participle adjective in ইল -**il**-, which has now become obsolete in the literary language, but is occasionally heard in the dialects, and is quite a common form in Middle Bengali, e.g. গেল রাত্রি **gēlā rātri** *last night* =গত রাত্রি **gātā rātri**, জুড়াইল দুধ **juḍāilā dudh** *milk that is cooled*, শুতিল মানুষ **sutilā mānuṣ** *sleeping man*, ভুখিল বাঘিনী **bhukhilā bāghinī** *famished tigress* in *Kavikaṅkaṇa*, দুহিল দুধু **duhila dudhu** *milk that is drawn* in the *Caryā* 33, etc., etc.) indicate that the passive participle is the form associated with this construction. We can also compare the *Caryāpada* expression বড়হিল জাঅ (জাই) **baḍ-hila jāi** (33. 2) *increases*, where apparently বড়হিল **baḍ-hila** = বাঢ়িল **bāḍhila** = বড্ঢিল্ল **baḍḍhilla**, that is, বর্দ্ধিত + ইল **vardhita** + **ilá**, a passive participle, with √জা **jā**. The transition from the real passive made up of the participle and the verb, with the object proper in the nominative, to the neuter construction with the nominative-object in the dative and the participial passive in the impersonal, would be very easy; and such a state of things has its parallel in the other cognate languages.

The origin of this জা or যা **jā** passive has undoubtedly been influenced, as Beames had suggested,[9] by the old -**ijja**- passive of Apabhramsa. We have the -**ijja**- forms in Prakrit and Apabhramsa on the one hand, and the √**jā** forms in the modern languages on the other: the middle is blank, and these two must be linked together by a transitional state of things not represented in linguistic remains, when the -**ijja**- was slowly assuming a new role as a root—when it was merging into the **jā** root, as it were. It would seem that the neuter passives (deponents) like **marijjaï**=**mriyátē** *dies* first took up an analytical form; because

[9] Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Aryan Languages, Vol. III (1879), pp. 73–74.

marijjaï is equivalent in meaning to **maraï** or **marē**, and the **-jjaï** could easily be regarded as a form of **jāï** from √**jā**, giving rise to the analysis **mari jāï** (=মরিয়া যায়)=*being dead, goes.* The occurrence in the speech of the compound verb would help such an analysis. Once this analysis was established, there would not be any bar in forming other tenses and verb forms from √**jā**. In Middle Bengali, analysed forms of the above type (an indeclinable in ই -i or ইয়া -iyā + √যা **jā**, mostly with neuter verbs) are very common ; e.g. in the *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrttana*, চলি জাইহ **cāli jāihā** *depart* ; পড়ি গেল দিঠী **pādi gēla diṭhī**, *the sight was cast* ; ভাঁগি জাএ **bhāṅgi jāē** *gets broken* ; মোর মজি গেল মনে **mōrā māji gēlā mānē**, *my mind became attached* ; পড়িয়া যাইবে **pādiyā jāibē**, *you will fall* ; মরিআঁ যাইবি **māriā̃ jāïbi** *wilt die*, etc., etc. An Old Bengali instance is অবসরি জাই **avasari jāi** < *অবসরিজ্জই **avasarijjaï**, deponent of **ava**+√**sṛ** = *move*, in the *Caryāpadas* (32. 4). The modern passive or neuter with the আ -**ā** participle would seem to be of later origin. The potential sense which one can attach to the passive in √যা **jā**, and which is never present in the passive with √হ **hā**, seems to point at the **-ijja-** origin of the former : for the old potential or optative had **-ejja-** in Prakrit, and the confusion between the passive and the optative, already noted, might just be continued in the analytical form.

As has been noted above, the **-ijja-** form seems to have been foreign to Magadhī Prakrit and Magadhi Apabhramsa, the source of Bengali ; because no **-ij-** forms are found in the relics of the inflected passive preserved in Bengali and other Magadhan languages, only **-i-** forms. The formation of the analytical passive with **-jā-** may thus have been brought about in Old Bengali through contact with and influence of Western dialects having **-ijja-** > **-īj-**, **-j-**.

(3) আমাকে দেখন যায় **āmākē dēkhān jāy** *I am seen, I may be seen*, lit. *with regard to me, a seeing goes on* or *takes place.* This form of passive is one of the oldest constructions in Bengali : it occurs in the *Caryāpadas*, and it is quite plentiful in Middle Bengali, e.g. (*Caryā* 2) ধরণ ন জাই **dharaṇa na jāï** *cannot be held*, (35. 1) কহণ ন জাই **kahaṇa na jāï** *cannot be described*, লেপন জাঅ **lēpana jāi**, (4. 3) ? *is entangled or smeared* ; *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrttana*, p. 38, ললাট লিখিত খণ্ডন না জাএ **lālāṭā-likhitā khāṇḍānā nā jāē** *that which is written on the forehead cannot be averted* ; p. 58, প্রাণ ধরণ না জাএ **prāṇā dhārāṇā nā jāē** *life cannot be endured*, etc. Instances from other Middle Bengali works need not be given : they are fairly common, and may be found in any page of a Middle Bengali book.

In Modern Standard Bengali, this construction is falling into disuse, but it is fully preserved in the East Bengal dialects. The employment of this অন **-ana** + যা **jā** passive is impersonal, and it is on the lines of (2). It would seem to have originated from an unconscious analysis of the verbal adjectives, passive, in **-anīya(ka)**: the line of development was probably **karaṇīyaka** > **karaṇijja(y)a** > করণি জাএ ***karaṇi jāē** > করণ জাএ **kâràṇâ jāē**; so **paṭhanīyaka** > **paḍhaṇijja(y)a**, পঢ়ণি জাএ, পঢ়ন (পড়ন) জাএ, ***paḍhaṇi jāe**, **pâḍ(h)ânâ jāē** etc. The intermediate form in this process of analysis, করণি জাএ, পঢ়নি জাএ, is not preserved in Bengali, but it is represented, doubtless, by Old Baiswari forms like **barani jāya**, **kahani jāi** etc. in *Tulasīdāsa*. We may note that an expression like না যায় কহনে **nā jāyâ kâhânē** would be quite natural in Middle Bengali, and the এ -ē in কহনে **kâhânē** might be a reminiscence of the older form in ই -i. The analysis into a noun in অন + √যা **-ana** + **√jā** took place before the Old Bengali period: and once this analysis became accepted, the transposition of the noun and the verb, and the insertion of the negative particle না, between the noun and the verb, which is so frequent in negative constructions of this type in Middle Bengali, became easy: সহন না যায় **sâhân nā jāy**, না যায় সহন **nā jāy sâhân** *it cannot be borne*; but curiously enough, না সহন যায় is not found, although সহন যায় না is commonly met with in modern speech: the reason being probably that না **nā** which qualifies the verb must not be separated from it by the noun.

In Middle Bengali we have a few cases where there is apparently a verbal noun in অ -â: e.g., নিবার না যায় রে **nibārâ nā jāyâ rē** *cannot be prevented* (*Vaṅga-Sāhitya-Paricaya*, p. 981); so বোল না যায় **bōlâ nā jāyâ** *cannot be described*. There is no form in Modern Bengali corresponding to it: the absence of the -ন(ণ) -nâ(-ṇâ) in such cases is in all likelihood due to haplology.

(4) আমি দেখা পড়ি **āmi dēkhā pâḍi** *I am seen*, *I happen to be seen*, lit. *I fall seen*. This construction, apparently an old one, is essentially idiomatic, and strictly speaking it should come under the consideration of the characteristic 'compound verbs' of Modern Indo-Aryan. The use of the √পড় **pâḍ** is restricted to a few verbs only, and as Beames has fully noticed it, it indicates accidence as well as finality more than anything else. দেখা **dēkhā**, etc. is best explained as a passive participial adjective. The modern Dravidian employment of a root **paḍ**, to form the passive, has been noted by Beames and others, but it would seem that it is a matter of coincidence. The old Dravidian speech did not possess a

passive form, but the employment of obviously the same root in the two groups of Indian speeches, Aryan and Dravidian, is interesting; and it is only one of numerous points of similarity which demonstrate the fundamental agreement between the speakers of the languages of the two groups in their habits of thought. The impersonal construction with √পড় **pad** (e.g. আমাকে দেখা পড়ে **āmākē dēkhā pāḍē**) is unknown.

(5) আমাকে দেখা হয় **āmākē dēkhā hây** *I am seen* (i.e., *they see me*); lit. *with regard to me, a seeing takes place* (or *there is a seeing*). Here we have apparently a verbal noun (we never say আমি দেখা হই **āmi dēkhā hâi** where আমি is the nominative). The action indicated by the verb is the important idea in this construction: compare for instance, মারা যায় **mārā jāy** or মারা পড়ে **mārā pāde**, *gets struck or killed, dies*, which states just a fact, without any emphasis on the actual act, but মারা হয় **mārā hây**, lit *the striking* or *killing takes place*; দেখা গেল **dēkhā gēlā** *came in sight*, but দেখা হইল **dēkhā hâilā** *a seeing took place*. This construction seems to be a modern one. (The root √হ **hâ** in Bengali, as used here, really represents two roots, **as** and **bhū** of Skt., which have merged into one.[10])

(6) আমি দৃষ্ট হই **āmi dṛṣṭā hâi** *I am seen* is a learned form and has a modern look too, and it is found in high-flown speech only. It looks like a translation of the English passive, employing the Sanskrit passive participle to avoid any ambiguity that might result if the native passive participle in আ **-ā** were employed. It would not be remarkable, however, to find it in Middle Bengali, as Sanskrit passive participles have been introduced by the score into the language since its birth.

The root √আছ **ăch** is used with the past participle to form a sort

[10] **√as—*as-a-ti** > **ahaï** of Prakrit > **åhạj, hạj** of Hindi; **āhē** of Marathi, and of Sindhi; **hạj** of Magahi; and হয় **hây** (not হোএ হুএ **hōē, huē** = **hōī** = **bhavati**) of Bengali. Magahi has kept **ha** <**as** and **hō, bha** <**bhū** separate: e.g. past tense **halạj** from **√as**, but **hōl, bhēl** from **√bhū**. Modern Bengali phonology would support the view that √হ **hâ** is really √*অহ **åh**: e.g. করিবে ধরিবে **kåribē, dhåribē** etc. drop the ই **-i** in the modern colloquial and umlaut the অ **å** to ও **ō**: ক'র্বে, ধ'র্বে **kōrbē, dhōrbē**; but where the root ends in a হ **-h** there is no umlaut: রহিবে **råhibē** > র'বে **råbe**, not **rōbē**, from √রহ **råh**; so সহিবে **såhibē** > সইবে, স'বে **såibē, sābē**, বহিবে **båhibē** > ব'বে **bābē**, লইবে **låibē**, > ল'বে **lābē**; from লহিবে **låhibē**; similarly, *অহিবে **åhibē** > *অহবে **åhbē** > হবে **hâbe**: but quite early the form হইবে **hâibē** came to be employed in literature for *অহিবে **åhibē**, doubtless though the confusion with √হো **hō** <**bhū**. Cf. ন + *অহিলে = নহিলে **nå + åhilē** > **nåhilē**, ন + *অহিবে = নহিবে **nå + åhibē** > **nåhibē**. The √**bhū** > হো **hō** had forms হোএ হুএ, হোই **hōē, hūyē, hōi**, etc., which have merged into হয় **hây**. The past base হইল **hâilā** represents √অহ **åh**. Early Bengali had the other past base ভৈল, ভইল **bhạilā bhâyilā** from √**bhū**.

of passive perfect, mostly in connection with nouns inanimate or nouns that are names of lower animals, which are subjects of the predicate, e.g. এ বই আমার পড়া আছে **ē bāi āmār pāḍā āchē** *this book has been read by me*, where আমার **āmār** governs পড়া **pāḍā** which predicates বই **bāi**, the subject of আছে **āchē**; মাছ ধরা আছে **māch dhārā āchē** *fish have been caught* (i.e., *fish that have been caught are*); এ কথা সকলের জানা আছে **ē kāthā sākālēr jānā āchē** *this is known to everybody*; এ বই তো পড়া ছিল **ē bāi tō pāḍā chilā** *this book indeed had been read before*, etc., etc.

Two other idiomatic forms of the passive may be noted. √চল **cāl** *go*, to express the idea of possibility or continuance, occurs with the verbal noun in আ **-ā**, which governs the personal object in the dative with কে **-kē**, and the inanimate object or object which is the name of a lower animal in the accusative. The construction is impersonal: e.g., খাওয়া চলে **khāōā cālē** *can be eaten*, দেখা চ'লল **dēkhā cōllā** *the seeing went on*. √খা **khā** *eat* in the sense of *suffer* takes the verbal noun মার **mār** *a beating*, and is conjugated actively, to denote *to be beaten*. This idiom occurs in other Indo-Aryan languages, as well as in Dravidian.

The impersonal and indefinite use of the passive is a noticeable feature in Modern Bengali. When one is not sure whether to use the honorific forms in speaking to an individual, recourse is taken to the passive impersonal to avoid any chance of giving offence by using the ordinary non-honorific: e.g., কি করা হয় **ki kārā hāy** *what do you do?* literally, *what is done (by you)?* instead of the honorific আপনি কি করেন **āpni ki kārēn** or the inferior তুমি কি কর **tumi ki kārā**. So কোথা থাকা হয় **kōthā thākā hāy** *where do you live?* etc. Cf. also the indefinite expressions ধ'রে নেওয়া যা'ক **dhōrē nēōā jāk** *let it be granted*; যদি বলা হয় or যায় **jādi bālā hāy, jāy** *if it is said that*; এখান দিয়ে যাওয়া যায় না **ēkhān diyē jāōā jāy nā** *one cannot go by this way*, where যাওয়া যায় **jāōā jāy** is probably from ***jāïjjaï**, passive with **-ijj-**; cf. এখান দিয়ে যায় না **ekhān diyē jāy nā** *one does not, one should not go by this way*, where যায় **jāy** = ***jāïaï**, passive in **-ia-**.

The passive construction (*karmaṇi prayōga*) which is a notable feature for the past tense of transitive verbs in Hindi, Gujarati and other New Indo-Aryan languages, was also characteristic of Old Bengali. The past tense is a participial adjective, which qualifies the object when the verb is transitive, and takes up the gender and number of the object, the subject being put in the instrumental; and it is an adjective qualifying the subject, taking up its gender and number, when the verb

is intransitive. Old and Middle Bengali show occasional relics of this Prakritic construction, but the active use with the pronominal affixes attached to the past participle was fully established in Middle Bengali. Thus, e.g., we have in the *Caryāpadas* instances like—

খুণ্টি উপাড়ি মেলিলি কাচ্ছি (8. 2)
khunṭi upāḍi mēlili kācchi
Taking off the peg, the rope was loosened ;
তোহোর অন্তরে মোএ ঘলিলি হাড়েরি মালী (10. 6)
tōhōra antarē mōē ghalili hāḍēri mālī
For thy sake the necklet of bones has been thrown away by me ;
গঅণত লাগেলী ডালী (28. 3)
gaaṇata lāgelī ḍālī
The branches touched the sky ;
সেজি ছাইলী ; রাতি পোহাইলী (28. 4)
sēji chāilī . . . rāti pōhāilī
The bed was made ; the night was passed ;
ঘরিণী...লেলী (49. 2)
ghariṇī lēlī
A wife was taken ;
ফিটিলি ষবরালী (50, 7)
phiṭilī ṣabarālī
Was broken the Śabara's nature or game ;

etc., where the feminine affix ই, ঈ -ī is added to the past base in ইল -il- when the object (=subject with an intransitive verb) is feminine, showing the common early New Indo-Aryan affix -ī (<-ia <-ikā). In the *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrttana*, the passive construction for the transitive verb is absent, but the adjectival use of the participle for the intransitive past, in examples like চলিলী রাহী **calilī Rāhī** *Rādhikā went*, is fairly common.

The Bengali future (in ইব **-ib-**), now active in form and use, was similarly originally passive and neuter, being derived from Old Indo-Aryan future passive participle in **-tavya.** আমি যাইব **ami jāibā** is really for মুই জাইবোঁ **mui jāibõ** of Early Middle Bengali=*I shall go ;* জাইবোঁ=জাইব+হোঁ **jāiba+hõ**=*I will go+ ;* the original construction was মুই যাইব **mui jāiba** =Skt. **mayā yātavyam** (neuter construction), without the affixed pronoun, যাইবোঁ **jāibõ** making it a finite verb. So আমি ভাত খাইব **āmi bhāt khāibā** *I shall eat rice* is for Old Bengali মুই, মই ভাত খাইব **mui, maī bhāta khāiba**=**mayā bhaktaṃ khāditavyam** (passive construction). As in the past tense, the transitive verb future is in form and origin a

verbal adjective qualifying the object. Traces of this original passive usage are found in Old Bengali : e.g.—

Caryā 5—তুমহে হোইব।

tumhē hōiba (=yuṣmābhir bhavitavyam)

You will be ;

Caryā 7—কাহ্নু কহি গই করিব নিবাস।

Kānhu, kahī gaï kariba nivāsa ? (=nivāsaḥ kartyavyaḥ)

O Kānhu, where will thou go and dwell ?

Caryā 10—তোএ সম করিবে (=করিব) ম (=মই, মো) সাঙ্গ।

tōē-sama kariba ma sāṅga (=kartavyō mayā saṅgaḥ)

With thee I shall have commerce ;

Caryā 29—মই দিবি পিরিচ্ছা।

maï dibi piricchā (dibi=*diabba+ia=*ditavya+ikā, fem.=Skt. mayā dātavyā pṛcchā)

By me an enquiry is to be given (=I shall institute a discussion).

THE CAUSATIVE PASSIVE.

The Causative Passive, or Potential Passive—'a causative that has assumed a reflexive or passive meaning'—has been fully discussed by Hœrnle and Tessitori.[11] It occurs in Bengali also. In modern Gujarati this causative passive is the only common form in use, the original -i- passive has passed over to the active voice, and in the present indicative first person plural only.

Examples from Middle Bengali—

Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrttana : p. 89, সেহি এহা পথে মাহাদানী বোলাএ **sēhi ēhā pāthē māhādānī bōlāē,** *he is called the chief toll-collector in this highway ;* p. 186, যেহ্ন না ছাড়াএ ঘোল **jēnha nā chāḍāē ghōlā** *so that the butter-milk is not scattered.*

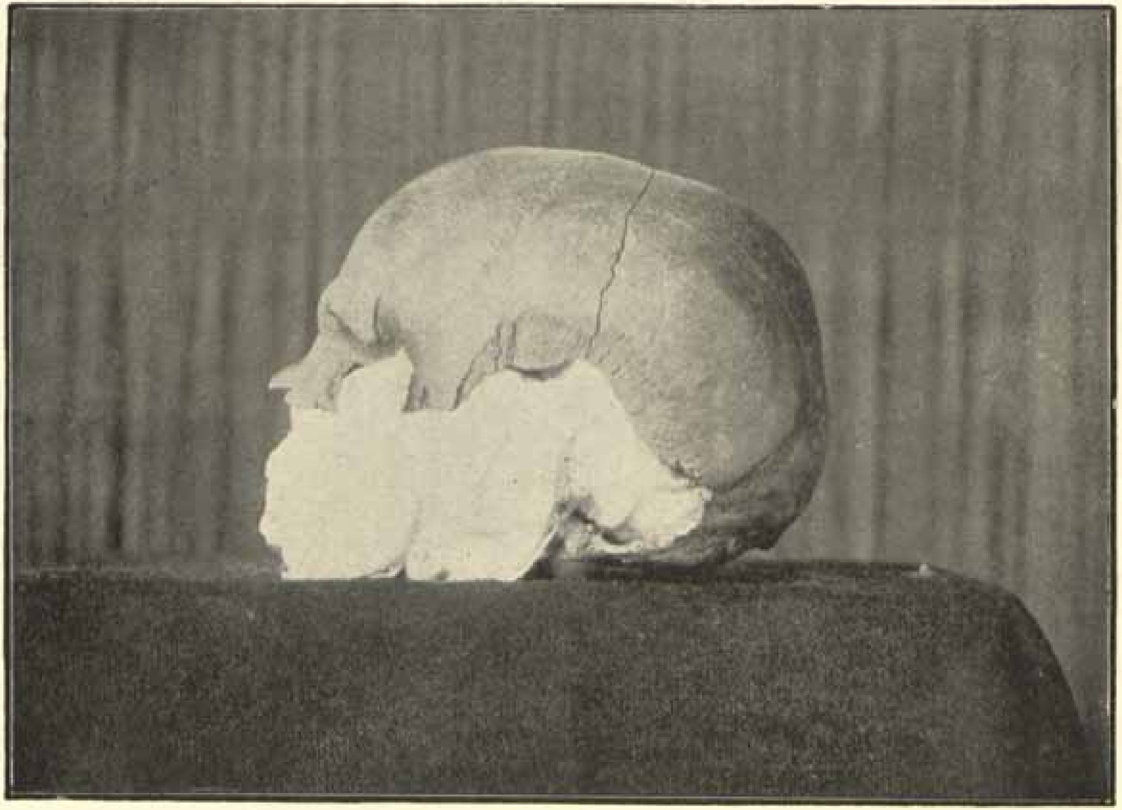
Modern Bengali—

বেশ মানায়, **bēś mānāy** *fits nicely, looks well ;* কথাটা ভাল শুনায় না **kāthā-ṭā bhālā śunāy nā** *the story does not hear nice, is not to be regarded as welcome ;* কথাটা চরাইয়াছে, **kāthā-ṭā cārāiyāchē** *the news has been spread ;* সে ভাল মানুষ কহায় বটে, কিন্তু লোক সুবিধার নয় **sē bhālā-mānuṣ kāhāy bāṭē, kintu lōk subidhār nāy** *he is spoken of as an honest man, but he is not of*

[11] *Gauḍian Grammar,* § 484; *Grammar of Old Western Rajasthani,* § 140 (*Indian Antiquary,* 1914–16).

the good sort ; এতে কিন্তু দোষ খণ্ডায় না **ē-tē kintu dōṣ khâṇḍāy nā** *but the evil is not averted by this ;* যত পরখায় তত দোষ বা'র হয় **jâtâ pârkhāy tâtâ dōṣ bār hây** *the more it is tested the larger the tale of faults that come out ;* দুল পরবার জন্য কাণ বেঁধায় **dul pârbār jânyâ kān bẽdhāy** *the ear is pierced to put on earrings ;* এটা তত খারাপ দেখাবে না **ēṭā tâtâ khārāp dēkhābē nā** *this will not show so bad*, etc., etc. : the sense in most instances, as above, is impersonal.

Cf. Oriya—*Dhruva-caritra* of *Jagannātha-dāsa* (Contai edition), p. 8 : **sē bōlāi pāṭârānī** *she was called the chief queen ;* p. 48 : **dēbâ-gâṇâ-mâdhye tu bōlāu sunāśīra** *thou art called Sunāśīra among the gods ;* p. 26 : **dwādâśâ âkṣârâ mântrâ-rājâ ē bōlāi** *of twelve syllables this is called the prince of charms.*



The Prehistoric Skull of Bayana.

THE PREHISTORIC SKULL OF BAYANA.

RAI BAHADUR B. A. GUPTE, F.Z.S., F.R.S.A., *Curator, Victoria Memorial Collection; Lecturer in Anthropology and Ancient History, University of Calcutta; Member, Government Historical Records Commission.*

(1) In 1903 Mr. Wolff found an old skull when excavations for a bridge on the Bayana-Agra Railway were being made on one bank of the Gambhir River near Bayana in the Bharatpur State, Rajputana. It lay 35 feet below the level of the bed of the river. It was sent to the Bombay Natural History Society, and the late Lt.-Col. K. R. Kirtikar of that Society forwarded it to the Anthropological Institute of Bombay. Dr. Modi, the Honorary Secretary of that Institute, sent it to Dr. Arthur Keith, M.D., F.R.S., Conservator of Museum, Royal College of Surgeons of England. The latter has given his expert opinion, comparing it with three other skulls and adding useful diagrams to illustrate it. I am obliged to Dr. Modi for allowing me to make use of a part of this valuable research.

In the Bayana skull the nasal bones are preserved. Its sagittal suture is almost closed and the coronal suture is closing. "A peculiar anomaly," says Dr. Keith, "is present; the mastoid region of the temporal bone has fused with the neighbouring part of the parietal on the left side. Its bones are *stained a light brown*; are dense and hard; the crevices and recesses are filled with a fine sandy loam. It is a cranium of small size. Its maximum length is 178 mm. and width 127 mm. The height of the vault above the ear passages is 108 mm. It is therefore narrow in comparison to its length and its width index is 71. It is also narrow in comparison to its height."

Thus it is shown by Dr. Keith to be the cranium of a man who had a small head which was narrow in comparison to its length and height. He compared it with about 500 skulls of people of various parts of the Indian Empire, now at the Royal College of Physicians, collected by Sir Havelock Charles and others. He found

it allied to that of a typical male Veddah. He also found that the Bayana skull belongs to the racial type to which Risley applied the term Aryo-Dravidian, and notes that the inter orbital width between the internal angular processes is 22 mm., between the inner border of the right and left lachrymal grooves is only 16 mm.

He points out that the *nasal bones are compressed and prominent* very different from the *short flat depressed nasal bones of typical Veddah* and Dravidian skulls. It is also recorded that in the Bayana skull the zygomatic arches and cheek bones projected well beyond the width of the skull. He finally adds that of the close resemblance of skulls the value lies in the fact that they may yet serve as *evidence* of the *persistency* of type.

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(2) On these skulls Mr. E. Vredenburg, Superintendent, Geological Survey, favours me with the following interesting remarks at my request:—"In the absence of any precise information regarding the constitution of the alluvium surrounding the Bayana skull and the details of the superincumbent strata, we have but one fact to guide us, the depth at which it occurred, alleged to be 35 feet. The rivers of the region are, at the present day, not depositing, but eroding agents. The impression, conveyed by the record of a specimen from so great a depth, first is, therefore, that it must be of considerable antiquity. It should be kept in mind that these rivers are liable to sudden floods which might disturb and redistribute the alluvium without removing it. I doubt whether the alluvium would be disturbed by these floods to a depth of as much as 35 feet, but I have no information on the subject and I am not aware of the publication of any precise observations. Moreover the topographical circumstances of the actual locality would have to be taken into account.

"Failing direct information, we have to fall back on the—characters of the actual specimen. As noticed by Mr. Keith, its colour implies a lengthy sojourn in the alluvium. The skull was fractured across when it reached me, and I notice that the colour extends right through the substance of the bone. I know nothing of the condition of the skull, regarding encrusting material, when it was found. The fossil remains of animals which have been found in India in formations of undoubtedly pleistocene age, are generally encrusted with sand grains adhering so firmly that it would be difficult, in cleaning them, to obtain the perfectly smooth and beautifully preserved surface of the Bayana

skull. Still, we must beware of attaching too much importance to this difference. If the Bayana skull was found in a fine-grained silt of the nature of "loess" so abundantly developed in the Bayana region, its condition, whatever its antiquity, would be very different from that of the bones found in the coarse-grained pleistocene formations of the Narabada and Godavari. These bones are generally more or less mineralised, which is not the case with the Bayana skull, but, again, I would not place too much reliance on this difference. Human remains have not been found in these formations, but they have yielded human relics in the shape of a paloeolithic implement discovered in the Narbada formation. The characters of this implement as also the general character of the fauna, indicate a rather early stage of the pleistocene. All the human remains of that period found in Europe belong to the very peculiar extinct type known as the Neanderthal race, while, according to Mr. Keith, the Bayana skull exhibits no particularly abnormal features when compared with modern races. In our total ignorance concerning the physical characters of the early inhabitants of India, this does not definitely establish a difference of age.

Taking everything into consideration, we may say that the Bayana skull is certainly not recent; but, whether it might be two thousand years old or twenty thousand, we have, at present no means of determining. Our knowledge of Indian post tertiary geology is scanty. It would be of the utmost importance, in the present instance, to *entrust to a competent geologist*, a thorough investigation of the post tertiary geology of *the Bayana neighbourhood*."

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(3) I wish to add that Veddahas are natives of Ceylon. "Vedans of Madras and Mysore are supposed to be the remnants of the earliest inhabitants of the peninsula (of India) and identical with the Deddas of Ceylon." (Thurston). They are not found in tracts north of Mysore. It will thus be seen that the Veddahas are not the people whose remains are likely to be found in the north of the Vindya mountains.

Dr Arthur Keith's measurements of the Bayana skull have been very accurately taken and most conveniently illustrated. He is right in assigning it to the Aryo-Dravidians. Local environments however lead me to believe that this Bayana skull belonged to a Bhar, an aboriginal tribe inhabiting the Bharatpur State. The cephalic length of the present somewhat civilized and mixed up representatives of the race

shows that out of 100 living specimens measured by Sir Herbert Risley, 17 range from 175 to 180, while the specimen before us is 178. Making allowance for the skin and hair covering the scalp in living subjects, we shall not be wide of the mark if we say that these are probably the people who were allied to the man whose skull we have been examining. Out of the measurements of the breadth of the skull of the 100 Bhars, that of 7 range from 120 to 131. That is a small proportion, but it is accounted for by the facts that they had great struggles with Aryan Guptas and the Mongals or Moslems of the west,—medium and broad-headed races. Intermixture must have taken place among them in several cases, and general evolution due to civilization must have added to some development of their crania. As a proof of what I thus guess, I lay stress on the fact that two of the bones of this skull have got fused on the left side. Fused bones are found rarely, but they show a disproportionate evolution of the brain which could not keep place with the growth of the bones of the skull, and forced nature to overlap. The mastoid region of the temporal bone has therefore fused with the parietal bone. That marks a very primitive or early stage. The Bhars are still found in the locality of Bayana, and a little to the north. There are about 91,357 of them in Azamgad, 73,944 in Gorakhpur, 59,986 in Ghazipur, 58,860 in Balia, 42,631 in Benares, 26,869 in Faizabad, &c. As Bayana is situated in the Bharatpur State, its very name shows signs of its origin from the name of the tribe Bhar. There are many very old Indian temples in and about the town, which have been turned into mosques by the Moslem invaders. One of these temples bearing date A. D. 1043 mentions Jādon Raja (the Jādhavs of the present day). There is a red sand-stone pillar bearing an inscription of Vishnuvardhana, a tributary of Samudragupta dated A. D. 372. Jādon King, Bijapāl's descendants rule Karauli this day. He was killed by a nephew of Mahmud Ghazni. Bayana is mentioned in *Ain-i-Akbari* as having in former times been the capital of the province of which even Agra was but a dependent village.[1]

Dr. Oppert thinks that they are the Bharatas, a mountain tribe mentioned in connection with the Shabaras and with the Berberas or Barbarians. One Surah, the chief of Surauli, wished to marry

[1] Fleet, *Gupta Inscription*, p. 253.

a high caste Rajput girl and was murdered by her relations. He is still remembered as a ghost.

Sir C. Elliott tells us that in prehistoric days, Oudh was an uninhabited forest country, after the Surajbansis were literally banished, and was ruled over by aborigines called Bhars. This great revolution seems to be satisfactorily explained by the conjecture that the Bhars were the aborigines whom the Aryans had driven to the hills and who swarming down from thence not long after the beginning of the Christian era, overwhelmed the Aryan civilization even in Ayodhyā itself, and drove the Surajbansis under Kanaksen to emigrate into distant Gujerat. They spread themselves over all the plains between the Himalayas and that spur of the Vindhya range, which passes through the south of Mirzapur. There, they are found even now. They are dark-complexioned, ill-favoured, and of *mean stature* with nomadic and predatory habits. In fact (says a Settlement report) throughout Oudh, and the eastern part of the N. W. Provinces, every town the name of which does not end in *pur*, *abād*, or *mau* is assigned to the Bhars. The universal tradition of southern Oudh proves, that these princes conquered by Nasir-ud-din Muhammad, King of Delhi, in 1246 A.D. were Bhars, and that the whole of the south of the province as far as Ghagra was included in their dominions. They are so very ancient a tribe, that they are supposed to be the Bhayas of the Mahābharat subdued by Bhimsen in his eastern expedition.

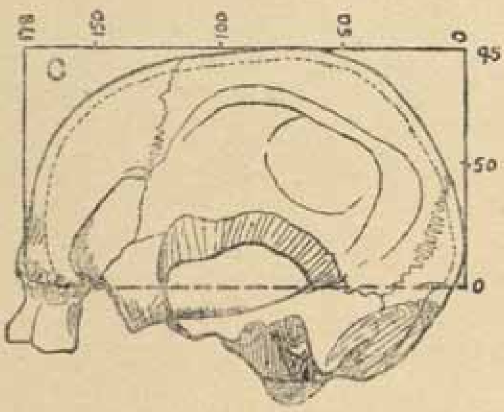
Mr. William Crooke says that the most probable supposition is, that the Bhars were a Dravidian race. This is borne out by their appearance and physique which closely resemble that of the undoubted non-Aryan aborigines of the Vindhyan Kaimur plateau. *Married men among them are buried, or their corpses thrown into running water.*

It has been stated that prehistoric people like the Veddhas originally lived all over India, and have been driven down to the south. If so, Dr. Keith has really done great service to the science of Anthropometry by identifying the old skull found at Bayana with a member of the prehistoric natives of India, *like* the Veddahas—locally known as Bhars, deposited when they were just coming in contact with the earliest immigrant Aryans.

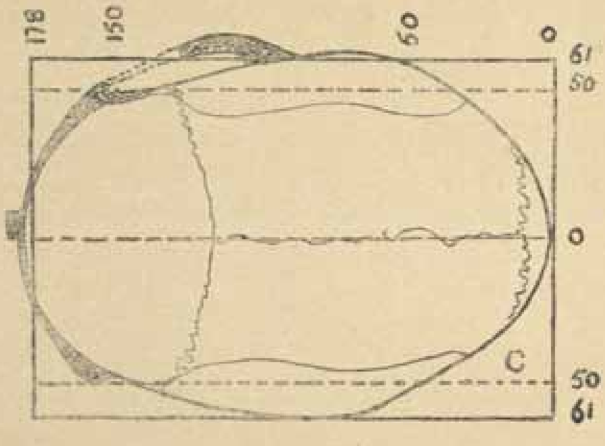
DR. KEITH'S TABLE OF CRANIAL MEASUREMENTS OF THE BAYANA SKULL.

Max. Length	178	mm.
Max. Width	127	mm.
Cephalic Index	71·3	
Auricular Height	108	mm.
Basibregmatic ,,	131	,,
Min. Front Width	90	,,
Supraorbital Width	101	,,
Max. Width at Coron Suture	107	,,
Bi-Asterionic Width	95	,,
Bi-Mastoid Width (max.)	120	,,
Bixygomatic Width	136	,,

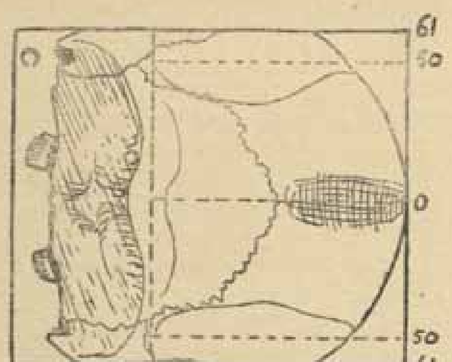
DR. KEITH'S DIAGRAM OF THE BAYANA SKULL.



Profile view



Vertex view.



Occipital view.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

To the Paper on "The Ablative Termination in Gujarātī."

Page.	Line.	Incorrect.	Correct.
649	last	जपरि	उपरि
650	4	*after* थकुं *add*—	,on the other,
654	11 from the bottom	थई)	थई (
657	before the last para *add* :—		

[Another little indication is furnished, I believe, by *Si. He.* VIII. iv. 416 wherein कहन्तिहु is given as an *ādeśa* of कुतः. I conjecture that this is made up of क (a representative of किम्) + होन्तिहु.]

Page.	Line.	Incorrect.	Correct.
658	note 6	*add* :—	also (10)
660	note *	*after* "Grammar" *fill up the blank thus* :	

बाह वि छोडवि जाहि तुहुं हउ तेवँइ को दोसु ।
हि अइ ट्ठिउ जइ नीसरइ जाणउं मुञ्ज सरोसु ॥

And for "Here" *read*— 'ट्ठिउ, here'

THE ABLATIVE TERMINATION IN GUJARĀTĪ.

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I. Modern Gujarātī has थी and थकी as terminations of the ablative case. Of these two थकी is generally confined to poetry and, in prose, to a few stray localities or classes of people. थी is the generally used termination. I propose to trace the history of these two terminations, i.e., their linguistic evolution.

II. It will facilitate our object if we place before our mind clearly the two distinct conditions in which थी and थकी appear in the language:

(*a*) as an indeclinable suffix, as in हुं मुंबाईथी आव्यो ; or ए छापरेथी पड्यो ; or पगथी माथा सुधी झाळ चडी ; and the like, and
उदर थकी कंइ बाळ जे'वुं, जे'वुं प्रेत स्मशानथी

(*Kusuma-mālā*, p. 91)

गिरिटोंच थकी ऊतरी सघळो

(Ibid, p. 34)

and (*b*) as an adjectival affix, liable to changes of gender and number, i.e., as a विकारी विशेषण ; e.g.:

(1) आर रत्न लहिये तिहां थकां

(*Sudāmâkhyān*, by Gangādās, probably V.S.[1] 1716)

(2) उत्पति सघळी एहथकी वली प्रले थई एमां भले

(*Bhramara Gītā* by Brahadeva)

(3) जा आछां थकउ

(*Pancākhyāna*, 641)

(4) ऊपरि थिका जे हाथी घोडा (*Kānhaḍa-De prabandha*, I. 94.)

[1] The following abbreviations have been used in this paper: Ap(abhraṁśa); *Notes* (*on the Grammar of Old Western Rājasthānī with special reference to Apabhraṁśa and to Gujarātī and Mārwārī*, by Dr. Tessitori in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xliii, Feb. 1914, ff); Pr(akrit); S(ans)k(ri)t; O(ld) W(estern) R(ājasthānī); Guj(arātī); M(arāṭhī); V(ikrama S(aṁvat).

Note that in old literature थ्यकुं is also found for थकुं; थकउ is the precursor of थको.*

This distinction between the indeclinable थी and थकी on the one hand, and the adjectival थो, थी, थुं and थको, थकी थकुं must be borne in mind prominently because on that depends the discovery of the two lines of evolution which the originals of these have passed through.

III. Another feature, the significance of which will be perceived later on in the formation of the ablative, must be noticed specially. It is the fact that in a number of cases the termination थी is preceded by some indication of location, either latent or manifest in the shape of a change in the ending vowel of the base, thus—

(1) घोडेथी पड्यो corresponds to Skt. अश्वात्पतितः, but while थी takes the place of the ablative termination the base घोडो undergoes the change into घोडे which signifies location, घोडो + ए (=locative termination) + थी; literally meaning, "from on the horse."

(2) अमदावादथी मुंबाई आव्यो. Here the locative termination after अमदावाद is not manifest; it is latent, all the same, for it will be clear that अमदावादथी means अमदावाद + मां + थी, if we compare the formation of the ablative in the case of a noun ending in ओ or उं, e.g., आ रस्तेथी आव्यो, or वडोदरेथी आव्यो (रस्तो and वडोदरुं being the base words). The fact is that in forms like अमदावादथी (where the base word ends in अ) the locative suffix इ which used to be appended in older times, i.e., in the Gurjara Apabhraṁśa period (e.g., रावण तणइ कपालि = (Modern Gujarātī) रावण तणे कपाळ), changes into simple अ.

(3) हाथथी गयो. Here the sense is not *pure* अपादान and yet, being partly such, the position of हाथ before थी is as if it was हाथ + locative + थी, the locative ए or rather इ having disappeared in favour of a final अ.

(4) अहिंथी, ज्यहांथी, त्यहांथी, क्यहांथी. Here the words अहिं, ज्यहां, त्यहां, क्यहां are all forms expressing location, forms which could be traced back to forms of the locative case;

* (See note at the end of the paper.)

ज्यहां-ज्यहां-जिहां (this last form is very common in the Gurjara Apabhraṁśa[2] stage as a locative form of जे).

(5) घेरथी आव्यो. Here घेर, which is the locative of घर, clearly proves the pre-fixture of location before थी.

(6) माहेथी काढी नांख्युं. Here there is a clear locative माहे before the थी; the only distinction being that माहे conveys a sense of अधिकरण in a modified form, a metaphorical अधिकरण being implied.

I admit that there are certain kinds of instances where the थी is attached without any locative expression before it, manifest or latent. Such are—

(7) पगथी माथा सुधी झाळ चढी
(8) म्हारा घरथी त्हमारुं घर एक माइल छेटुं छे
(9) घरथी दूर ते दूर
(10) आ लींबडाथी पेला आंबा सुधी हमारी हद छे.

It would hardly be correct to import in these instances any idea of location before the थी, even by a stretched interpretation. This class of cases, however, belongs to a stage of grammatical evolution which was subsequent to the one wherein the थी always had a locative index before it, manifest or latent, and consequently these instances need not be regarded as exceptions to the general rule requiring a locative prefixture to थी, but only as a different class by itself wherein थी ceased to carry with it the reminiscence of its derivation, and assumed a *purely* अपादान aspect. This remark will be clearer when I come to discuss the derivation of थी which I accept.[3]

[2] For instances, see infra, Section IX, p. 656.

[3] There are other applications of थी which are not pertinent to our inquiry. These are:

(a) comparison—1. एथी पण सरस; तेनाथी पण सरस,
2. वज्रथी अधिको वेदना सही (Bhālaṇa, *Kādambarī*, p. 117, l. 12, K. H. Dhruva's edition).
3. गायथी बकरी गरीब; (also गायनाथी ...);

(b) agency—म्हाराथी लखातुं नथी;

(c) instrumentality—पगथी चित्र चीतरे छे;
पगथी ठेश मारी;
जोरथी वांची.

A comparison of the following two instances will illucidate my point :—

(1) म्हारा खेतरथी हेनुं खेतर चार राश्वा छे

(2) म्हारे खेतरथी तुं आव्यो .

In (1) the change of उं to आ in म्हारा shows the absence of a locative suffix, even latent, in its विशेष्य, खेतरथी ; whereas in (2) the ए of म्हारे, distinctly a locative indication, reflects the latent locative in the विशेष्य, viz., खेतर of खेतरथी.

IV. We can now enter upon a search for the true derivation of थी-थकी (indecl.), as well as of थो-थी-थुं and थको-थकी-थकुं (adjectival). Several derivations have been suggested by several scholars. I think the test to be applied in selecting as true or otherwise one or more of these must be :

(*a*) Whether the particular derivation fits in with the idea of location preceding the थी termination ; in other words, whether the derivation supplies a psychological link between the locative sense and the sense of the termination ;

and (*b*) Whether the derivation accounts for the apparent phonetic anomaly presented by the presence of स् in स्थको, etc., found in the earlier stages of the language. Under ordinary conditions the स् of स्था would be elided in Prākrit, and hence the presence of स् in स्थको, etc., appears rather anomalous. Could it have been the result of semi-learned scribes desiring to give the word a learned appearance ?

Let us then see what are the derivations hitherto suggested. They are these, so far as I have seen—

(*a*) तस् (Skt.)—as in मुखतः.

(*b*) तहिं—locative singular of तत् in Prākrit and Apabhraṁśa.

(*c*) हतउ—present part. <हुंतउ < होन्तउ (Ap.) < भवन्तकः (Skt.).

(*d*) स्था = to stand (for थी ; थो-थी-थुं).

(*e*) थकइ Pr. < स्थक्यति Skt. (?).

V. (*a*) तस्. This derivation has several drawbacks :

(1) तः is an indeclinable, and consequently it cannot be the parent of the adjectival थो-थी-थुं, with the inflections of gender. Śāstrī Vrajalāl Kālidās, in his *Utsarga-Mālā* (p. 118, edition of 1870), overlooks this essential difficulty and tries to suggest the derivation from तस् thus—

Skt. दुग्धतो दग्धो बालो दधि पुनः फुत्कृत्य पिबति

Prāk. दुद्धतो दड्ढो बालो दहि पुण फुक्किअ पियइ

Guj. દુધથો દાધો બાળ દહિ પણ પુકી પિયેછે.

(I leave as irrelevant the bad Sanskrit in the sentence above, concocted by the Śāstrī himself). In his anxiety to show an exact reflection of forms he has given थो (G.) for तो (तः) (Skt.) forgetting that थो is adjectival and masculine, whereas तो is simply the *sandhi*-made accident from तः an indeclinable.

(2) तः would leave the क in थको unaccounted for.

(3) Most important of all, there are the following two objections :—

(*i*) *phonetic*—in that the स् in the old forms स्थको, etc., remains unexplained if तस् is accepted as the origin ;

and (*ii*) *psychological*—in that the locative idea preceding थो in the ablative formation (e.g., घोडेथी पड्यो and the like) is incapable of fitting in with तस्.

The *Mugdhâvabodha-Auktika* gives तउ as one of the ablative suffixes (p. 3, col. 2, H. H. Dhruva's edition जेह्तउ, हूंतउ, थउ, थकउ). It also gives तउ as a word corresponding to ततः (तउ किसिउं, ततः किम् ; p. 17, col. 1). But this should not mislead us ; for ततः cannot take the place of तस् , the former being a complete ablative-like form of तद्, while the latter is a mere suffix having an ablative sense ; though it is possible to explain गामथो as coming from ग्रामततः > गामतउ and so forth by a natural transition of thought,—the idea of ग्रामततः (" village thence ") sliding gradually into गामतउ (simply meaning " from "), " from the village," just as, in the case of the English genitive suffix (-'*s*), *John his* passing into *John's*.

VI. (*b*) तर्हि—This derivation is suggested by Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar (*Wilson Philological Lectures*, p. 254). The difficulties in the way of accepting this view are these :

(1) The sense of तर्हि, viz., that of location, cannot very well fit in with the idea of अपादान which is the essence of the ablative case.

(2) तर्हि is an indeclinable, and it cannot account for the adjectival suffixes, थो, थी, थुं.

(3) Nor can it account for the presence of the स् in स्थको, etc.

and (4) it will not harmonize with the idea of location contained in the form preceding the suffix थी, as in घोडेथी पड्यो and the like.

Dr. Bhandarkar himself derives the Marāṭhī ablative suffix ऊन—हून from होऊन (having been), and this should have really given him a clue to the true derivation of the Gujarātī termination, थी, as we shall presently see.

VII. (*c*) हतउ—Dr. Tessitori (*Notes*, § 72, 2, 3) traces the ablative suffixes, तउ and थउ (O.W.R.) from हतउ < हुंतउ < होन्तउ < भवन्तकः. Now, this may be accepted as far as it goes. But I cannot go with Dr. Tessitori in his rejection of the derivation of थउ (adjectival) from the past participle of थावउं (=to be, or become), or that of थी (indeclinable from थई (by contraction), the conjunctive participle of थावउं. In fact he has, to my mind, discarded the right derivation in favour of one which is second best, or perhaps only a basis for analogy; I mean his derivation of थी (indeclinable) from *हतिइ < हतइ, locative absolute of the present part. हतउ, and of थकी (indeclinable) from *थकिइ, locative absolute from *थकिउ (थकउ). (Vide his *Notes*, § 72, 6 and 15). Besides, his view (§ 72, 6, para 2) that थई by its very participial form may easily take the significance of ablative without being identical with the ablative post-position थी, can hardly be accepted as sound simply because he finds instances where in Old Braja होय is used as a participle in a similar situation: आवइ पवन पदमसरि होय, the wind comes *after having been in* (=*from*) the lotus-lake. One can very well argue that such forms indicate an earlier stage which preceded the crystallization of the participle (थई) into the suffix (थी). In fact in the instance उत्तराधाढि नक्षत्रि थई) *Rṣabhadēvadhavala Sambandha*, 51) cited by Dr. Tessitori, the थई is a post-position of an analytical stage, while the थी in Gujarātī गामथी, etc., is a termination of synthetical evolution. I shall deal with this aspect presently.

VIII. (*d*) स्था, (*e*) स्थक, थक.—It will be convenient to take these two conjointly in one section, though to be discussed, of course, separately.

I have just above referred to Dr. Tessitori's mention of the derivation of थउ and थी from the past participle and the conjunctive participle of थावउं. I prefer to go further back to the Skt. स्था. Dr. Tessitori (*Notes*, § 72, 4 and 5) derives थकउ (adjectival) and थकी (adverb-

ial) from थक्कइ < स्थक्कति Skt. (Pischel, 488); and I believe he is correct, except in the coining of the Sanskrit root, for there is no such root in Sanskrit, whereas Hemacandra (VIII, 4. 16) gives थक्क as a ready-made *ādêśa* of स्था, which may have come from some Dêśya dialect.

I am inclined to accept Dr. Tessitori's view so far, but shall have occasion to differ slightly from him in applying the test (*a*) noted at the outset (Section IV, above), and in the important point regarding the exact predecessor of थी and थकी. I may at once state my conclusion categorically thus:—

1. थी and थकी (indeclinables) are to be traced to the क्त्वान्त forms, conjunctive participles as Dr. Tessitori calls them, of थवुं, थावुं (Old G. and Modern Kāṭhiāvāḍī G.), स्था (Skt.) and थक्क् (Pr.) respectively.

2. थो, थी, थुं; थको, थकी, थकुं (all adjectival forms) are to be traced respectively to स्थित (Skt.) and थक्किअ (Pr.), थक्किअउ (Ap.) past part. of थक्क्.

I shall briefly give reasons:

To begin with, the test (*a*) is fully satisfied in accepting these conclusions: the idea of location, in instances like घोडेथी पड्यो, वडोदरेथी आव्यो, क्यहांथी आव्यो, तिहां थका and the like, harmonises well in the thought-linking of the sentence; thus—वडोदरेथी = having been (थई) in Baroda; and so forth.

To apply the test of the comparative method, let us see the Marāṭhī usage; तो गांवाहून आला; here हून (the ablative suffix) is a contraction of होऊन (=having been), meaning literally—"he having been (in) to the village." Dr. Bhandarkar (*Lectures*, pp. 255–6) gives this same derivation but gives the sense differently—"the village having been, he came." I submit this is obviously not as fitting as "he having been to the village." The absence of a clear locative indication in गांव + होऊन would not justify taking गांव in the nominative; in Gujarātī, for instance, अमदावादथी and such instances keep the locative suffix or the sense latent; similar may be the case with Marāṭhī, or the आ in गांवा may represent an old locative index. Marāṭhī तेथून, = तेथें (=there) + हून < ऊन, clearly points to the locative particle attached to ते.

The Hindī termination, सों, for the ablative may be traced to a

possible क्रान्त form of अस् (=to be) + उण (Pr.)–उन. [Cf. Marāṭhī असून (=being, having been); rural Marāṭhī has ablative expressions like तिकडसून which distinctly indicate the locative तिकडे + असून (क्रान्त of असणॆ=to be). I would not trace the suffix सून to पासून (=from; पार्श्व + स्थून–उन) by contraction. Marāṭhī घरांतून (=घर + आंत (inside) + उन) may be compared with Gujarātī घरमांथी, Marāṭhī आंतून with Gujarātī त्हेमांथी, and Marāṭhī त्याहून अधिक to Gujarātī तेथी अधिक.] This सों should not be confounded with the instrumental सों—सें, traceable to Skt. समं.

थो, थउ can be traced back to स्थितकः, through थिअउ (Apabhr.); and थको, थकउ to थक्किअउ (Apabhr.). Their adjectival nature is not incompatible with their linking up with the idea of location, which the sense of "to stand" perforce requires. The double क्क accounts for the presence of क in the Gujarātī, थको, etc., for if we traced the word from स्थितक the simple क would either disappear or be turned to ग.

IX. To compare the sense of location implied in the Gujarātī expressions आपरेथी, वडोदरेथी, अहांथी, etc., we may go back to the Apabhraṃśa forms given by Hemacandra.

In his *Sūtra*, VIII. iv. 355, he says:

सर्वादेर्ङसेर्हां ।

Gloss:—अपभ्रंशे सर्वादेरकारान्तात्परस्य ङ सेर्हां इत्यादेशो भवति ॥

Instances:—जहां होन्तउ आगदो । तहां होन्तउ आगदो । कहां होन्तउ आगदो ॥

In the instances here given, I should regard the forms जहां, तहां, कहां as forms of the locative gender, or adverbs of location, and होन्तउ as the ablative suffix, derivable from the present participle of हो (Pr.), —भू (Skt.). But strangely enough, Hemacandra regards the हां as the ablative suffix and होन्तउ a mere incidental word. I submit he is in error here. I know, in *Kumāra-pāla-carita*, VIII. 26, he gives जहां होतउ and तहां होतउ, and renders the former by यस्माद् भवन् in the commentary. But this poem was designedly composed to illustrate his *sūtras*, and consequently these quotations cannot have the value of independent evidence from literature. In the instances under VIII. iv. 355, it is noteworthy that no instance is given of हां without होन्तउ. The natural inference is that होन्तउ is the essence of the अपादान sense,

whereas ह्वां is something else in significance, and I contend it must have had a locative sense, at any rate in expressions of this kind. The locative forms, जह्वां, तह्वां, कह्वां, may have lost their independent existence or recognition in those days. My inference gains further support from the fact that in *sūtras*, VIII. iv. 372, 373, 379 and 380, the instances of ablative forms invariably have होन्तउ as a constituent :

तउ होन्तउ आगदो
तुज्झ ,, ,,
तुध्र ,, ,,
तुम्हहं ,, ,,
मउ ,, ,,
मज्झ ,, ,,
अम्हहं ,, ,,

True, the forms preceding होन्तउ are not in the locative; but neither are they in any apparent ablative form; nay, they are all forms of the genitive case*—तउ, तुज्झ, etc.—a fact which would go to show more strongly that the अपादान significance is vested in होन्तउ.

[Mārkaṇḍeya seems to have missed this significance when he gives तुह, तुज्झ, तुम्ह, तुब्भ, आग्रद् as instances of ablative (without the essential होन्तउ). Vide *Prākṛta-sarvasva*, XVII. 46, gloss.]

The view I take regarding the forms जह्वां, तह्वां, कह्वां, viz., that they must have been locative forms (either as case forms or as *avyayas*) gains support from the fact that during the post-Apabhraṃśa period we find जिह्वां, तिह्वां, किह्वां in undoubted locative sense. Thus we find :

(1) जिह्वां—यत्र, यस्मिन् स्थाने वा—*Mugdhávabodha-Auktika* (V.S. 1450), p. 16, col. 1, last para, ll. 2, 3.

* This may, with advantage, be compared with the Gujarātī idiom, where, in the case of the first and second personal pronouns, the ablative suffix थी is preceded by the genitive form :

(a) माराथी रामचन्द्र वे हाथ दूर बेठो ;
(b) माराथी चलातुं नथी ;
(c) मारी कनेथी (पासेथी) चार रुपिया लीधा .

Here, (a) is an instance of अपादान, but needing the genitive as a prop, wherein some such word as स्थान or the like is understood; (b) is an instance where थी expresses instrumentality or agency; (c) is an instance where कने, पासे or the like must be interplaced to express the idea; (cf. Skt. मम पार्श्वात्). अंथी, तुंथी, अमोथी (अम्हथी), तमोथी (तम्हथी)—not हमेथी, त्वमेथी—are forms, more or less obsolete now.

(2) जिहां-तिहां, freely interspersed in the same book, p. 5, col. 2, ll. 2, 3; p. 4, col. 2, l. 3, under *Kṛdantas*, etc., etc.

(3) *Kānhaḍa-Dē prabandha* (V.S. 1512) has किहां (=क्यहां, "where", interrogative) at I. 105; जिहां (=ज्यहां, "where", relative) at I. 15 (twice), 16; III. 246; तिहां (=त्यहां, "there") at III. 94.

(4) *Hari-Līlā* (V.S. 1541) has किहां ताहारु स्वामी प्रल्हाद.

(5) Bhālaṇa's *Kādambarī* (V.S. sixteenth cent.) has जिहां, तिहां at several places; e.g., p. 128, l. 5 (पाणिग्रहण जिहां सखी सखीमांहां करतां कांइ व्यापार); also l. 13 (जिहां कणि कर्णकमलतां लोचन); p. 129, l. 22 (तिहां कन्यकासहस्रमांहां चोठो दीठो ते ततकालि).

Instances could be multiplied without end. I am sure that these forms जिहां, तिहां, किहां, were the successors of the जहां, तहां, कहां cited in Hemacandra, VIII. iv. 355, which he erroneously regarded as ablative cases.

Dr. Tessitori regards these forms in हां as primarily ablatives, which, having lost their original ablative meaning, passed into the locative sense, and, he thinks, this misled scholars into considering them as real locatives. (See his *Notes*, § 61.) Nevertheless he admits that in the instances in Hemacandra, VIII. iv. 355, the हां, though cited as ablative, may as well admit of the locative meaning. On the whole, however, he is inclined towards regarding these forms as ablative, and traces the O.W.R. ह्मां back to स्मात् (Skt.), through म्हा (Pr.), हां (Ap.); though he admits that ह्मां is very rare in O.W.R., and that the ablative ह्मां of Māravāḍī and Jaipurī must be traced to आहुं, ablative plural termination in Apabhraṃśa.[5] Dr. Tessitori[6] clearly recognises that "the employment of the present participle *hontaü* to form the ablative was frequent enough in Apabhraṃśa," and he cites the very instances given in Hemacandra, VIII. 4. 355. It is difficult to understand how, at the same time, in § 61 he takes हां as the ablative symbol, for हां + होन्तउ, double ablative, would be an absurdity. I am therefore in favour of regarding होन्तउ as the ablative symbol appended after the locative symbol हां to represent the complex idea conveyed in such an express-

[5] The Sindhī ablative termination आं must be referred to this same source, आहुं.

[6] *Notes*, § 72, (2).

ion as "being inside," i.e., "from inside"; तहां होन्तउ = "being inside that place," i.e., "from that place." Mr. Keśavalāl H. Dhruva, in his "Notes to Bhālaṇa's *Kādambarī, Pūrvabhāga*," p. 206, notices the form जहां and regards it as locative, but stops short there and is silent as regards होन्तउ and its significance. Rāo Bahādur Kamalāśankar P. Trivedī, in his "*Gujarātī Brihad Vyākaraṇa*," pp. 132–134, discusses the ablative suffixes, and incidentally regards होन्तउ as the ablative post-position in Apabhraṃśa, thus going against the express words of Hemacandra (from whom he quotes जहां होन्तउ, etc.), but not spotting his (Hemacandra's) oversight.

X. We see thus a sort of similarity in the Apabhraṃśa ablative जहां होन्तउ and the Gujarātī ablative ज्यहांथी, the only difference being this, that होन्तउ is a present participle, and therefore adjectival, whereas थी is from थई, the conjunctive participle, which is indeclinable; a nearer approach to the form with होन्तउ being the Gujarātī idiom त्यहां थतो आव्यो, where थतो is a present participle and therefore adjectival. This last idiom remains different in sense from the ablative idea, no doubt, but the essential origin is common between थई and थतो in these instances.

The adjectival थो-थी-थुं are traced to—

(*a*) स्थितक

(*b*) हुतउ < होन्तउ < भवन्तकः।

The latter derivation is favoured by Dr. Tessitori.[7] I prefer the former. My reasons are: the change of तउ to थउ under the influence of the ह of हुतउ, although not quite impossible phonetically, requires a needless step, whereas स्थ of स्थितक supplies the थ naturally and easily; secondly, the स्था being the root common to the थो (adjectival) and थी (indeclinable), we secure a sort of brevity of phonetic principles (बीज लाघव) consistently with probabilities.

The ablative suffixes given in the *Mugdhâvabodha-Auktika* (p. 3., col. 2) are तउ, हूंतउ, थउ, and थकाउ. One need not, simply on account of the sequence in which these are given, suppose a common origin for them all. I believe तउ can be traced to हूंतउ (by the elision of the un-accented first syllable), or to ततः (as stated above, see p. 652); हूंतउ

[7] *Notes*, § 72, (3).

is obviously from होन्तउ (Ap.), भवन्तकः (Skt.); थउ from स्थितक, and थकउ from थक्किअउ (Pr. and Ap.), past participle.

Hemacandra gives (VIII. iii. 9), amongst others, two *ādeśas* in Pr. for the Skt. ablative plural भ्यस्, हिन्तो and सुन्तो. I may be permitted to guess that the होन्तउ of the Apabhraṃśa, which I detach from the instances जहां होन्तउ etc., must be allied to these हिन्तो and सुन्तो, and that हिन्तो (probably changed from ऊन्तो) must have come from the present participle of Skt. भू and सुन्तो from that of Skt. अस्. I cannot go with the extremely ingenious but for that very reason quite unconvincing theory of Lassen referred to by Beames,[1] wherein he (Lassen) states that हिन्तो was a composition of हिं (instrumental plural termination) and तस् (Skt.) ablative particle, and सुन्तो was made by a mixture of सुं (locative plural termination) with तस् (Skt.),—the former meaning "from by" and the latter "from in"; that the fusion of the components resulted in a loss of the distinction between the two, and also of the distinction of number; and, further, that हूंत and हूंतो, as in केतीक दूर अजमेर हूंत (Canda's *Pṛthurāja-Rāsau*, I, 178), and कहत सिद्ध किहि पुर हूंतो (ibid, I. 184), Hindī ablatives, resulted from this fusion of हिन्तो and सुन्तो; and, finally, this हूंत gave the Marāṭhī ablative suffix हून. All this has to be discarded. As we have already seen, हून is from होऊन, corresponding to the Gujarātı थी (from थई); and I see no reason to reject this view established by the comparative method, and various other data and arguments. Old Hindī हूंत and हूंतो are equally clearly from Ap. होन्तउ.

[1] *Comparative Grammar*, Vol. II, p. 234.

[2] [See p. 650. Instances of थो-थी-थुं (adjectival) can also be given. I do not stop to mention them. The oldest instance I find is in the verse quoted by Hemacandra in his Prakrit Grammar.

(*Śi. He.* VIII. IV. 439.)

Here is the old precursor of थउ-थी.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL BASIS OF ALAṄKĀRA LITERATURE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO *RASA*.

PANDIT SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYYA, SĀHITYAŚĀSTRI, KĀVYA-TĪRTHA, M.A., B.T., *Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Calcutta.*

It is a truism that the cultural asset of a nation is determined by its literature; and it is as much a truism to say that the critical literature of a country gives us a no mean estimate of the constructive capabilities and potentialities of its master-minds. India has a literature of hoary antiquity and of wide range such as no other country in the world possesses; and it is not strange to notice that her contribution to the critical literature of the world is of matchless purity and real value. Not to say anything of works which fall more properly under the domain of physical and metaphysical sciences, her contributions in the narrower field of literature and "letters" have been immense and far-reaching. Her *Alaṅkāra* literature—for it is under this name that these works pass—professes to be called an important adjunct (अङ्ग) to the study of Veda[1] and has as much sanctity attached to it from times immemorial. The tale of the descent of the सारस्वतेय काव्यपुरुष,[2] which, after all, is a fine idea, hints at the importance of this literature. Speech was rude and crude in the primitive stages of civilisation;—so was poetry, the 'soul and acme' of speech. It was in speech that the prospective greatness of the human species lay latent. वाग्वै गायत्री वाग्वा इदं सर्व्वं गायति च त्रायते च, वागेव ऋक्, says the Ṛṣi of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad.* वाग्वै हविष्कृत् । वाचमेवैतत् विसृजते । वाग्वै यज्ञः, reiterates the author of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,*[3] in his usual strain. Nay, as early as in the ages of the Vedic hymns, the sages sang thus of Speech and her manifold manifestations :

[1] Vide the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* of Rājaśekhara (Gaekwad Oriental Series): उपकारकत्वादलङ्कारः सप्तममङ्गमिति यायावरीयः । ऋते च तत्परिज्ञानात् वेदार्थानवगतिः ।

[2] Ibid, Adhyāya I.

[3] I. 4. 11.

अत्रा सखायः सख्यानि जानते भद्रैषां लक्ष्मीर्निहिताधि वाचि ।
(*RV.*, X.71.2.)

सुपर्णं विप्राः कवयो वचोभिरेकं सन्तं बहुधा कल्पयन्ति ।
(*RV.*, X.114.5.)

As was naturally to be expected, grammar went hand in hand with rhetoric and poetics for elaboration, elucidation and a scientific study of speech. The one has analysed (व्याकरण), the other has graced and adorned the elements of speech (अलङ्कार),—so much so that it was in and through them that speech has justified its existence and spread its triumphs over thoughts and things.

It was great a triumph for man to speak out his thoughts, and surely it was as great a triumph for him to utilise his resources in analysing the materials of speech. It was for the three sages, with whose names the Science of Grammar is ever associated, to do it—and do it in a manner never to be surpassed. The well-known riddle-hymn of the *Rgveda* (IV.58.3.)—

चत्वारि शृङ्गा त्रयो अस्य पादा द्वे शीर्षे सप्त हस्तासो अस्य ।
त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो रोरवीति महो देवो मर्त्याँ आविवेश ॥—

has been so interpreted by the *Bhāṣyakāra* as to form the foundation stone of his science. Well might an ingenious old rhetorician have made it the text of the greatness of his *śāstra* too! Bhāmaha, with whom the *Alaṅkāra-śāstra* in its set and systematic form is believed to begin,—and who, by the by, was born too early to admit the presence of ध्वनि (suggestiveness in literature),—believes in the eternity of sounds and words.[4] The discussion connected with the four-fold utterance of words as noticed by the *Bhāṣyakāra* and as indicated in the commonly known verse—

वैखरी शब्दनिष्पत्तिर्मध्यमा श्रुतिगोचरा ।
द्योतितार्था च पश्यन्ती सूक्ष्मा वागनपायिनी ॥—

indicates clearly in what manner the Indian mind interested itself in the investigation of *śabda*,[5] and to what a stage it reached in unfolding the physiological, psychological and ontological principles—for the

[4] न शब्दाः क्षणनश्वराः । *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, IV. 6

[5] We read in the *Mahābhāṣya*: कस्तर्हि शब्दः ? येनोच्चारितेन सास्नालाङ्गूलककुदखुरविषाणिनां सम्प्रत्ययो भवति स शब्दः । अथवा प्रतीतपदार्थको लोके ध्वनिः शब्द इत्युच्यते ।

psychology and ontology of a thing follow closely in train of its physiology—underlying the very being of speech. It is interesting to note in this connection how later writers on *Alaṅkāra*,* while explaining the origin of ध्वनिप्रस्थान and the importance of ध्वनि from its psychological and literary bearings, do not fail to notice the physical and physiological connection between ध्वनि and स्फोट. The critic in literature has to look to the sentence or (वाक्य) as the unit of his investigation. While the linguist and the physiologist have dwelt on the sound (or the syllable) and the manifestation thereof, the critic, with the aid of the logician and the psychologist, has dived deep into the mysteries of thought and their coherence and concentrated his attention on the substance, leaving the outer surface to itself.

Thus, the two prominent aspects of literature have their logical and psychological trends. The art of criticism, as it is conceived and fully developed in the *Alaṅkāra* literature of India, took note of both. The logical aspect of *Alaṅkāra* has been, and quite rightly too, the theme of many dissertations, both old and modern;—nay, it has been so much discussed and written on, especially in the later orthodox literature of the subject that, in reading some works professed to be on *Alaṅkāra*, one is often tempted to doubt whether they are not works of

* Says Mammata: बुधैर्वैयाकरणैः प्रधानभूतस्फोटरूपव्यङ्ग्यव्यञ्जकस्य शब्दस्य ध्वनिरिति व्यवहारः कृतः, ततस्तन्मतानुसारिभिरन्यैरपि न्यग्भावितवाच्यव्यङ्ग्यव्यञ्जनक्षमस्य शब्दार्थयुगलस्य।—*Kāvyaprakāśa*, Ullāsa 1. Mammata clearly follows Ānandavardhana on this point—vide *Dhvanyāloka* (Kāvyamālā edn., p. 47) for an exactly similar remark.

Similarly, we read in Kavikarṇapūra's *Alaṅkāra-kaustubha* (a work which the writer of this paper has been editing for the Varendra Research Society, Bengal, the first volume of which has been out in March, 1923):

सच्चिदानन्दविभवात् सकलात् परमेश्वरात्।
आसीच्छक्तिस्ततो नादस्तस्माद्बिन्दुसमुद्भवः॥
नादो बिन्दुश्च बीजञ्च स एव त्रिविधो मतः।
भिद्यमानात् पराद्बिन्दोरव्यक्तात्मा रवोऽभवत्॥
स एव श्रुतिसम्पन्नैः शब्दब्रह्माभवत् परम्॥......

इत्यारभ्य, ततोऽक्षरसमाम्नायमिति श्रीभागवतम्। तेन नादस्य नित्यत्वात्तदात्मकस्योङ्कारस्य च नित्यत्वम् ....तदात्मकस्य वर्णसमूहस्य च। तेन पवनसंयोगवियोगवशादेवाभिव्यक्तानभिव्यक्ती। वस्तुतस्तु नित्यतैव तेषामित्ययमान्तरस्फोटः।....अत एवैके आचार्याः शब्दार्थमान्तरं स्फोटं शब्दब्रह्मेत्याहुः। वैयाकरणास्तु बहिः स्फोटमाहुः। (अलङ्कारकौस्तुभ—२य किरण).

The self-same extract from the *Bhāgaratapurāṇa* is utilised in the Brahmanical Tantra literature (e.g., in *Sāradā-tilaka*) to explain the philosophy of the framing of *mantras*. Vide *JAOS.*, Vol. XXIII.

logic (न्याय) as well.[7] The psychological aspect, on the other hand, one is apt to lose sight of, and the treatment it has received at the hands of modern scholars in the form of discussion and exposition is no index of its importance. The physical and the linguistic aspects of criticism are related to its psychological aspect as body to mind.[8]

It may be said here, without any fear of contradiction, that the rhetoric literature of no other country has produced such a system and thoroughness as the *Alaṅkāra* literature of India has achieved,—and achieved through its analysis of the spirit or the sentiment. The code of criticism in ancient India may be said to have approximated to the state of an exact science; for the rules and principles therein are general and universal,—almost all of them apply not to ancient Indian literature alone, but to any literature of any age; nay, they apply not merely to literature, but to any fine art which can be expressed by symbols and signs. And the reasons for the importance of *Alaṅkāra* literature are not far to seek. In Greece and Rome rhetoric was regarded as a means to an end—it was useful mainly as a powerful instrument in the hands of the orator and statesman. Very seldom, indeed, was any attention paid to any other side of the art than the purely "physiological" one or the style (रीति),—to the अङ्गसंस्था, as the later Indian rhetoricians would term it. In Europe, in the Middle Ages, the art of criticism got a set shape and colouring, after the manner of the "school-men"; but it was more often a shadow and phantasm that they pursued—the soul of art was a sealed book to many of them. We hear, in modern Europe and Greater Europe, of a good many schools of literary criticism; but, suffice it to say, that no definite constructive and thorough lines of criticism have been systematically chalked out so as to place the art on a solid footing. The *Alaṅkāra* literature does not stand charged with any such grave defects or shortcomings,—and it has, like Aaron's rod, exterminated unworthy

[7] As apt instances one may cite the many commentaries on *Kāvyaprakāśa*, which are more often feats of intellectual (logical) gymnastics than of any ulterior value. The *Alaṅkāra-kaustubha*, a late South Indian work by Viśveśvara Paṇḍita, is fully saturated with this preponderance of the *Nyāya* mode of thinking and argument.

[8] "Etymology, vesification, syntax are respectable sciences and have their proper place in the wide field of human knowledge. They are the anatomy or physiology of poetry. But they do not help us to understand the secret of poetic power for the simple reason that poetic power is independent of accidental and external resemblances"—Spengarn's *Creative Criticism*, p. 111.

compositions and has done real service to the cause of *belles lettres* in our land. From Bharata, the author of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, to Rûpa Goswâmin, the author of the *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi*, is a long way indeed; but, here too, the good old adage "the beginning shows the end" is applicable in no small a measure. The cardinal principles—the attention to and appreciation of the feeling-side (रसात्मकता)—have been the same all through; the literature on the subject has merely "broadened down from precedent to precedent." Hence the historical scholar must not under-estimate the importance of this evolution of thought and must not lose sight of the main under-current which flows deep underneath at the bottom. This reference to feeling and emotion[9]—to love and light, and greater life and greater law—has served as the connecting link between life and literature; or, in a country ridden by ideas and ideals, one would have found few traces of the environment within and without.

Psychology is a positive science, and it is primarily on the feeling-function—one of the tripartite divisions of the mental functions—that the rhetorician has made the soul of literature to lie (वाक्यं रसात्मकं काव्यम्).[10] The pleasures of understanding and those of imagination are, no doubt, brought into prominence in an intensive study of literature; but it is to the fortunate few that the poet imparts the outpouring of his heart and the surging of his sentiments. "Fear is poetry, hope is poetry, love is poetry, hatred is poetry; contempt, jealousy, remorse, admiration, wonder, pity, despair, madness are all poetry."[11] The critic in India has consequently taken his stand on the Longinian doctrine of *transport*, for he wants his poet so to speak in his verses that he may teach, that he may delight, and last but not least, *that he may move*. The poet may be a teacher, a sage; but above all, he is a *man*, a "pendulum betwixt a smile and a

[9] "The only *raison d'être* of æsthetics is to analyse the sentiment of beauty, and this in the final analysis rests on the *Einfühlung* (innate feeling)." (*Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. II, p. 447.)

[10] Cf. also *Nāṭyaśāstra*: न हि रसादृते कश्चिदर्थः प्रवर्तते इति। (Chap. VI, under *Kārikā* 32.)

It may not be out of place here to state that according to Dr. A. B. Keith (*JRAS.*, 1910, review on *Sāhityadarpaṇa*) the definition quoted above—the most commonly known definition of *Kāvya* in our land—is more correct and valid than any of the definitions of Mammaṭa and his followers.

[11] Hazlitt, *On Poetry in General*.

tear." No work of literature is worth the name, unless it be of feeling and imagination all compact, unless it can agitate our higher sensibilities and make us oblivous of our material surroundings. रसो वै सः—and it is रस or sentiment, freely felt and readily realised, that can help us in the attainment of the Sublime. "Our souls are somehow naturally exalted by the true Sublime; and, as if rearing or prancing, are filled with joy and exultation, as if (they) themselves had produced what they hear."[12] If we analyse it clearly and directly, we can readily see that the pleasure or bliss[13] we derive from a critical study of a literary master-piece is the outcome of a psychological process; and as the proof of the pudding lies in the eating, so the criterion of the bliss lies in the tasting or realisation thereof As Viśvanātha puts it:[14] प्रमाणं चर्वणैवात्र स्वाभिन्ने विदुषां मतम्. While it is often the psychologist in the man that contributes to making him a poet or prompts him to judge well works of others, it may be equally true that psychology is indifferent, in the long run, in matters of this sort. There is required the philosopher's stone or the magician's wand—genius or taste, as the case may be—the hypothetical *sixth sense* (artistic sense) of the Empiricists of Europe. The following lines of Alexander Pope bear repetition in this connection:

> In poets as true genius is but rare,
> True taste as seldom is the critic's share:
> Both must alike from Heav'n derive their light,
> Those born to judge, as well as those to write.

It is not in the domain of logic, nor of psychology either, to propound that process or to exhibit that light. It is enough if it can help in analysing that light.[15] Nor is it to be overlooked that the psychological aspect in its emotional bearing is one side of the shield; for, knowing—imagination and inference—has its place in criticism.

Thus the psychological basis of *Alaṅkāra* literature is more than substantiated when we take passion or sentiment (रस) to be the ruling principle. Almost the self-same argument applies in their case

[12] Longinus, *On the Sublime* (as translated and quoted in Saintsbury's *Loci Critici*).

[13] आनन्दात्मा यतो रसः—मन्दारमरन्द (९ । ३५).

[14] *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, (Jīvānanda's edn.), III. 57.

[15] Similarly, Anatole France describes the critic not as a judge imposing sentense, but as a sensitive soul detailing his "adventures among masterpieces."

who choose to take ध्वनि (theoretically, suggestiveness of any sort whatsoever) as the essential characteristic of literature (काव्य). The minor modifications in the mode of argument, which have to be called into being, are, however, rendered superfluous when we remember that Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta (the learned commentator on his *Dhvanyālōka*), the two commonly acknowledged champions of the *Dhvani* school, speak every now and then in a strain which makes one doubt whether they do not sail practically in the very same boat with the adherents of the *rasa* school. In the *dhvanikārikās*, for example, we read :

काव्यस्यात्मा स एवार्थस्तथा चादिकवेः पुरा ।
क्रौञ्चद्वन्द्ववियोगोत्थः शोकः श्लोकत्वमागतः ॥ (I. 5.)
दृष्टपूर्व्वा अपि ह्यर्थाः काव्ये रसपरिग्रहात् ।
सर्व्वे नवा इवाभान्ति मधुमास इव द्रुमाः ॥ (IV. 4.)

The Locanakāra quotes, apparently with approval and reverence, the views of his teacher (Bhaṭṭatota ?): प्रीत्यात्मा च रसस्तदेव नाट्यं नाट्यः एव च वेद इत्यस्मदुपाध्यायः ।[16] Says he in his *Abhinavabhārati* (under Chap. VI, verse 33) : नाट्य एव च रसाः । काव्येऽपि नाट्यायमान एव रस काव्यार्थः । Ānandavardhana himself refers to the following well-known verses in his *Dhvanyāloka* :[17]

अपारे काव्यसंसारे कविरेकः प्रजापतिः ।
यथास्मै रोचते विश्वन्तथेदं परिवर्त्तते ॥
शृङ्गारी चेत् कविः काव्ये जातं रसमयं जगत् ।
स एव वीतरागश्चेन्नीरसं सर्व्वमेव तत् ॥

The Locanakāra comments—शृङ्गारपदं रसोपलक्षणम् .

The school that takes its stand on sublimity of sense (रमणीयार्थशब्द-प्रतिपादकता)[18] and counts amongst its followers the renowned Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha has but to choose either of the alternatives afforded by the *Dhvani* or the *Rasa* school in matters relating to suggestiveness (व्यञ्जना). But what shall we say when we find the *Rīti* (or *Guṇa*)

[16] *Dhvanyālokalocana*, under III. 10-14.

[17] *Dhvanyāloka*, III. 43.

[18] More properly, the presence of "expression conveying charming sense," according to the rendering of Dr. F. W. Thomas. That Jagannātha was not the pioneer of this school is evident from the reference to and acceptance of its main principle by the Kashmirian critic Kuntaka, the celebrated author of the *Vakrokti-jīvita*.

school taking its stand on something different from either of those alternatives? Vāmana, the staunchest champion of this school, following his great master Daṇḍin, rules: रीतिरात्मा काव्यस्य [19], as if structure is all-in-all! [20] But it is he again who opines that सन्दर्भेषु दशरूपकं श्रेयः। [21] These two statements appear irreconcilable unless we take it to be his intention that रसवत्ता, which figures so prominently in dramatic literature (रूपक), is *par excellence* a primary requisite of *Kāvyas*. Similarly awkward is the position of those *Ālaṅkārikas* who, taking the Kashmīrian critics Bhaṭṭodbhaṭa and Rudraṭa as their leaders, like some of their *confrères* in the West, opine that it is figures of speech (*Alaṅkāra* in the narrow sense of the word) which make literature what it is worth, and that *rasas* and, for the matter of that, *Dhvani* in general, are species of *Alaṅkāras* and are of secondary importance; [22] for, it will be enough to state that even the *Kavyālaṅkārasaṁgraha* (4th *kāṇḍa*) of Bhaṭṭodbhaṭa refers to the पञ्चरूपता of *rasa* and is not bold enough to discard it outright. [23]

Thus, judged with the apparatus of criticism with which the various writers of different ages and belonging to different schools are equipped, and from the manner in which they interpret themselves in practice, it becomes evident that poetry, to be poetry, must appeal to readers through sentiment, and that the pleasure in the perusal of *Kāvyas* lies in the savouring of sentiments (रसास्वाद), a point to which we have already referred. The sentiment may be any one

[19] *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtra*, I. 2.

[20] Ānandavardhana makes a rather canny remark, while referring to the achievements of the *Rīti* school (*Dhvanyāloka*, Kāvyamālā Edn., p. 231): रीतिलक्षणविधायिनां हि काव्यतत्त्वमेतत् (ध्वनिरूपम्) अस्फुटतया मनाक् स्फुरितमासीत्।

[21] Ibid, I. 3. 30.

[22] रसाः खलु काव्यालङ्काराः, *Kāvyālaṅkārasaṃgraha*. Says Pratīharendurāja in his *Laghuvṛtti* (Kāvyamālā edn., p. 79) in this connection: ननु यत्र काव्ये सहृदयहृदयाह्लादिनः प्रधानभूतस्य....प्रतीयमानैकरूपस्यार्थस्य सद्भावस्तत्र काव्यजीवितभूतः कैश्चित् सहृदयैर्ध्वनिर्नाम व्यञ्जकत्वभेदात्मा काव्यधर्मोऽभिहितः। स कस्मादिह नोपदिष्टः—उच्यते, एष्वेवालङ्कारेष्वन्तर्भावात्॥

[23] Nay, he admits in another context (*Kāvyālaṅkārasaṃgraha*, Chap. VI. 17): कथ्यते तद्रसादीनां काव्यात्मत्वं व्यवस्थितम्। The same frank confession is implied in the following couplets, quoted in the *Laghuvṛtti*:

रसोल्लासी कवेरात्मा स्वच्छे हृदयदर्पणे
माधुर्यौजोगुणप्रौढे प्रतिबिम्ब्य प्रकाशते॥
संपीतस्वच्छशब्दार्थद्रावितात्मान्तरस्ततः।
श्रोता तत्साम्यतः पुष्टिं चतुर्वर्गे परां व्रजेत्

of the *rasas* mentioned in *Alaṅkāra* treatises; for, every *rasa* has its function in the realm of poetry. Bhaṭṭanāyaka, one of the leading exponents of the *Rasa* school, while approving of the free admission of all *rasas* in poetry, formulates, in his own way, the three stages of realisation of the sentiment (रसास्वाद) and opines that the third stage (चर्वणा or भोगीकृति) is the most important.[24] The critic is to see that the चर्वणा (tasting) is there, in the proper place, to make people understand that it is "a thing of beauty" and is hence "a joy for ever." As Victor Hugo has it:[25] "Art has nothing to do with leading strings, with handcuffs, with gags; it says 'Go your ways' and lets you loose in the great garden of poetry, where there is no forbidden fruit. Space and time are the domain of the poet. Let him go where he will and do what he pleases: this is the Law." So much for the positive side of criticism, which relates to our appreciation of literature and regulates our commerce with things and thoughts, as they occur in the pages of writers.

This does not mean, however, that the critic wants the poet to give free rein to his powers of impression and expression, to give his thoughts in a plain, bold, cut-and-dried fashion, to present facts just as they are and are to be presented to the psychologist or the natural historian. Far from that. What is life-like narration to the natural historian may be and often is a lifeless mass of words to the poet.[26] Literature is not science and the poet is but an artist. It is for him to instil life into the whole thing—to season it properly and profusely. As Mahima Bhaṭṭa says[27]: प्रत्यक्षोऽपिह्यर्थः साक्षात् संवेद्यमानः सचेतसां न तथा चमत्कारमातनोति यथा स एव सत्कविना वचनगोचरतां गमितः. Here comes in the discipline under the regimen of which the poet is put. This discipline is really a salutary influence. Much is being, and has been, said in the past against rules,—but there are rules and rules.[28] In

[24] Vide a reference to his views made in Jayaratha's commentary on the *Alaṅkāra-sarvasva*.

[25] Prof. Saintsbury calls this "the Magna Charta of Poetry", *Loci Critici*, pp. 418–419.

[26] "Science is the response to the demand for information, and in it we ask for the whole truth and nothing but the truth. *Art is the response to the demand for entertainment* for the stimulation of our senses and imagination, and truth enters into it only as it subserves those ends."—George Santayana, *The Sense of Beauty*. The italics are ours.

[27] *Vyaktiviveka* (Trivendrum Sanskrit Series), p. 14.

[28] Was it not an English critic (the earliest English critic worth the name), who was

this matter the eastern rhetorician, who exacts विच्छित्ति or वैचित्र्य as a safe principle to start with, is at one with the western critic, who has recorded his vigorous protest against the decriers of rules in criticism in the following passage[29]: "To assert that rules and criticism can oppress genius is to assert that practice and example are oppressive—it is to limit genius not merely to itself, but to its own first attempts." It may not be deemed irrelevant if we state in this connection that two of the eighteen *adhikaraṇas* of the comprehensive *Alaṅkāra-śāstra*—as was schemed by old writers on the subject and has been followed, for example, by Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmānsā*, (of course no sweeping generalisation can be made, since the work published in the Gaekwaḍ Oriental Series is a fragment only)—the वैनोदिक and the वास्तव, treat more properly of facts and sentiments, as they are and as they occur. The former treats of the genesis and practice of pleasant amusements in the form of *Anyokti*, and the latter of figures of speech like जाति (known otherwise as स्वभावोक्ति). Here, too, as is quite evident, the principles of the art regulate the attempts of the poet—he is not free to write as he pleases but is to abide by the golden rules of propriety (विच्छित्ति and औचित्य)[30]; otherwise poetry, which is the consummation of ecstatic and æsthetic intuition, deteriorates itself into something base and nauseating.

Thus, though literary criticism has got a psychological basis, the functions of the mental scientist and of the critic are not the same. While it is in the province of the psychologist to give, amongst other things, an account of the genesis and working of the several types of

bold enough to remark thus of the greatest English poet: "His wit was in his own power, would the rule of it had been so too!"

[29] Lessing, *Hamburg Dramaturgy*, translated into English in *Loci Critici*, p. 261. It augurs well for the future of the literature of criticism in the west that we have amongst the present-day critics a few who would rather choose to be called "classic," "rule-ridden" and "artificial" than damn rules and restraints, and be hailed as "romantic," "catholic" and "natural." Criticism in the west, like many other things, indeed, is turning back to the ideal of the east, and it would be a splendid gain for literature if this *rapprochement* of the eastern and the western ideals happens to stay in and exercise its sway (especially in India) over her rapidly growing vernacular literatures.

[30] *Dhvanyāloka*, under III. 10-14, quotes the following dictum:

अनौचित्यादृते नान्यद्रसभङ्गस्य कारणम् ।
प्रसिद्धौचित्यबन्धस्तु रसस्योपनिषत् परा ॥

Cf. the basis of differentiation between *rasa* and *rasābhasa* (*śuddha rasa* and *malina rasa*) in Indian poetics and later Vaiṣṇava *rasaśāstra*.

feeling within the compass of the human mind, it is the privilege of the poet to construct out of these feelings and sentiments a fairy land of verdure and grandeur, serenity and sublimity. Then again, as we have already hinted, the poet is nothing if he is not a teacher. And hence the poet has to be *realistic* in his work as far as possible,—his literary efforts must have an unambiguous reference the co-ordinates of the life and environment of his species. The positive, psychological or concrete side of criticism—as distinguished from its normative, metaphysical or abstract side—takes its stand here, directly and decidedly. While works in *Alaṅkāra* literature in general touch on both fringes, there are some (e.g., *Daśarūpaka*, *Bhāvaprakāśa*, *Śṛṅgāratilaka*, *Rasamañjarī*, *Rasārṇavasudhākara*) that have directed themselves mainly to the positive side. There are other treatises (e.g. *Rasasudhākara*, *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi*, *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*), again, which have, more or less, a spiritual bearing and in which the 'hungering for the eternity' finds a lasting expression. *Kāmaśāstra* has a family likeness to the former type of works, *Bhaktiśāstra* to the latter. The technical *Dharmaśāstra* and *Arthaśāstra* treatises fall, in a way, under the provinces of both, though in each of them the normative side has cast into shade the positive one. The critic, however, is ever on the alert to remind him that his work is to be चतुर्वर्गफलप्रद,[31] if it is to be classed as something of abiding value. Here it is that idealism inevitably creeps in[32] and prevents literature from being degraded into a jargon of common-place thoughts and spurious ideas. In the hands of the clever Indian poet, the real and the ideal merge their being and blend into a homogeneous whole. Western literature is replete with instances of works deriving their value for the time being, from the whims and oddities of the writer, or the fashions and fancies of the time; but we will seldom find a work in Sanskrit literature dealing purely with the follies and foibles of its times which has survived and has come down

[31] *Bhāmaha* (I. 2): धर्मार्थकाममोक्षेषु वैचक्षण्यं कलासु च ।
करोति कीर्तिं प्रीतिञ्च साधुकाव्यनिबन्धनम् ॥

We read also in *Kāvyamimāṃsā*: कविवचनायत्ता लोकयात्रा । सा च निःश्रेयसमूलमिति महर्षयः । The terms *śreyas* and *preyas* of *upaniṣadic* fame hit at almost exactly the same demarcation between the poet's business in its supersensuous subjective aspect and that in its sensuous realistic plane as a teacher.

[32] Thus, according to a well-known platitude of Hegel: "Art and the Beautiful in which it is realised are the perfect identity of the ideal and the real."

to us.[33] The critic in India was abroad and assailed with force and fury anything that went against the time-honoured canons of his *śāstra* and tried to loosen the bonds of society and service. He was no respecter of persons and consequently wielded an enormous influence in the empire of *belles lettres*. In no other country do we find the study of literature and literary criticism so indissolubly linked as in India. And this practice has helped in its own way to make the study of *Kāvya* itself a sort of literary discipline[34] and to awaken in its readers an amount of literary sense which otherwise would have lain dormant.[35]

There have been many who opine that the study of *Alaṅkāra* in our country has been worse than useless. The first ground for this assertion of theirs—the inadequacy of results achieved nowadays by students taught in the orthodox fashion—may be met by saying that the older methods of study have died away as a result of the superficial acquaintance with literature, which has followed in the train of little learning (which has been in vogue simply because learning and earning are measuring their strength against each other), and that these studies have not been reinforced by a comparative study of the critical literatures of other climes. The other charge brought against the utility of an intensive study of *Alaṅkāra* literature by scholars is that it is overridden by mere mechanical analysis, dry classifications, divisions and subdivisions carried on *ad infinitum*,—things which are sufficient to perplex any one and drive him mad. This charge, too, is the outcome of insufficient equipment, and not infrequently, of narrow prejudices

33 It is to these that the ruling काव्यालापांश्च वर्जयेत् applied.

34 Even a commentary to a *Kāvya* is regarded as incomplete unless it enters satisfactorily into the deep and abstruse questions underlying the passages comprised in it and it is a significant fact that not a few of the scholiasts on *Kāvyas*, whose commentaries are still extant (e.g. Rāghavabhaṭṭa, Vallabhadeva, Nātha, Mallinātha, Bhagīratha), were no unworthy Alaṅkāra scholars.

35 Even a cursory look at the *Dhvanyālokālocana*, the *Daśarūpaka* (with its *Avāloka*), and at Chap. VI of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* would suffice to make one arrive at this conclusion. All intelligent spectators (प्रेक्षक) before whom was represented a drama (रूपक)—the best species of literature according to the concensus of expert opinion in all climes—were required to be well-informed critics, to have a fair estimate of the poet's powers and intentions. They had to move and feel with the poet; for, as the *Saṅgītaratnākara* puts it:

यस्तुष्टे तुष्टिमाप्नोति शोके शोकमुपैति च ।
क्रुद्धे क्रुद्धः भये भीतः स नाट्ये प्रेक्षकः स्मृतः ॥

as well, and it is to be traced to a wrong mode of approaching the subject and to expecting from it what it cannot bestow. We have classifications, divisions and subdivisions—we have enough of them, especially in many of the later works on the subject. Where, indeed, is a science that has been in a position to do away with these mechanical aids? We submit that in *Alaṅkāra* literature *we have no irrelevant division or classification.* In the midst of analysis we have synthesis, in the midst of apparent diversity we have real unity indicated along lines as clear and bold as possible. And this is avowedly the motive which many of the *Ālaṅkārikas* profess for themselves and their works.

A close study of the themes commonly treated in *Alaṅkāra* treatises would convince one of the truth of this assertion. The kernel of the contents of such treatises relates to *Dhvani*, rather, as we have above indicated, to its essential adjunct *Rasa.*[36] And these have been touched upon in their psychological, ethical and æsthetical bearings in quite a novel and illuminating way. It was the life-work of Bharata, Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta, Mammaṭa and others to demonstrate satisfactorily the scientific basis of criticism and to give an analytic and thorough study of *dhvani* or *rasa*. The great dictum of the sage—विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्तिः[37] —has been construed to form a right basis of the psychological study of *Alaṅkāra*. *Rasa* (feeling) has *Bhāva* (sentiment) as its counterpart or *crux*. As has been ably put—

न भावहीनोऽस्ति रसो न भावो रसवर्जितः ।
परस्परकृता सिद्धिरनयो रसभावयोः ॥

The inseparable concomitants of passion—the dominant sentiments (स्थायिभावs), along with their occasional and accidental varieties, the accessory sentiments[38] (व्यभिचारिभावs and सञ्चारिभावs)—have been

[36] This is what Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha ingenuously remarks on the position of the Pre-Dhvani schools of rhetoricians:

ध्वनिकारात् प्राचीनैर्भामहोद्भटप्रभृतिभिः स्वग्रन्थेषु कुत्रापि ध्वनिगुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यादिशब्दा न प्रयुक्ता इत्येतावतैव तैर्ध्वन्यादयो न स्वीक्रियन्त इत्याधुनिकानां वाचो युक्तिरयुक्तैव । *Rasagaṅgādhara*, pp. 658-659 (Benares Sanskrit Series).

[37] Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Chap. VI, under verse 32). Adds the sage: इष्यते हि भावेभ्यो रसानामभिनिर्वृत्तिर्न रसेभ्यो भावानाम् ।....

यथा बीजाद्भवेद्वृक्षो वृक्षात् पुष्पं फलं यथा ।
तथा मूलं रसाः सर्वे ततो भावा व्यवस्थिताः ॥ ६ । ३८

[38] Cf. *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Nirṇaya Sāgara Press Edn.), p. 72:

व्यभिचारिण इति कस्मात् ? उच्यते....विविधमाभिमुख्येन रसेषु चरन्तीति व्यभिचारिणः ।

studied, elaborated and exposed. Though *rasa* is स्वप्रकाश[39] (self-luminous) and अखण्ड (undivided), yet it is through these and through its exciting (विभाव) and indicating (सात्त्विकभाव) and ensuant (अनुभाव) factors that the psychological process of realisation is rendered complete. The different ways and views about the interpretation of Bharata's dictum and about the nature, function and appreciation of *Rasa* do not concern us here. Sufficient it will be for our purpose to state that in none of these ways and views the psychological basis of *Alaṅkāra* literature with especial reference to *rasa* is obscured and blotted out. As to the explanation of the processes of appreciation and realization (साधारणीकृति) underlying the whole theory of *rasa*, in which operation विभावs. etc., actively participate and are blended into one homogeneous whole, as in the formation of a chemical compound, the following analogy of Bhāvaprakāśakāra will be found to be of fairly good help :

मज्जन्तश्च निमज्जन्तः कल्लोलास्ते यथार्णवे ।
तस्योत्कर्षं वितन्वन्ति यान्ति तद्रूपतामपि ॥
तथा स्थायिनि निर्मग्ना ह्युन्मग्ना व्यभिचारिणः ।
पुष्णन्ति स्थायिनं स्वांश्च तत्र यान्ति रसात्मताम् ॥

The processes of inception and realisation have also been very tersely unfolded in his usual masterly manner in the *Kāvyaprakāśa* by Mammaṭa in the following lines after Abhinavagupta :

लोके प्रमदादिभिः स्थाय्यनुमानेऽभ्यासपाटववतां काव्ये नाट्ये च तैरेव कारणत्वादिपरिहारेण विभावनादिव्यापारवत्त्वादलौकिकविभावादिशब्दव्यवहार्यैः ममैवैते शत्रोरेवैते तटस्थस्यैवैते, न ममैवैते न शत्रोरेवैते न तटस्थस्यैवैते इति सम्बन्धविशेषस्वीकारपरिहारनियमानध्यवसायात् साधारण्येन प्रतीतैः अभिव्यक्तः सामाजिकानां वासनात्मतया स्थितः स्थायी रत्यादिको नियतप्रमातृगतत्वेन स्थितोऽपि साधारणोपायबलात् तत्कालविगलितपरिमितप्रमातृभाववशोन्मिषितवेद्यान्तरसम्पर्कशून्यापरिमितभावेन[40] प्रमात्रा सकलसहृदयसंवादभाजा साधारण्येन स्वाकार इवाभिन्नोऽपि गोचरीकृतश्चर्व्यमाणतैक-

चरन्ति नयन्तीत्यर्थः। कथं नयन्ति? उच्यते—यथा सूर्य्यं इदं नक्षत्रमुं ग्रामं नयतीति। न च तेन बाहुभ्यां स्कन्धेन वा नीयते। किन्तु लोकप्रसिद्धमेतत्।

[39] *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, III. 60 (Jīvānanda's Edn.). Also .... "परमार्थतस्त्वखण्ड एवायं वेदान्तप्रसिद्धब्रह्मतत्त्ववद्वेदितव्य इति च।"

[40] "The object of representation is intended to please 'me'—subjective finality; but at the moment of enjoying it, I am unconscious of this finality; *to be conscious would be to break the charm*"—*Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. II, p. 447.

प्राणो विभावादिजीवितावधिः पानकरसन्यायेन चर्व्वमाणः पुर इव परिस्फुरन् हृदयमिव प्रविशन् सर्व्वाङ्गीणमिवालिङ्गन् अन्यत् सर्व्वमिव तिरोदधत् ब्रह्मास्वादमिवानुभावयन् अलौकिकचमत्कारकारी शृङ्गारादिको रसः। स च न कार्य्यः विभावादिविनाशेऽपि तस्य सम्भवप्रसङ्गात्; नापि ज्ञाप्यः, सिद्धस्य तस्यासम्भवात्; अपि तु विभावादिभिर्व्यञ्जितश्चर्व्वणीयः।[41]

Not only have the Indian rhetoricians analysed and explained the nature and all-pervasiveness of *rasas*[42]—these have been variously numbered at four, six,[43] eight, nine (the commonly accepted number), ten and even twelve—and showed them in the proper light, but also the process of evolution of these *rasas* has been tentatively explained, and, by the reverse process of synthesis, critics have arrived at one *rasa* as the *rasa* or the cardinal and guiding principle in life and literature. Kumāraswāmin in his *Ratnāpaṇa* (commentary on the *Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇa* of the South Indian critic Vidyānātha) has the following valuable note:

चतुर्व्वर्गमध्ये सर्व्वप्राणिसुलभस्य कामस्य सर्व्वहृदयङ्गमत्वात् प्रथमं शृङ्गारः। ततस्तज्जन्यत्वेन हास्यः। ततस्तद्विरोधित्वात् करुणः। ततस्तन्निमित्तभूतोऽर्थप्रधानो रौद्रः। ततोऽर्थकामयोर्द्धर्म्ममूलत्वात् धर्म्मप्रधानो वीरः। तस्य भीताभयप्रदानसारत्वात्तदनन्तरं भयानकः। ततस्तत्कारणभूतो बीभत्सः। वीराक्षिप्तभयानकानन्तरं वीररसफलभूतोऽद्भुतः। त्रिवर्गफलकरसानन्तरं मोक्षफलकः शान्त इत्येवमुद्देशक्रमोपपत्तिः।

[41] *Kāvyaprakāśa*, Ullāsa IV (Vāmanāchāryya's Edn.), pp. 107-110.

[42] जात एव हि जन्तुरियतीभिः संविद्भिः परीतो भवति। तथाहि दुःखद्वेषी सुखास्वादनलालसः सर्वो रिरंसया व्याप्तः स्वात्मनि उत्कर्षमानितया परमुपहसति। उत्कर्षापायशङ्कया शोचति। अपायं प्रति क्रुध्यति। अपायहेतुपरिहारे समुत्सहते। विनिपातादिभ्यो बिभेति। किञ्चिद्युक्ततयाभिमन्यमानो जुगुप्सते। तत्तच्च परकर्तव्यवैचित्र्यदर्शनात् विस्मयते। किञ्चित् जिहासुश्च वैराग्यात् प्रशमं भजते। न हि चित्तवृत्तिवासनाशून्यः प्राणी भवति।—*Kāvyānuśāsana* of Ācāryya Hemacandra.

Cf.: নানাভক্তে রসামৃত নানাবিধ হয়।
সেই সব রসামৃতের বিষয় আশ্রয়॥
(*Caitanyacaritāmṛta*, Madhya-līlā, Chap. VIII.)

[43] The *Nāṭyaśāstra* takes the primary *rasas* to be four and derives four more secondary *rasas* therefrom. We read (Chap. VI, under Kārikā 38):

तेषामुत्पत्तिहेतवश्चत्वारो रसाः शृङ्गारो रौद्रो वीरो बीभत्स इति।

The genesis of the derivative or secondary *rasas* is thus referred to (Chap. VI, Mārikā 39):

शृङ्गाराद्धि भवेद्धास्यो रौद्राच्च करुणो रसः।
वीराच्चैवाद्भुतोत्पत्तिर्बीभत्साच्च भयानकः॥

The serial order given above may not appear unobjectionable: it is cited only to show that this attempt at getting into the order in the evolution of the sentiments was not an unthought-of thing in the range of *Alaṅkāra* literature. This order will, *mutatis mutandis*, do also for those Vaiṣṇava critics who, with the great author of the *Śrīmadbhāgavata* at their head, choose to number the *rasas* as *twelve*, and include सख्य, वात्सल्य and दास्य as primary *rasas*.[44] The author of the *Mandāramaranda* summarises the views of the great *rasa* writers and points to the final word said on the point thus:

अथ भोजनृपादीनां मतमत्र प्रकाश्यते ।
रसो वै स इति श्रुत्या रस एकः प्रकीर्त्तितः ॥
अतो रसः स्याच्छृङ्गार एक एवेतरे तु न ।[45]

... ...

One pitch higher and we rise to the level of the great रसराज, the fountain-head of all *rasas* and *bhāvas* depicted so nicely in that semi-theological work, the *Brahma-Saṃhita*.[46] This is analysis and synthesis brought to their proper places,—out of One to come to many, and from many to arrive at the *One*. This phase of critical thought in literature rises above its normal plane, yet it is in no way dissociated therefrom in India. We have had here a devoted race of critics, whose mission was to link the mystic or metaphysical element in their

[44] रौद्रोऽद्भुतः शुचिरथो धनसख्यदास्या गौरोऽथ वत्सलयुतः करुणो भयाढ्यः (=भयानकः) बीभत्ससंज्ञ उदितोऽथ तथैव शान्तः सप्रेमभक्तिरिति ते द्युधिका दश स्युः ॥—Given in the *Kriṣṇānandinī* (commentary on *Sāhitya-Kaumudī* of Baladeva Vidyābhuṣaṇa).

[45] *Mandāramaranda*, Bindu 9. Cf. also *Agnipurāṇa*, 339. 2-5 (Ānandāśrama Edn.):

आनन्दः सहजस्तस्य (ब्रह्मणः) व्यज्यते च कदाचन ।
व्यक्तिः सा तस्य चैतन्यचमत्काररसाह्वया ॥

.. ..

रतिः सा च परिपोषमुपेयुषी ।
व्यभिचार्यादिसामान्याच्छृङ्गार इति गीयते ॥
तद्भेदाः काममितरे हास्याद्या अप्यनेकशः ।

[46] Cf. statements like 'पिबत भागवतं रसम् ।' It was to explain this recondite and mystic side of *rasa* that works like *Rasasudhākara* and *Bhaktirasāmṛtō sindhu* were designed. Śr. Rūpa Goswāmin says rather apologetically of this in his *Rasāmṛta-sindhu*:

निवृत्तानुपयुक्तत्वाद् दुरूहत्वादयं रसः ।
रहस्यत्वाच्च संक्षिप्य विततांगोऽपि लिख्यते ॥

art with its psychological or physical side. It was with them that the व्यङ्ग्य (suggested sentiment) and the व्यञ्जक (suggester) are unified—criticism-literature assumes almost the *rôle* of non-dualistic philosophy.[47] Rūpa Goswāmin of sacred memory in his *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi*, an epoch-making work which treats fully of the psychological or positive side of *Alaṅkāra* and of its transition to and culmination in the Infinite,[48] has given us at full length his views on the point. In one instance he quotes with reverence the following verse from an authoritative work of Līlāśuka:

शृङ्गाररससर्वस्वं शिखिपिच्छविभूषणम् ।
अङ्गीकृतनराकारमाश्रये भुवनाश्रयम् ॥[49]

Thus did the *Rasaśāstra* and the *Alaṅkāraśāstra* merge their being into one in the hands of the religious-minded school of critics. Or, will it be too hazarduous a conjecture to make that it was out of this synthetic study of *rasa* that in later ages the modern *Bhaktiśāstra* was evolved and developed, especially in Bengal, at the hands of the writers of the *Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Bhakti School*, with whom literary and religious worship went hand in hand? The psychological element in the literature of criticism awakened the sense of greatness in beauty, and out of beauty and grace came the refined form of worship taught in the *Bhaktiśāstra*, which is more æsthetical in its origin than religious. As Sir G. Grierson puts it: "No one who reads the Indian religious literature of the fifteenth and following centuries can fail to notice the gulf

[47] Thus in the very beginning of Jiva Goswāmin's *Locana-rocini*—व्यङ्ग्यव्यञ्जकयोरभेद आश्रयन्.... ।—the two in one, the one in two (भेदाभेद). The following well-known verse gives a nice expression to this feeling:

अहो निमग्नस्य रूपसिन्धौ
पश्यामि नान्तं न च मध्यमादिम् ।
अवाक् च निःस्पन्दतमो विमूढः
कृपाब्धिं कोऽस्मीति न वेद्मि देव ॥

[48] Cardinal Newman (in his "Poetry with reference to Aristotle's *Poetics*") says "With Christians a poetical view of things is a duty." With the literary critics of our land, a poetical view of things and a religious trend of thinking have gone together.

[49] *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi*, Nāyakabhedāḥ. Sloka 19. The following verse, attributed to Bhaṭṭanāyaka, the author of the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* in the *Dhanvyālokalocana* (p. 29. Nirṇaya Sāgara Press Edn.) is to the same effect:

वाग्धेनुर्दुग्ध एकं हि रसं यद्बालतृष्णया ।
तेन नास्य समः स स्याद्दुह्यते योगिभिर्हि यः ॥

that lies between the old and the new. .... *Religion is no longer a question of knowledge. It is one of emotion.*"[50]

This was one side of the development. The realm of literature (or *Kāvya*) is the happy confluence of mellifluous streams of thought;[51] and an analytic and systematic study of *Kāvya* cannot but fructify in more directions than one. The realistic or positive side in the art of criticism led the rhetoricians in their study of, and mastery over, facts concerning the different shades of human character, of all possible types and ranks. The division and characterisation of members of both sexes, more especially of the heroes (नायकs) and the heroines (नायिकाs),[52] the description, in detail, of their several qualities of the head and the heart, according to differences of age and sex, etc., show to what extent the Indian critic tried to make his art scientific and regular by a close and comprehensive study of all phases of human character that came under his minute observation.[53] The reading of one's intentions from his looks and gait—the interpretation of 'speechless messages' and 'measured tread,' and such other things, which fall properly within the domain of the empiric art of physiognomy—have been treated of in *Alaṅkāra* literature with a nicety which would go to prove the thoroughness of the analytic apparatus with which the critic in ancient and mediæval India was furnished. This, however, is a point which lies on the border-land between *Alaṅkāraśāstra* and *Kamaśāstra*—a science, if science it may be called, intensely realistic. In the latter, we treat of things purely for their own sake (or rather from the standpoint of the ethical ideals of the society); in the former, such considerations are of secondary importance, and the subjects

[50] *Bhaktimārga* in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. II. Thus, these writers almost always employ the terminology of the Indian poetics—e.g., in *Rasāmṛtasindhu*, *Bhāgavatāmṛta*.

[51] सकलविद्यास्थानैकायतनं काव्यम्—Rājaśekhara in the *Kāvyamimāṃsā*.

[52] *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, III, 98–122 (Jīvānanda's Edn.). The rhetoricians do not all agree in this division. Viśvanātha gives the number of नायकs as 48 and that of नायिकाs as 384; while Kavikarṇapūra mentions 144 classes of नायकs and 1908 classes of नायिकाs.

[53] When this is clearly realised, the charges brought against the Hindu mind about its 'speculative temper' by critics of the type of Walter Pater, who think the Indian to be 'lost to sense, understanding, individuality,' lose much of their cogency and value. It is a pity that much capital has been made—and that not very properly—out of India's lack of a practical and practicable turn of mind.

introduced are to be judged by the interest and charm they produce when depicted in works of art. Not improbably these two *śāstras* were closely allied in the early part of their evolution and had parallel courses to run. Nothing more can be said, as regards the earlier phases of the evolution of *Rasa*-cum-*Alaṅkāra* literature (the period from Bharata to Bhāmaha is, to all purposes, a blank to us)—and the history of the *Kāmaśāstra* literature immediately after *Vātsāyana* is quite obscure.

So much by the way. The other entities of *Alaṅkāraśāstra* (other than ध्वनि and रस which we have touched on)—दोष, गुण or रीति, for these are interconnected—and अलङ्कार proper (figures of speech) are there as secondary, or as tertiary elements; in other words, they have no separate existence apart from the primary or guiding principle as judged from the psychological standpoint. The element of पाक,[54] which has to do with the executive side of the poet—which is something different from *rīti* or style, and a clear exposition of which is found in many *Alaṅkāra* works bearing the stamp of the South Indian school—is not a separate entity by itself and does not require more than passing mention. Hence it follows that the psychological bias pervades the very being of *Alaṅkāra* literature, ancient and modern, and no amount of ingenuity is able to obliterate the stamp which it has left on it—the stamp which, like the veritable *Śrīvatsa* mark on the breast of *Śrī-Hari*, it took from the much revered and old sage.

Thus it is that the literature of pure literary criticism in India has had a glorious history and an equally glorious goal in view. If poetry in India, as it has to be everywhere, 'is the high-wrought enthusiam of fancy and feeling,'[55] criticism in India has been the standard of common-sense and reason,—not of mere ravishment and ecstasy. If poetry leads us to high Heaven and to the bliss of Elysium, criticism brings us to the 'kindred points of Heaven and home,'[56]

[54] पाक is depth of sense (अर्थगम्भीरिमः). Bhoja admits it in his कण्ठाभरण under the name of प्रौढिः; Vidyādhara, the author of the *Ekāvali*, smooths the way when he says: पाकस्तु रसोचितशब्दार्थनिबन्धनम् ।

[55] Hazlitt, *On Poetry in General.*

[56] Hazlitt refers to Aristotle's description of poetry as '*the representation of the ideal*.' The criticism-literature of mediæval India has tried to make that ideal intelligible in terms of the real in and around us, and, withal, like many other branches of learning here, has aspired to the highest flights of thought possible.

and to the pleasures in the pleasure-land. Criticism has all along been regarded as one of the finest flowerings of the human intellect, as closely related to the mental and moral sciences and to the requirements of life as possible. The critic's function is to interpret life in an unbiassed manner, and the Indian *Ālaṅkārika* has done it magnificently. For the matter of that, literary criticism in India has been *impersonal* in the past; for, criticism of an author by an analysis of his works piecemeal and by a reference to his code and creed is a thing unknown to the *Ālaṅkārikas*. This has done good,—at least in one respect it has done away with the 'personal equation,' the question of personal likes and dislikes. Literature here is sacred; and there have appeared but rarely critics who are 'cool, sober murderers of their neighbour's fame,' or false parasites, paying their court and homage to honour and rank. A wisely fashioned and closely followed code of rules of long standing—not empirically got but based on the stable truths of the mental sciences, especially of psychology, ethics and æsthetics—served as a powerful preventive against petulant vituperation or flimsy cheap praise.

"Another race has been and other palms are won." Yet, in these days of advanced ideas, when we notice daily codes and creeds of criticism changing chameleon-like,[67] we Indians cannot but be proud of our achievements in this direction,—based as they have been, not on the shifting sands of empiricism, but on the firm rock of intuitional truths, clearly grasped and forcibly expressed. Criticism is philosophy in its essence,—and philosophy in India is the philosophy of the spirit. The appreciation of the psychological basis of *Alaṅkāra*—the realisation of *rasa*—has but one inevitable sequel, viz., spiritual betterment, a point to which we have already referred. It is Ānandavardhana, the great literary critic, who is credited with the authorship of the

[67] A certain European critic (Leibnitz) describes beauty—with many the *sine qua non* of art—to be "the confused, therefore indefinite perception of all that constitutes order" whereupon another (Lotze) opines that "*German æsthetics is brought into being for belittling its object*"—*Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* under 'Beauty.' It is, however, refreshing to turn to the views of the school of modern trans-Atlantic critics. Says one of them (in his Introduction, p. 10, to his work *The Sense of Beauty*): "There is .... a real propriety in calling *beauty a manifestation of God to the senses*, since in the region of sense, the perception of beauty exemplifies that adequacy and perfection which in general we objectify in an idea of God."

following verse, wherein are very finely depicted the inspiration and the aim of the Indian critical mind :

या व्यापारवती रसान् रसयितुं काचित् कवीनां नवा
दृष्टिर्या परिनिष्ठितार्थविषयोन्मेषा च वैपश्चिती ।
ते द्वे चाप्यवलम्ब्य विश्वमनिशं निर्वर्णयन्तो वयं
श्रान्ता, नैव च लब्धमब्धिशयन त्वद्भक्तितुल्यं सुखम् ॥ [58]

The psychological bearing of *rasa* (which alone, properly guided, results in a metaphysical or spiritual understanding of it) has had to fight a strenuous fight with its linguistic and physiological aspects; for, while the latter deal with words and things evanescent, it is the former that has directed the human soul and has inspired it to rise higher and higher, through ethereal regions, to the Absolute and the Sublime (रसो वै सः).[59] Thus considered, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, the *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana and the *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* of Śrī Rūpa Goswāmin are three epoch-making works—not of Indian critical literature alone, but of the critical literature of the world, inasmuch as it was in them and through them that the synthetico-analytic faculty of the human mind has reached its highest point, from a realisation of *rasa* in the concrete—*rasa* in literature in general (as in the Drama), *rasa* in its individual objective aspect—to *rasa* in its universal subjective phase, to *rasa* in the abstract, both within and without. These are works which, along with their commentaries and sub-commentaries, deserve to be read and re-read, digested and re-digested, for a full appreciation of literature and of life. And the inquisitive student who pores over these works and ponders over them shall be amazed and shall bow down in reverence, and admit in the words of the great and reverent critic :

अतलत्वादपारत्वादाप्तोऽसौ दुर्विगाहताम् ।
स्पृष्टः परं तटस्थेन रसाब्धिर्मधुरो मया ॥ [60]

[58] *Dhvanyāloka*, Uddyota III, under verse 44.

[59] It was here in India that in Middle Ages the idea stuck root in literature, in legend and in life that the Great Lord comes down unto His people to enjoy to the fullest extent the pleasures of रसास्वाद (रसनिर्यासस्वादार्थमवतारिणि). The following lines of Dr. Rabindranath, perhaps the greatest poet critic of the present age, expresses felicitously the same idea in the usual semi mystic style of that master-mind :

অসীম সে চায় সীমার নিবিড় সঙ্গ
সীমা হ'তে চায় অসীমের মাঝে হারা ।

[60] *Ujjvalanīlmaṇi*, *Sambhogabhedāḥ*, verse 69.

THE INTELLECTUAL LAWS OF LANGUAGE AND BENGALI SEMANTICS.

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Introduction.

Scholars have so far been mostly busy with the formal aspects of language like phonetics, the order of words, accentuation, etc. But that side of language which deals with meaning, which again really is the *soul* of language, has received but scant attention. Not that the subject is unimportant, nor that it is unable to supply food for the best brains, but it has failed to attract scholars and perhaps for good reasons.

It was only in the year 1897, that *the Science of Meaning-Change* was formally introduced and expounded by the great French Scholar Michel Bréal, Professor of Comparative Grammar at the College de France, in his *Essai de Sémantique* (the English translation of which was published in 1900 by Mrs. Henry Cust). Bréal had been working on the subject for the previous thirty years (1867–97) and the result of his research during this period was published in the form of essays in the *Annuaire de l'association des études grecques*, the *Mémoires de la société de linguistique*, in the *Journal des savants*, etc. The difficult nature of the subject may be realised from the following words of Bréal himself. "Again and again, repelled by the difficulty of the subject" he says, "I have vowed never to return to the book itself. I have at last decided to publish this book, which I have hitherto abandoned as often as I have begun." The laws which he indicates are chiefly of the psychological order and so hold good outside the languages dealt with in his book. His object has been, as he says in the preface, to sketch a provisional plan in a domain which has not yet been exploited, and demands the combined labour of several generations of philologists.

"The study of Semantics had its beginning in lexicography. In his lectures on the Latin Language (delivered 1826-27, published 1839) K. Reisig had called attention to the importance of a scientific and

systematic study of the meanings of words. His premature death, perhaps, prevented Reisig from penetrating farther into the subject which he had thus opened. It was reserved for his pupil, Agathon Benary (1834) to leave the purely lexicographical aspect of the semantic question and to give to it a much wider and at the same time profounder meaning. He was the first to distinguish clearly between the formal and semantic side of a word, and this not only with reference to the word as a whole, but he applied this same distinction to the grammatical elements of which the word is made up, such as inflectional and formative affixes. These also, he pointed out, deserve a separate treatment from the point of view of their meaning."

During the period mentioned, other scholars also were working in the field. Next to Bréal we should mention the excellent contribution of the great German scholar, Paul, who devoted to this subject a few chapters of his *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte* (published in 1880). In their *Introduction to the History of Language* (which is an English adaptation of Paul's great book) the authors, Strong, Logeman and Wheeler, have shown how far Paul's observations hold good in English and other languages.

Professor Postgate of the University College, London, also took up the subject about the year 1877 for a "Fellowship Dissertation" at Trinity College, but was compelled to give it up for dearth of suitable materials. He again took up the subject later on and drew the attention of scholars to it in an inaugural address at University College, London, in 1896.

The contribution to Semantics by Brügmann, Bechtel, Heerdegen and Sweet should also be noted.

In India, however, the name of the subject is still unheard of even amongst scholars. Of course, the Hindus, who produced the most wonderful grammar in the world, must not be thought of as having paid no attention to such a subject. We find Yâska (circ. 500 B.C.) at the beginning of his *Nirûkta* discussing thus: "If the grass is called तृण from its quality of pricking (तृ), why does not this name supply to everything that pricks, as for instance a needle or a lance? And on the other hand, if a column is called स्थूणा because it stands upright (स्था), why is it not also called that which supports, or that which fits in?" We have here and at other places in his works a glimpse of the effort at discovering laws of meaning-change.

It cannot be possible that the semantic aspect of language did not strike Paṇini (cir. 350 B.C.), the greatest of grammarians the world has yet produced. It is quite evident from the aphorism प्रधानप्रत्ययार्थं वचनमर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वात् (I. 2. 56), that he also thought of the semantic side of language. But he excluded all semantic considerations from his grammar which should confine itself to pure formal analysis. And it is rightly pointed out that the meaning of a word is not fixed by grammatical rules but by usage and idiom.

The *Mīmāṃsā* and *Nyāya* Philosophies and occasionally the *Vedānta* and *Vaiśeṣika* deal with the nature and force of words.[1] The commentators on these, and Vedic literature and various grammars have discussed this question of meaning here and there. The books on Sanskrit poetics deal with the different forces of words such as अभिधा, लक्षणा, व्यञ्जना, etc.

But excepting these stray references no systematic attempt has as yet been made in India. Professor Gune of Poona in his *Introduction to Comparative Philology* (1918) and Professor Taraporewala of Calcutta in his class-lectures (1917-18) have supplied examples from Sanskrit and Indian Vernaculars while discussing laws of meaning-change.

In Bengali no work of the kind has been done as yet. The scientific study of Comparative Philology of which the Science of Meaning is an integral part, has only recently been introduced in India. A text-book of Comparative Philology with reference to the Indian languages is being written by Professor Taraporewala. Mr. Bijaychandra Majumdar has treated the historical side of the race and language in his *History of Bengali Language*. Moulavi Sahidullah has undertaken the laborious task of writing a historical Grammar of the Bengali Language. As elsewhere, here in Bengal the phonetic side of the Language has received a good treatment in the hands of such capable scholars as Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterjee, Pandit Vidhuśekhara Śāstrī, Mr. Jogeshchandra Ray and others. The Science of Meaning as applied to Bengali still remains to be taken up.

It is hoped that the work will go on apace henceforth. There is no

[1] (1) *Sabara Bhāṣya*. (2) *Vaiśeṣika Bhāṣya* of Praśastipāda. (3) *Srī Bhāṣya*, p. 72, (Nirṇayasāgar Press, Bombay). (4) *Vedānta Paribhāṣā*, pp. 241, 265, 266, (Venkaṭeśvar Press). (5) *Nyāyalīlāvatī*, pp. 25, 75, (Nirṇayasāgar Press). (6) *Nyāyamañjarī* of Jayantabhaṭṭa, Vol. I. pp. 214, 241, 243, (Lazarus, Benares). (7) *Siddhāntamuktāvalī*, pp. 188, 360, 361, (Nirṇayasāgar Press).

dearth of material. From the writings of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Messers Dwijendranath Tagore, Lalitkumar Banerji, Jogeshchandra Ray, Jnanendramohan Das, Ramendrasundar Trivedi, Dineshchandra Sen, Bijaychandra Majumdar, Rajendrachandra Sastri, Haraprasad Sastri and others a good harvest may be reaped. But as in other languages, so in Bengali the number of workers is hopelessly small, *apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto*, "a gulf immense, a swimmer here and there." The subject is almost of limitless extent, but workers not more than a score throughout the whole world may be found.

"The Science," says Prof. Postgate, "is as yet in its beginnings. Its prime need is the collection of facts. The student of this subject must begin with what he knows (i.e. his mother-tongue). The science is in no position to disdain the humblest effort of the most insignificant contributor." Hence my humble attempt.

The first need of the science is a good terminology. Professor Grote, the brother of the famous historian, tried to provide it with one in some posthumous articles which appeared in the earlier volumes of the Journal of Philology. His nomenclature, however, is too cumbrous and repellent to be generally accepted.

Even the very name of the science is proposed differently by different scholars. Professor Postgate proposes the name Rhematology, from ῥῆμα, a thing said. Bréal gives the name *Sémantique*, Semantics (from σημαίνω "to signify");—Σημαντικὴ τέχνη, the science of significations, in opposition to Phonetics, the science of sounds. I shall follow Bréal both in his method and terminology.

In the *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology* of Baldwin, Semantics is defined as "the doctrine of historical word meanings, the systematic discussion of the history and development of changes in the meanings of words." Lady Welby in her article on "Significs" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* distinguishes "semantics" from "significs" thus: "Semantics may be, for present purposes, described as the application of significs within strictly philological limits".

The main problems of semantics, according to Oertel, are the following: "By what means has a given language in each individual case expressed its thought? How many meanings is the same form capable of expressing? In how many different forms can the same thought be expressed?"[1]

[1] *Lectures on the Study of Language*, p. 280.

A question may be raised as to the Bengali equivalent of the name Semantics. অর্থতত্ত্ব would have been convenient but that word is already being used in Bengali in connection with the science of Politics. মানে-তত্ত্ব is the next word exactly suited, but I am afraid we cannot get it accepted now for the vehement opposition of the purists. So শব্দার্থ-তত্ত্ব would perhaps be the best, taking শব্দ (=অর্থবোধক-ধ্বনি) to denote a word or phrase or even a sentence. We shall here especially deal with that side of semantics which affects the meaning of a word or a phrase, leaving aside for the present the syntactical portion.

Mr. T. G. Tucker, Professor of Classical Philology in the University of Melbourne, says: "Laws of meaning-change are not yet discovered and are probably undiscoverable. Interesting observation can be made of certain tendencies and phenomena, but beyond this we can hardly go. In changes of meaning the mind is the one factor. So we cannot hope to reduce to rules the complex psychological operations which transform one meaning into other. We can say that some words widen their meaning, that some narrow it, and that some shift it, and we may often be able to trace the association of ideas which brought these occurrences to pass. But we cannot get to fundamental principles which determine that a certain class of words shall necessarily widen rather than narrow their meaning and *vice versa.*"[3] So the word "law" here should be understood in the philosophic sense, as the constant relation discoverable in a series of phenomena. As Prof. Sayce points out: "It must be remembered that the ideas suggested by most words are what Locke calls 'mixed modes.' A word like 'just' or 'beauty' is but a shorthand note suggesting a number of ideas more or less associated with one another. But the ideas associated with it in one mind cannot be exactly those associated with it in another; to one man it suggests what it does not in another."[4] Here lies the fundamental cause of meaning-change.

The chief motives of meaning-change may be thus classed after Tucker (pp. 380-81) :—

(1) Indefinite width of meaning in a word as originally applied, causing diversity of use.

(2) Predominance of one element in a thing named, causing a more special application of the name to that element.

[3] *Introduction to the Natural History of Language*, p. 373.

[4] Sayce, *Introduction to Science of Language* (2nd. ed.), Vol. I, p. 237.

(3) Unconscious inclusion of a secondary meaning, due to a natural association of ideas, and thence a gradual transference to that secondary meaning or else a widening to comprise it.

(4) Effort at force or at liveliness, causing a figurative application of words and hence a broadening of these words.

(5) Emotional emphasis, leading to a misuse of the term in a wider or weaker sense than the true one.

(6) Euphemism and irony, or a desire to avoid the unpleasant or less courteous term, and thence a new sense acquired by the euphemistic substitute.

(7) Other laxity in the use of words, through ignorance or misapprehension.

It will be seen that all these changes are reducible to :—

(1) Specialising or narrowing.
(2) Generalising or widening.
(3) Shifting or transference.

I shall deal with the Bengali Semantics with reference to these aspects. It will be found from what follows that specialising is the tendency of the language, because men want to be exact and like to have as many special expressions as there are ideas.

It may be mentioned here that Whitney in his *Study of Language* (p. 106) has classified all sorts of meaning-change under two heads—Generalisation of special meanings and Specialisation of general meanings. Pot thas gone deeper and has tried to show in a masterly way how these laws arise and operate.[5]

In cases of phonetic change the rise of a new sound goes on side by side with the disappearance of the old one. The employment of the word কাগজ to denote a newspaper implies a narrowing of the extent of the signification of the ordinary meaning of কাগজ, which is "paper." So we may take a word টিকিট, properly and originally applied to railway tickets, and apply it to a whole class, which we regard in some way as resembling it, as when we speak of ডাক-টিকিট (postage stamp.) রসিদের টিকিট (receipt stamp), গাড়ীর টিকিট (the pass of a carriage), etc. In this case we widen the application of the word by narrowing its contents but even when thus widened the meaning still includes its original denotation. Frequently such a widened application becomes once more narrowed,

[5] *Etymologische Forschungen*, (2nd ed.) Introduction.

by the widening of the contents. An instance of this double process we have, e g., in the word পাখা (fan) originally only meaning 'wings,' it was, by a metaphor applied to a class of objects similar in some respects to it. A process of narrowing these applications leads to the use of the word as a specific name for certain moving things like wings. The word, in this sense, no longer includes its original meaning, and is transferred. It is only by such a succession of widening and narrowing that a word can assume a signification absolutely different from its original meaning.

I shall now illustrate the various phenomena arising from these laws. First, I shall take up what are called the Intellectual Laws of Language by Bréal. These laws, as we have already noted, are not "blind laws" without exceptions. They have their limits. They only denote "the constant relation discoverable in a series of phenomena." The first part of our thesis will be devoted to the discussion and illustration of those intellectual laws, though strictly speaking they do not fall within the exact scope of Semantics. Semantics proper will be treated in the second part.

PART I.

THE INTELLECTUAL LAWS OF LANGUAGE.

The Law of Specialisation.

"If certain modifications of thought expressed primarily by all words, are little by little restricted to a small number of words, or even to a single word, which takes upon itself alone, the whole function, we say that specialisation is the *law* that has presided over these changes."

The general aim of language is to express ideas with the least of effort. When we have a number of grammatical instruments to express the same kind of idea, we may restrict ourselves to only one kind for the sake of invariability.

As for example a number of suffixes may be used to denote a grammatical relation. Gradually the function may be taken over by one or two suffixes or by a single suffix. It might be that having lost the subtle shade of difference the variety was not needed as in earlier times.

The suffixes for comparative and superlative furnish us with an illustration. In ancient languages the adjective expresses degree by

means of suffixes. These suffixes were originally numerous and diverse.[a]

In Sanskrit-तर,-तम,-ईयस्,-इष्ठ were the suffixes for comparative and superlative. The latter set seem to have triumphed over the former so far as frequency of use is concerned ;—गरीयस्, लघीयस्, द्राघीयस्, भूयस् वरीयस्, श्रेयस्, प्रेयस्; गरिष्ठ, लघिष्ठ, द्राघिष्ठ, भूयिष्ठ, वरिष्ठ, श्रेष्ठ, प्रेष्ठ. The suffix of enumeration -म, a shortened form of -तम, has frequent use ;— प्रथम, पंचम, सप्तम, अष्टम, नवम, दशम ; द्वितीयः, तृतीयः are the only two forms in इयस्; while चतुर्थ and षष्ठ show थ, short for इष्ठ.

The modern Sanskritic vernaculars of India have given up this way of forming comparative and superlative and use only the equivalent of them, e.g. Ben. চেয়ে, Gujrati थी. Marathi uses the word अधिक to denote comparison. Bengali sometimes uses অধিক and often colloquially আরও in the same sense.

There are a good many words in Bengali with the Sanskrit suffixes of comparison. But they are mostly the outcome of pedantry. Of course a number of forms exist intact which are not considered as combinations of a word and a comparative suffix, but regarded as one whole for their relative brevity and frequency of use, e.g. উত্তম, উত্তর, গরীয়সী, ঘনিষ্ঠ, শ্রেষ্ঠ. This is supported by the fact that all these words are again compared in Bengali, এটা আরও উত্তম, আরও উত্তরে যাও; অধিক গরীয়সী, etc. श्रेष्ठ has already in Sanskrit taken comparative and superlative suffixes, e.g. श्रेष्ठतर, श्रेष्ठतम.

"Among all words of a certain kind distinguished by a certain grammatical imprint, there is always one which is little by little drawn apart from its fellows. It becomes the pre-eminent exponent of the grammatical conception of which it bears the stamp. But at the same time it loses its individual value, and is no more than a grammatical instrument, one of the wheels of the phrase."

When we use the word অধিক or আরও or চেয়ে, etc., they have no more existence from a semantic point of view than the inflection -तर . After long use in various connections the word loses its individual significance and becomes a grammatical instrument. Then it may even be used in

[a] Latin, out of a variety of comparative and superlative suffixes, retains for each degree one suffix alone (*-ior*, *-issimus*). The Romance languages have gone a step further. One single word has absorbed the function of both the degrees: French, *plus*; Italian, *piu*; Spanish, *mas*; Portuguese, *mai*; it must be noted that this word which has survived is itself a comparative. So also English, *more*: German, *mehr*.

altogether an opposite sense, e.g. বাড়ীখানা কম বড় নয়, (the house is not a little large); বেশী ছোট কিম্বা বেশী বড়, (too small or too large). Here, the words কম and বেশী which denote "small" and "large" are used as auxiliaries only to denote degree. In বেশী খাওয়া, (to take much), the original sense is retained.

The substitution of prepositions for the ancient declensions is another example of specialisation.

In ancient languages like Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin substantives added a modifying final syllable (or प्रत्यय) to denote the relations of dependence, interiority, instrumentality, etc. The cases of declensions being insufficient to express all the relations the mind could conceive, adverbs were placed by the side of these cases to define them. "Between the inflection and the particle of place or time they supposed the existence of some special connection, some relation of cause to effect." In Sanskrit the उपसर्ग attached itself to the verb in exactly the same way as the preposition was attached to the nouns in English or French. "Adverbs of place and time from having been the accompaniment of the genitive, dative, or accusative, become the cause of these cases; from having been adverbs, they become prepositions."

In the Vedic texts, we find words which have since become well-known prepositions, still in the condition of adverbs and have become inseparably attached to verbs in Classical Sanskrit, e.g. प्रति त्वं चारुमध्वरं ...अग्न आगहि ; अस्माकम् उदरेषु आ ; प्रत्यावर्तन ; प्राप्नोति, etc.

In Bengali small words like দিয়া, দ্বারা, কর্তৃক, for the third case, and হতে, থেকে for the fifth case, are post-posed to denote case relations.

"Thus the most important step in the transition from synthesis to analysis comes under the heading of specialisation." But one fact must be noted. The prepositions afforded no help to distinguish subject and object which remained distinct the longest, e g. মাঠে গোরু চরে, (in the field cattle graze), তারা গোরু খায়, (they take beef). Here the forms are the same. Of course generally an accusative suffix -কে or -রে is used in Bengali but no help is afforded by prepositions. In the present examples the various positions of the words indicate the cases.

The principle of specialisation is also illustrated in the case of English genitive. The sign *'s* is as if it were an independent word. The *'s* may even be put after two or more substantives, e.g. the King of England's tour, Asquith and Lloyd George's ministry. In Bengali

also the sign of the genitive -র, accusative -কে and locative -তে are used in the same way, e.g. কলিকাতা, বৰ্দ্ধমান, পাটনা ও এলাহাবাদের লোক, (Calcutta-Burdwan- Patna- and Allahabad's people ; i.e., the people of Calcutta, Burdwan, Patna and Allahabad) ; রাম, শ্যাম ও যদুকে দাও, (give to Ram, Shyam and Jadu ;) কৃষ্ণনগর ও কলিকাতাতে দেখিব, (see at Krishnagar and Calcutta). Here only the last words have taken the case suffixes. These are really speaking compounds and as such take the inflection at the end. The Bengali future and past are formed by participial suffixes. Of all the suffixes in Sanskrit denoting past and future, -त and -तव्य have been selected. Thus করিল is originally derived from the past participle with त (क्त>त>द >ड>ल) and করিব from the future participle with -तव्य (तव्य>अव्व>अव>इव>इब).[1]

The use of some auxiliary verbs in Eng. to denote tense and person is another example of specialisation, e.g. I *do* go, I *did* go, *etc.*

Thus arose the periphrastic constructions in the vernaculars of India, e.g. গিয়াছি, যাইতেছি, আসিয়াছিলাম, আতাহুঁ, गयाथा. These forms are very frequent in Bengali. The present perfect আসিয়াছি, past আসিয়াছিল, present continuative আসিতেছে are all found with the auxiliary root আছ্, (Sans. अस्, to be). The forms are even now separately used in East Bengal, e.g. আসতে+আছে, and so on. In Bankura in West Bengal তু কুথা আছিলি্, "where had you been ?" is used. আছ্ is even used as an auxiliary to the root হওয়া which comes from Sanskrit भू (to be) meaning the same thing as सत्य e.g. হইয়াছি=হইয়া+আছি. আছ্ has not lost its independent use however, e.g. এখানে আমার বই আছে or আমার বই ছিল, (my book is or was there).

The incorporation of the *root* আছ্ shows the influence of synthesis. "It is rare for the principle of specialisation to triumph at once. The history of languages is sown with abortive attempts and half-successes."

The Sanskrit past forms in आस, चकार and बभूव, e.g. चोरयामास, °चकार and °बभूव may be compared. "In this case verbs signifying 'to be' (in Sanskrit *bhu* and *as*, in Latin *fuo* and *esse*) join themselves on to the principal verb. But cast into the middle of a synthetic conjugation, these auxiliaries are at once absorbed."

"Finally we discover a first attempt as early as the Indo-European period. The future (in Gk. δώσω, in Sans. *dāsyāmi*) composed with the auxiliary *as*, together with the other tenses composed with the same

[1] Professor Brajendranath Seal and Mr. Bijaychandra Majumdar, however, doubt the derivation of -इब from तव्य ।

auxiliary are attempts which show us how often language has had recourse to the same means, before realising at last the progress that it had in view." The periphrastic future in Sans. दातास्मि was a later attempt and seems to have survived in the Vernaculars to some extent.

The root কর in Bengali gives another example. In Bengali verbs are often resolved into the noun and the root কর e.g. দেখা=দর্শন করা, যাওয়া=গমন করা. Some of these forms have not got the corresponding single verbs, e.g. ইচ্ছা করা, পান করা. The single forms may be preserved in poetry or in some phrases, e.g. ইচ্ছি, পিয়া etc., e.g ,

(1) ইচ্ছি মরিবারে।

(2) হৃদয় ভ'রে স্বার্থ-শোণিত পিয়াব মা অধিকারে।

(3) গোরু পিয়াইয়া গেল।

The Law of Differentiation.

"Differentiation is defined as the intentional, ordered process by which words, apparently synonymous, and once synonyms, have nevertheless taken different meanings and can no longer be used indiscriminately."

"It is by Differentiation that the child applies little by little to distinct objects the syllables which he at first scatters impartially upon everything that he meets.

To the popular mind there exist in languages no absolutely identical terms. Either they are differentiated or else one of the two terms ceases to exist."

"The question of the Science of language is at bottom a social or national question. When two languages or even two dialects find themselves face to face, a process of classification takes place, which consists in attributing degrees to synonymous expressions. According as an idiom is considered superior or inferior, these terms are seen to increase or diminish in dignity." [5]

[5] M. J. Gillieron describes the effects through the invasion of Swiss dialect by French. In proportion as a French word is adopted, the Patois vocable, degraded and driven back, becomes vulgar and trivial. Formerly a room was called *pailé* : since the word *chambre* has come into the village *pailé* means a garret. In Brittany, says the Abbe Rousselot, gardens were formerly called *courtils* : now that the word *jardin* is known a shade of contempt adheres to the rustic word. It matters little that the two terms had the same origin. The Savoyard uses the name of *père* and *mère* for his parents, while he keeps for his cattle the old words *pàré* and *màré*. Among the Romans *coquina* signified "kitchen," the Oscan *popina*, which is the same word, meant a common tavern.

So in India Sanskrit, Persian and later on English words have displaced the indigenous (দেশীয়) word. Sanskrit হৃদয় is reserved for "heart" in abstract sense, in Bengali, while বুক is used in the concrete sense. ক্রিয়া means "ceremony," কাজ "work." ধাত্রি is used in connection with woman, ধাড়ী is used to denote a female animal. পুস্তক means "book," পুঁথি means "manuscript book," দৈবতা is "god," and মেঘ "cloud."

When Persian words were adopted in the Bengali language, the indigenous words were cast into shade and denoted things of inferior nature. দালান, এমারত were used for buildings, while কুটীর was driven back to mean the cottage. কুঁড়ে which comes from কুটীর implies a sense of contemptible littleness, meaning 'hut.' বাজার means market, while হাট is associated with the village market which does not sit everyday. খাজনা, ট্যাক্স denote the same thing but the latter is chiefly used for taxes levied by the English Government from whose language the word has come. খাজনা is used for Zemindar's rent, and is a Persian word.

So also is the case with English words. স্কুল generally means educational institutions of a higher order. পাঠশালা has been associated with primary schools. মাষ্টার is the English-knowing teacher, while পণ্ডিত means the orthodox vernacular or Sanskrit teacher. ডাক্তার and কবিরাজ are both physicians, but the former is educated according to Western methods, while the latter practises the indigenous art of healing. পিক্‌চার denotes paintings framed and glazed while the word পট is used for those produced by the village artists according to the old fashion. ল্যাম্প which is the English word is used for a kind of a light fed with kerosene oil, while প্রদীপ which is the older word denotes a kind of light having an earthen vessel. In asking one's father's name, it is considered more polite to use আপনার ঠাকুরের নাম কি ? The ordinary word বাবা would sound harsh, while "father" (ফাদার) is getting current in this connection and is supposed to denote greater politeness.

Some words which were synonyms gradually get differentiated and by virtue of association some of the terms undergo a downfall. গাভিন (<গর্ভিণী) and পোয়াতি both mean "pregnant," but the former is used only for animals, while the latter is reserved for women. বিয়ানো and প্রসব করা denote the same thing, the former is rather vulgar and is generally used for animals, the latter for women.

The young ones of different animals are denoted by different words, e.g. মানুষের সন্তান, গোরুর বাছুর, ছাগলের ছানা, মাছের পোনা, বাঘের বাচ্চা and so on, like *child*, *calf*, *kid*, *colt*, etc. Collections of different kinds are denoted

by different words which cannot be used indiscriminately, e.g. গোরুর পাল, মাতালের দল, মাছের ঝাঁক, etc., like Eng. *herd*, *shoal*, *sheaf*, etc. The particular portion of bodies of men and animals may be denoted by different words, e.g. মানুষের মাই, গোরুর বাঁট, etc., as in Eng. *breast*, *dugs*. Adjectives denoting the same quality may vary according to the nature of things qualified, e.g. খোজা মানুষ, আক্তা ঘোড়া, দামড়া গোরু, খাসি ছাগল, etc., as also Eng. *eunuch*, *gelding*, *castrated*.

Let us now turn to some effects of differentiation in an ancient epoch of our languages.[9] Though অনুভাব and অনুভব come from the same root, they are used to denote altogether different ideas. The former denotes "majesty," the latter "feeling." রাগ meant both "anger" and "love" in old Bengali. In Sanskrit राग is never used in the sense of anger. In modern Bengali however the preposition অনু is prefixed to রাগ to differentiate it from রাগ (anger).

The nearer words approximate in form, the more do they invite differentiation. বুদ্ধি, বোধ; চাষা, চাষী; শ্রাদ্ধ, শ্রদ্ধা; বেদ, বিদ্যা,—though etymologically synonymous, mean altogether different things. তোমার শ্রাদ্ধ করবো and তোমাকে শ্রদ্ধা করি are wholly opposed to each other.

The needs of thought are the first agent of differentiation, cf. Ger. *Mann* and *Mensch* (also *der Mensch* and *das Mensch*). In Bengali মানুষ, মুনিষ্ and মেয়ে মানুষ, the word মানুষ is differentiated and used in different senses.

"When the popular mind has once devised a certain kind of differentiation, it is naturally tempted to complete the series. It is well known that there are languages in which the various acts of life are not designated in the same way if an exalted personage be concerned, as when the ordinary man is in question."[10]

[9] The root मन् seems to have served in the beginning to designate vaguely all the operations of the soul; मनस्, मनुष, मति, मनन्, मन्यु—all belong to the root मन् *to think*. A less rudimentary psychology introduced some order into this confusion. In the last the *feeling* aspect was emphasised, the first three relate to *thought*. Even amongst them there is differentiation as मनस् (mind), मति (thought), मनन् (constant thought, deep concentration).

[10] "The Cambodgians do not designate the members of the body nor the daily operations of life by the same terms, when speaking of the king, as when speaking of a mere individual."

"There is something of the same kind in English, but only in a rudimentary state. To mark the difference between men and animals there are *mouth* and *muzzle*, *nose* and *snout* etc. It is obvious that etymology has had nothing to do with this." Cf. German *Mund* (mouth), and *Maul* used for animals.

The act of eating is denoted by the word ভোগ and প্রসাদ when used in connection with the gods and exalted personages, e.g. ঠাকুরের ভোগ, রাজভোগ, গুরুর প্রসাদ. But খাওয়া is ordinarily used. ঠাকুরদর্শন and রাজদর্শন are also similarly used. Generally learned Sanskrit words are used to give an appearance of awe and reverence. We have already noted the use of such words as শাবিন, বিয়ানো, etc. and পোয়াতি, প্রসব করা, etc. according as the objects denoted are animals or women. The dust of the holy places like বৃন্দাবন etc. is denoted by the more learned word রজঃ.

Corresponding to words used for ordinary or good people, i.e. the creation of the Good Spirit, the *ahura*-words, there is a whole series of *daēva*-words in Zoroastrian literature.[1]

To express humility different words are used according as the speaker refers to himself or to others, e.g. আমার কুটীরে পদধূলি দিয়া বাধিত করিবেন; আমার সামান্য এই বিদুরের খুদ গ্রহণ করিবেন কি? Cf. Hindustani आपका दौलतखाना but मेरा गरीबखाना.

There are a few words in Bengali which are used differently according as they denote Hindus and Mahomedans, e.g. কলু is the Hindu oil-man, খলু is the Mahomedan of the same profession, তাঁতি is the Hindu weaver, জোলা is the Mahomedan weaver.

Sometimes a strange psychology is discovered by synonymous words. Sanskrit বন্ধুত্ব and Persian ইয়ারকি meant the same thing, but in Bengali the Persian word has acquired a degraded sense implying vulgarity. অপমান and বে-ইজ্জৎ, লজ্জাহীন and বে-হায়া, অসভ্যতা and বে-আদবী are pairs originally having the same meanings. But now the Persian words give a stronger sense. Some English words in Bengali also are acquiring similar force. If you call a Bengali বোকা he will not be so wroth as when you use নন-সেন্স্ (non-sense) instead.

" When terms distinguished or subordinated by common usage are examined, it is seen that etymology rarely justifies the differences that we attribute to them, e.g. species, kind, branch, class, division, brigade, regiment, battalion."

শ্রীযুক্ত and শ্রীমান্ meant the same thing originally, but now a differentiation is made in their use. The former is used in Bengali before the

[1] *uši* in Avesta, when used literally to mean "ear," is in the *ahura*-sense, the *daēva* word is *karəna* (কর্ণ); *gava* (hands) is *daēva*, *zasta* (হস্ত) is the corresponding *ahura*-word. *tvarəš* (make or create) is an *ahura*-word, *karənt* is the *daēva*-word.

This custom continues even to-day among the Parsis, e.g. सुवुं (to sleep) but the *daēva*-word is घोटावुं, खावुं (to eat) and जोमरवुं, and so on through a whole series.

names of elders while the latter is reserved for younger people. নমস্কার and প্রণাম both meaning "bowing down" have got a shade of distinction. প্রণাম implies greater respect. দুগ্ধ and ক্ষীর are originally the same thing; now দুগ্ধ means "milk" and ক্ষীর "milk thickened by boiling."

In passing from material to moral ideas, we shall see still better the effects of differentiation. Between স্নেহ, অনুরাগ, প্রীতি, ভক্তি—no gradation imposed by etymology can be perceived. স্নেহ is used in connection with affection for younger people, অনুরাগ and প্রীতি for persons of equal status, and ভক্তি for superiors.

The limits of the law of differentiation have been put by Bréal thus:—

(1) The terms to be differentiated must already exist in the language. Differentiation must first find a material in which to work, as it does not create, but only attaches itself to the terms existing in order to use and perfect them.

(2) The mind does not always manage to fertilise all the riches proffered to it by language. Grammatical mechanism by the combination of existing elements, can produce such a wealth of forms as to embarass the intelligence. The over-production of tenses of Greek and Sanskrit verbs may be taken as example. Verbs denoting the same thing, e.g. खाद्, भक्ष्, अद्, अश् all meaning "to eat" are found. Originally they might have had different meanings now lost. The supplementing of one root *by* another might have in the beginning a semantic cause. The extinction of useless forms fortunately diminishes the weight of this dead capital.

(3) Another limit to the principle of differentiation is set by the greater or less progress of civilisation. There are shades of meaning which arise only among cultivated peoples.

The Sontals cannot distinguish all kinds of colour, so they have got only two names for all sorts of colour, *heude* (dark), and *pundi* (light).

Irradiation.

Irradiation is the name given by Bréal to a process by which good, bad, or any other particular sense becomes associated with particular forms—the idea being slowly introduced into the forms appears afterwards to be inherent (as in suffixes, etc.).

There is in Latin a form of participle (corresponding to Sanskrit तव्य, to express the idea of obligation. In fact it originally expressed

nothing more than the idea of action, whether passive or active. The conception of obligation made its entry afterwards. These are the participles in *-dus, -da, -dum*. Take for instance the Sanskrit verbs in -छ called *inchoatives*, because they denote the beginning of an action that comes about gradually, e.g. गच्छति. Here the termination is used in its proper function. But in verbs like ऋच्छति, यच्छति, पृच्छति it has not got that sense at all.[12]

There is in Bengali a suffix -মি which gives a depreciative sense to a word, e.g. পাকামি, নষ্টামি, বুড়ামি, জেঠামি, ছেলেমি।

The suffix -ই gives both the senses. It is peculiar that this suffix is often added to words of foreign particularly of Persian origin, and implies generally a pejorative sense, e.g. ওস্তাদি, চালাকি, হাকিমি, সাহেবি. Another pejorative suffix is -য়ানা used in a similar way, e.g. মুরুব্বিয়ানা, সাহেবিয়ানা, নবাবিয়ানা.

The suffix -আ is used to denote larger things and -ই to denote smaller ones, e.g. গোলা, পোঁটলা, but গুলি, পুঁটলি and so on. It may be noted the distinction of gender in the primitive stage of languages depended upon this difference, which is still to be found in the languages of Africa. This -ই denoted the feminine gender. টি, খানি, etc., are used to denote smallness or affection ছেলেটি, মুখখানি; cf. নবে কেন্দে লখী বুল নাতিনীখানি (শ্রীকৃষ্ণকীর্তন, p. 11). টা gives a sense of largeness and sometimes of contempt. As Pandit Jagannath Tarkapanchanana asserted: তুমি রাজা নও, রাজাটা; আমি পণ্ডিত নই, পণ্ডিতটা (you are no petty king—you are a big Raja; I am no ordinary Pandit, but a big one). The sense of contempt is found in words like বুড়োটা, কেটা, etc., e.g. বুড়োটা কি বলে? আমি কেউ কেটা নই.

We may happen to consider as belonging to the "formal element" letters or syllables taken from the "material element" of a word. This is a phenomenon of Irradiation.

[12] There exists in Greek a group of verbs ending in -ιαω, that express a disease of the body or the soul. From some verbs with this inflection denoting disease, the idea of disease has been transferred to the inflection gradually, though originally it had no such signification.

There is a pejorative suffix *-âtre* in French, giving the sense of smallness, corresponding to Eng. *-ish* (e.g. prettyish). The pejorative sense, which barely existed in Greek, but which begins to show in Latin, entered definitely into this suffix in the derivative languages. Modern German has a class of verbs that may be called "depreciative" for they express the action coupled with a suggestion of disesteem and irony: *klug* means "clever," the verb from it *klügeln* "means to pretend to be clever"; *Witz* (wit), *witzeln* (to talk nonsense; originally, to pretend to be witty)!

The letter or syllable being neighbour to the inflection becomes transformed into an inflection itself. Such words as *despotism*, *patriotism* gave the idea that -*tism* was the suffix, hence we get *egotism* where *t* is out of place. So also the *n* in *tobacconist* is from analogy with *pianist* or *machinist*; and the *l* in *could* after *should* and *would*.[13]

In Bengali words like লজ্জাস্কর, হাস্যস্কর, etc. are often heard. The স্ comes in by analogy with words like যশস্কর, তেজস্কর etc. It might be that in course of time -স্কর will be considered the proper suffix.

The genitive plural sign in Bengali দিগের was formerly not an independent suffix, e.g. রামদিগের=রামাদিকের=রাম+আদি+কের. The word is pluralised by আদি added to it. The original sign for genitive is -কের —the whole is fused together and দিগের becomes the suffix for plural.[14]

Survival of Inflections.

When an inflection disappears whether through the action of phonetic laws, or for any other reason, it does not follow that it will cease to exist for the mind. There it may still live a long time, thanks partly: (1) to tradition, partly (2) to the position occupied by the word in the phrase, partly also (3) to the comparisons which our memory instinctively makes with analogous constructions.

The words with Sanskrit inflections in Bengali may be taken as examples of the first case—কেন, অগত্যা, অর্থাৎ, দৈবাৎ, হঠাৎ, etc. The phrases গেল কাল (yesterday) and আস্‌ছে কাল (to-morrow) may be cited as illustrations of the second case. গেল, etc. were participles originally ending in Sanskrit ক্ত.

নাদ ন বিন্দু ন রবি ন শশীমণ্ডল, চিঅরাঅ সহাবে মুকল। (চিত্তরাজ স্বভাবে মুক্ত). মুকল= মুক্ত=মুক্ত (বৌদ্ধগান ও দোহা, p. 49) আইসন চর্য্যা কুক্কুরীপাএঁ গাইড (গাইল) (ibid. p. 5).

This shows the transition stage. In old Bengali, the participles are declined according as the gender varied, e.g. বেলা গেলী.

[13] Mr. Wheeler tells us that the American "find means to provide a singular for words taken rightly or wrongly for plurals". Such are, from *Chinese* and *Portugese*, the singulars *Chinee* and *Portuguee*. In this way the inflection -*se* passes to the condition of formal element. For Fr. *chaise* a singular *shay* has been found in America. *Orange* has lost the initial *n* (Hin नारंगी).

[14] According to Mr. B. C. Mazumdar দিগের comes from দীঘ+ক + genitive sign-এর *History of Bengali Language*.

Cf. সবরো ভুজঙ্গ নইরামণিদারী
পেহ্ম রাতি পোহাইলী।—বৌদ্ধগান ও দোহা, p. 44

ঘাটের ঘাটিয়াল কহি গেল সে।
দধির চুপড়ী মোর পার করি দে॥
নাএর আন্তরে গেলী চন্দ্রাবলী রাহী।
তার পাছে আর যত গোআলিনী সহী॥—শ্রীকৃষ্ণকীর্ত্তন, p. 145
যমুনা দেখিয়া মনে ডরাইলী রাহী॥—ib. p. 146
বসিলী মাথাত দিঞা হাথে।
বড়ায়ি চলিলী আন পথে॥—ib. p. 7

Modern Bengali has lost its past tense and uses this participle form instead. The old use as participle is preserved in the phrase owing to the particular position of the word. In আস্‌ছে কাল, the participle is present progressive. Modern Bengali uses it as present tense.

The participial adjectives ending in -ন্ত in Bengali are examples of the third case. ফুটন্ত, পড়ন্ত, চলন্ত, ঘুমন্ত—are formed after the analogy of the plural Sanskrit forms of the participles. [15]

We even see that feminine substantives have lost their gender and turned into neuters. Sanskrit कलत्रम् German *Mädchen* (maiden) is neuter.

The opposite process is illustrated in Sanskrit. মিত্র, দৈবত, are neuters though they denote masculine substantives.

Limits :—

(1) When an inflection is no longer represented save by a small number of specimens and when these specimens have themselves become unrecognisable they are abandoned or transformed.

We find a transformation of the genitive construction in expressions like Regent Street, Queen Anne's Gate, etc. Here is no longer a genitive that we perceive. We imagine ourselves to be pronouncing the very name of these public thoroughfares. The same holds good for the use in Bengali, e.g. হ্যারিসন রোড, যতীন্দ্র ঠাকুরের ষ্ট্রীট, রাণী মুদির গলি, etc.

It may happen that these survivals are preserved in the language

15 "By means of a few precious fragments containing survivals, the declension of pronouns survives a most complete in the French language."

Another Latin form that still survives, although seemingly extinct in French as the neuter, e.g. *l'absolu* (the absolute), *le divine* (the divine). The Eng. abstracts which are in essence neuter are similar; *the true, the good, the beautiful.* Cf. सत्यम्, शिवम्, सुन्दरम्

of literature or in the dialects, e.g. জলকে যাই etc. used in poetry and in the Bankura dialect.

কাখে কলসী পানীকে যায়—ডাকের বচন
গুরুকে দক্ষিণা দিয়া ঘরকে গমন।—কৃত্তিবাস

ছিলাম আনমনে, একেলা গৃহকোণে,
কে যেন ডাকিল রে "জলকে চল"।
—রবীন্দ্রনাথ,
(চয়নিকা, 3rd. ed., p. 54).

"So long as these do not detract from lucidity, these relics of a former age are precious: they endow the language with dignity grace, and power."

False Perception.

We often imagine that we perceive an inflection where none exists. People have a feeling for utility, but do not trouble at all about history. They use whatever they possess.

In English *oxen*, the syllable *-en* is recognised as the distinguishing mark of number. Yet this is merely the Anglo-Saxon stem *oxen*, Sanskrit *ukṣan*. The real mark of the plural has been dropped. Cf. German, *der Ochs, die Ochsen ; der Mensch, die Menschen* etc.

More was felt to be a comparative, whereas it is not really a comparative. This led to the supposition of a positive *mo* which gave *most*. *Cherries* (Fr. *cerise*) was originally singular but later on came to be considered as plural and a new singular *cherry* was formed. So also the word *pease* Lat. *pisum* was a singular, but a new singular *pea* was formed and another kind of plural *peas* as well.

Another kind of false perception is a belief in the presence of grammatical forms which might have never existed. In Sanskrit the instrumental, dative and ablative possess a single dual inflection. So little is the deficiency felt that philologists are not yet agreed as to which of the cases are missing.[18]

It would seem as if the variety of vowels in verbs like *sing*, *sang*, *sung*, had been invented expressly to mark the variety of

[18] The loss of an inflection may add to the significative value of that which survives. The difference of vowel between *man* and *men*, *Vater* and *Väter* is due to the influence of a final syllable originally present but later on abolished by the wear and tear of ages.

tenses.[17] The diversity of vowels is produced by accentuation or contraction. Though not significative in its origin, this change of vowels has ended by becoming significative.

The opposite phenomenon of False Perception should also be noted. We sometimes perceive no inflection where there is one. জলখাবার contains the genitive sign র, but we use জলখাবারের দোকান. The people of Magura in Jessore, I have heard, rightly use খাবার দোকান and not খাবারের দোকান. The double inflections and suffixes come under this head, e.g. শ্রেষ্ঠতম, এরূপপ্রকার, কাবুলীওয়ালা, সখ্যতা, উৎকর্ষতা, গোরুগুলি সব, মনেতে, and so on.

According to Moulavi Sahidullah the Bengali first personal pronoun in singular আমি is really a plural form, the genuine singular form being মুই; আমি is even now used for the plural in Assamese, so also the Marathi 1st pers. pronoun. আমরা is actually a double plural. When আমরা is formed with the general plural sign -র, আমি has been relegated to take the place of singular. We do not now perceive it to be a plural.

In the combination শুকসারী, the latter word is popularly believed to be the feminine of the former, which it is not. সারী is not শুকী. The two are altogether different kinds of birds.

Again as Prof. Bhandarkar cites Bengali আজকের, কালকের, etc., as examples containing the Prakrit genitive sign -কের. This is also a case of false perception. The ক is really a pleonastic one which may be seen in the forms আজকে, কালকে, etc. The forms আজকের, কালকের are just as ordinary as any Bengali genitive.

The formation of Bengali genitive plural sign দিগের or accusative দিগকে has already been explained. It was so perceived as a separate word that in mediæval Bengali it stood independently, e.g. আমি আপন চাকরের দিগকে আজ্ঞা করিয়া দিলাম (From the translation of a letter by Rajiblochan, which was written by Nawab Sirajuddoula to Drake).

The perception of the negative particle in অসুর, অমল, etc., also furnishes cases in point.

Analogy.

"Man is by nature imitative: if he has to invent an expression, he does it more quickly by modelling it on some existing type, than by

[17] The tenses of verbs in Esperanto are marked by the change of vowels, e.g.:

Infinitive est*í*; Pres. est*as*; Past est*is*; Fut. est*os*.

" ir*i*; " ir*as*; " ir*is*; " ir*os*.

" am*í*; " am*as*; " am*is*; " am*os*.

limiting himself to original creation. But it is a mistake to represent Analogy as a cause. Analogy is nothing more than a means."

In the following cases, as pointed out by Bréal, Language allows itself to be guided by Analogy :—

(1) To avoid some difficulty of expression.

(2) To secure greater clearness.

(3) To emphasise either an antithesis or a similarity.

(4) To conform to some ancient or recent rule.

We shall illustrate it one by one :—

(1) To avoid some difficulty of expression :

"A more convenient formation having been found, the ancient formation is in a manner, arrested in its power of expression, reduced to that which it actually possesses, and deprived of all opportunity of further enriching itself. But from the moment it ceases to be enriched, it becomes impoverished." [18]

We find that in Sanskrit -मि is the termination of the 1st person, singular, present, throughout all the conjugation whether they have a thematic vowel or not. But originally there was a distinction. The thematic verbs had ō, while it was only the non-thematic verbs that had (-मि) -*mi. Thus we have in Greek *φέρω*, Lat. *ferō*, Goth. *baira*, which should be in Sanskrit *bharā* (भरा) instead of the actually existing *bharāmi* (भरामि) ; it is to be noted that this form in -ō is probably preserved in the Vedic subjunctive forms like ब्रवा *(bravā)* and the old Avestic *spasyā* corresponding to Latin *speciō* ; while we have *εἰμί* Sans. अस्मि, Avesta *ahmi*.

In Sanskrit, however, this distinction was lost and *-mi* was applied throughout, under the influence of some such analogy as द्विष्मः : द्वेष्मि : : भरामः : भरामि ; or द्विषे : द्वेष्मि :: भरे : भरामि . In the Vedas the 1st and 2nd personal pronouns in the nominative dual are आवम् and युवम् आवाम् and युवाम् being used for the accusative. Gradually only the accusative survivéd, because in the noun declension there is no difference

[18] The case is exactly opposite in Greek. In the two conjugations in -μι and -ω in Greek, we find since the earliest ages, the one in -μι constantly retiring, the other in -ω as constantly progressing. The conjugation in -μι being the more ancient, presents the spectacle of a formation that has been stormed and sacked. Each of the losses that it has undergone has been a gain for the conjugation in -ω.

In Latin the struggle is already at an end. But even at the present day there remains in every Romance Language a witness to the conjugation in -μι.

between the nominative and the accusative in the dual. An exactly parallel case is the English 'you' and 'ye'; 'ye' was the nominative and 'you' accusative plural. Now both have combined in one 'you'. It seems, however, that the 'you' (accusative) first absorbed the dative and then it encroached upon the nominative. In colloquial Bengali আমাদের, which is genitive, is being used in the accusative, e.g. আমাদের মারা সোজা নয় and আমাদের মেরেছে. So the accusative and the genitive are going to have the same form.

A declension that is easier and clearer gains ground from other declensions, e.g. the consonantal declension of Sanskrit passes into vowel declension in Prakrit and vernaculars, e.g. नरम्, पितृ, कर्मन्, मनस् and फलम् are all a-declensions in Bengali and so forth.

(2) To secure greater clearness :

"So far as it can be avoided, grammatical forms must not give rise to ambiguity. If they are too short, too blunt, they threaten to become unintelligible."

In Avesta the termination *āt* is added to the ablative singular to all nouns to avoid confusion with genitive. This was originally purely pronominal.

The original instrumental singular termination in Sans. was *-ā* with consonant and vowel stems; e.g. Ved. यज्ञा and महित्वा. But even in the Veda and regularly in Classical Sanskrit the stems have as a rule the termination *-na* with the change of the final *a* of the stem to *e*. This is nothing but a case of pronoun where the *-na* is original, as we see from forms in the related languages. तेन (Ved. त्येन), O. Persian *tya-nā*, Goth. þ *an*. This suffix -न is probably the same as in चन, विना, Ved. कुहचन and Latin *pone*.

The original genitive plural termination is -आम् with consonantal and vowel stems. Cf. *ἵππων*, Lat. *deum*, Ved. चरताम्, नराम्. The आनाम् was, according to Thumb transferred to *a*-stems, from the feminine *ā*-stems, which acquired it in the first instance from the *n*-stems.

आत्मभिः : आत्मसु : आत्मनाम् ::
बालाभिः : बालासु : बालानाम्.

Note also आत्मा and बाला are exactly alike in form, also accusative बालाम् which becomes identical with the genitive form बाला : बालानाम् :: देवाः : देवानाम्. Cf. O. Persian *bagānām* from *baga* (a god).

In the conjugation of verbs which are irregularly declined, children

are often found to use what should have been the regular form. Instead of 'I came', 'I caught', children are often heard to say 'I comed', 'I catched'. Foreigners also make similar uses when first learning a language.

My little niece aged three uses আসো in the second person singular present instead of এসো which is the standard form. This is due to the third and first personal forms আসে and আসি. The people of Eastern Bengal, however, use আসো regularly.

(3) To emphasise either an antithesis or a similarity.

"The mind which naturally associates ideas in couples, likes to solder together contraries by giving them the exterior." While this helps the memory, it gives greater relief to speech, e.g. Latin *diu* (day), *noctu* (night) from *nocte*. English 'before' and 'after' অহর্নিশ (from অহঃ and নিশি), অহোরাত্র (from অহঃ and রাত্রি), অপরাধী, and নিরপরাধী (which should strictly be নিরপরাধ); অক্ষম and সক্ষম (সুক্ষম). The original form is सुक्षम in Sanskrit; Oriya still uses this form.

The compound अग्नामरुतौ is formed in analogy with इन्द्रामरुतौ or इन्द्राग्नी or द्यावापृथिवी. Marathi पाश्चिमात्य instead of पाश्चात्य is due to दाक्षिणात्य; Bengali উভচর in contrast with জলচর, স্থলচর and ব্যোমচর; শেমিজ (from *chemise*) and কামিজ.

We may find in every language some words which from being similar in meaning have approximated in form. Cf. অঙ্গুষ্ঠ (thumb), ওষ্ঠ (lip), কোষ্ঠ (belly), উপস্থ (lap); বৃষভ, ঋষভ (bull), গর্দভ, রাসভ (ass); একাদশ and দ্বাদশ.

It is in syntax that this kind of symmetry is observed. In English because we say "to agree with some one" we say, too, "to differ with some one," also in Sanskrit तया सह वियोगः from तया सह संयोगः Similarly in Bengali তাহার সহিত বিয়োগ, তাহার সঙ্গে ছাড়াছাড়ি and so on.

(4) *To conform to some ancient or recent rule.*

"We are now speaking of a rule not yet formulated; a rule at which mankind strives to guess and which we see children trying to discover. By presupposing its existence, the people actually creates it."

Greek verbs take the syllabic or temporal augment in the imperfect or aorist. But we are not prepared to find the augment modifying an adverb or a pronoun. This is however what happens.

In Sanskrit, too, the suffixes for the degrees of comparison of adjectives have been extended in use even with verbs and nouns to denote a greater degree e.g. वृक्षतर, स्त्रीतमा, पचतितराम्, etc.

The cases of double endings may also be considered here. Noun-forming suffixes are again added to nouns in analogy with the regular forms, e.g. Ved. मघत्त्वता, Mod. Marāṭhī दास्यत्व, Beng. সৌজন্যতা, উৎকর্ষতা, etc.

Forms which bear an unusual aspect, are regarded as faulty, and brought back to the so-called regular type. In this way exceptions become less and less and finally disappear, e.g. নিন্দুক (not নিন্দক). Cf. ভাবুক, etc.

"সুকেশিনী শিরশোভা কেশের ছেদনে"

"যথা চাতকিনী কুহুকিনী ঘন বরষণে"

Now a word about *false analogy*. The phrase is a convenient term for designating such cases where analogy has been applied, but the word itself or the word with which it has been compared has been misunderstood. The falsity therefore comes in the understanding of the words compared and not in the analogy itself. If we bear this point in mind, we shall not be liable to be misled into the belief that analogy itself can be false or falsely applied. নেই মামার চেয়ে কানা মামা ভাল—'a blind maternal-uncle is better than no uncle.' Here the word কানা is really the Hindi word कहाना which means 'who may be called.'

But the application of analogy has to be kept within strict limits. Motives of clearness or of harmony suffice to hold analogy in check. If unduly pressed, analogy would make languages too uniform and in consequence monotonous and poor.

New Acquisitions.

"We more often hear of the losses undergone by language than of the reinforcements which come to its aid, because the evolution of the latter is very slow and hence escapes observation."

"There can be no question here of creations *ex nihilo*. The form which progress assumes is the appropriation to new usage of material transmitted by the past."

Bréal cites the development of the Infinitive, the Passive, and the Adverb as illustrations.

The Infinitive is the product of a slow selection; it is the fruit of a tardily accomplished union between the substantive and the verb. Infinitive is not a mood, it is the most general form of a verb, disburdened of all accessory elements, viz. person, number, tense, voice. The infinitive is the most recent of verbal forms.

The passive form of expression is also a new development. It was by taking possession of the reflexive form (so also in Sanskrit the *Atmanepada* form) that the greater part of the I.-E. languages, especially Latin and Greek contrived to create a passive voice.

The adverb is another new development. It is an ancient adjective or substantive which has abandoned the regular plan of declension, e.g. once, twice, needs, etc., चिरम्, अगत्या, etc.

The tenses in Bengali are instances of "new acquisitions." None of these is formed regularly. The simple past and the future are formed by participles, e.g. করিল (from Sanskrit क्त) and করিব (from Sanskrit तव्य). The other tenses are formed by adding different conjugations of root আছ্ to the infinitive of the main verb, e.g. করিতেছিলাম=করিতে+আছিলাম, করিতেছি=করিতে+আছি. The past perfect and the present perfect are also similarly formed, e.g.

করিয়াছিলাম=করিয়া+আছিলাম,

করিয়াছি=করিয়া+আছি।

The development of post-positions is another case in point. In the development of the Indian dialects we find the case terminations themselves tending to disappear and post-positions taking their place, e.g. আমার দ্বারা, আমা হইতে, etc.

The *upasargas* in Sanskrit have also been turned into prepositions, e.g. उदरेषु आ, अधि ह्रमि; तया सह, गृहात् बहिः, अर्थं विना।

Extinction of Useless Forms.

"The extinction of useless forms is not to be understood only of those which, after having existed for a longer or shorter period, have dropped out of usage, but also of those forms which virtually possessing the right to live, have yet never attained realisation."

If some verbs having the same meaning be conjugated through all tenses and all moods in Greek and Sanskrit, there would be such an abundance of forms that the mind would be everwhelmed. But fortunately what is of no use is suppressed. Hence also the composite conjugations. In proportion as languages grow old they rid themselves of their superfluity. The extinction of useless forms goes the length of uniting different verbs in one and the same conjugation, e.g. I go, I went; I am, I was; I have been; and so on. Beng. আছি, থাকিব; Sans. पश्यति, ददर्श; गच्छति, जगाम, अगमत्; etc.

The pronominal declensions consisting of various stems may be taken as illustrations. The first personal pronoun in Sanskrit gives the forms अहम्, आवाम्, वयम्, माम्, नः, अस्मान्, which come from different stems. Similar is the case with the second personal pronoun. The third personal pronouns also show the same thing, स : ते, तस्मात्, etc., are of different origin. Sometimes the original uniformity is shown by forms which have grown obsolete, e.g. सस्मिन् for तस्मिन्, सस्मात् for तस्मात् in the Vedas.

The Bengali third personal pronoun also discloses the same fact. সে, তাহারা come from different sources. Only the nominative singular has retained the স-stem. In East Bengal however সের is used in the Vikrampur side instead of the standard তার (তাহার) in the genitive singular. The ত-stem is also found in older Bengali where we now use স-stem e.g.

সত্যযুগে বেদ অর্থ জানি মুনিগণ।\
সেই মত চালাইল সংসারের জন॥\
ত্রেতাযুগে বেদ অর্থ জানিতে নারিল।\
তে কারণে মুনিগণ পুরাণ রচিল॥

(সে কারণে)—Prithvīchandra গৌরীমঙ্গল (1806),\
(*S.P. Patrikā*, 1303, Vaiśākha).

A comparison between the verbal systems in the Vedic and Classical Sanskrit will reveal how much of extinction has taken place in the latter. In fact the chief difference between Vedic and Classical Sanskrit lies in the very elaborate tense-system which are found in the Veda, but are completely broken down in the classical. In the Vedas we have four well-developed systems of tenses each of which possesses a primary tense and an augmented tense (preterite), and has the three modal variations and the two participles, active and middle. In Classical Sanskrit only a fraction of these survive in the ten लकारs given by Pāṇini.

The suppression of certain words ensures clearer oppositions. The feminine of a word survives in composition, but as a simple word it may disappear giving place to another. পো meant 'son', ঝি 'daughter' in Bengali; now they survive as such only in composition, e.g. ঠাকুরপো, ঠাকুর-ঝি. But ordinarily ঝি has taken the signification 'maid-servant' and the corresponding masculine is চাকর 'man servant'.

In this sense পো is never used and has been suppressed. Some-

times suppression comes about in another way. The regular masculine or feminine having been suppressed, another word of altogether different origin is supplied, e.g. Eng. *bull, cow; stag, hind; cock, hen; gentleman, lady;* etc. Beng. রাজা, রাণী ; মাগী, মিনসে ; স্বামী, স্ত্রী ; কর্ত্তা, গৃহিণী ; and so on.

When a language has at its disposal two correlative terms the suppression of the one must have the effect of changing the meaning of the survivor. This has been illustrated by গো, ঝি given above.

When the same idea is represented by two synonymous terms, Language gets rid of one of the two, though not so completely as to leave no traces. The word গবর্মেন্ট and কোম্পানী in Bengali are used to denote the ruling power. But the latter word has fallen into disuse, only surviving in a few phrases like কোম্পানীর কাগজ, কোম্পানীর মুলুক, etc. ঝি and মেয়ে are another pair.

In the sense of daughter ঝি is almost extinct and only to be found in compounds like ঠাকুর-ঝি, etc. মেয়ে has usurped its dominion almost completely.

The extinction of dual number in all the modern I.-E. Languages furnishes us with another illustration. The dual being a special case of plural was considered a grammatical luxury and got rid of gradually.

Coming to noun-declensions we find several case-forms are identical, e.g. instrumental, dative, and ablative plural, ablative and genitive singular, genitive and locative dual. The original case forms must have been distinct but disuse or similarity of function or some other cause must have led to the extinction of different forms and helped towards identity.

PART II.

BENGALI SEMANTICS.

The Deterioration of Meaning.

Words originally possessed of good meaning gradually come to acquire a bad sense and are used in that special sense only. ছোট (small), অসৎ (non-existent), etc., have now come to mean, 'small-minded,' 'dishonest', respectively, e.g. ছোটলোক (small-minded man), অসৎ ব্যক্তি (dishonest man). The word ইতর (lit. others) is now used in the sense of 'low'. In the Bengali phrase ইতর-বিশেষ the original meaning is retained, e.g. Sanskrit यद्यदाचरति श्रेष्ठस्तत्तदेवेतरो जनः। स यत् प्रमाणं कुरुते लोकस्तदनुवर्तते ॥– (*Bhagavad-Gītā*, iii, 21.) 'As do the great, so do the

rest of mankind.' Perhaps this use as contrasted with "the great,' furnishes the clue to the transition.

There are certain words however, which are still in the midway, i.e. they are used both in good and bad senses. In course of time the bad sense only may survive. Examples are আড্ডা as in গাড়ীর আড্ডা (stand) and গুলির আড্ডা (rendezvous); খেলোয়াড় as in ভাল খেলোয়াড় (a good player) and খেলোয়াড় লোক (a designing man), etc.

Exaggeration often leads to deterioration. The word সর্ব্বনাশ as in ছেলেটার সর্ব্বনাশ ক'রবে দেখছি (lit. I see he will *destroy* everything of the boy) is generally used to mean simple 'injury,' 'harm.' হেঁটে ম'রলাম (lit. I am *done to death* by walking) really means 'I am utterly exhausted with walking.' নির্জ্জীব জীবন (lit. *lifeless* life) denoted 'life not so full of vitality. Thus words possessed of a very strong meaning become less forcible in expression by being constantly used.

When a word is used in all kinds of associations, deterioration is often accompanied by a kind of discoloration. This is found often in colloquial language, e.g. তিনি ভয়ঙ্কর ভাল মানুষ (he is an *awfully* good man), অঙ্কে তাঁর সাঙ্ঘাতিক জ্ঞান (his knowledge of mathematics is *striking*); cf. also German *schrecklich warm*.

The words which refer to the relations of sexes are specially exposed to semantic changes of this kind, e.g. সহবাস (lit. living together) means sexual intercourse, সঙ্গম (originally 'assembly') is also used in the same sense.

The word পীরিতি (commonly পীরিত in colloquial language) was used in its original good sense 'love' in old Bengali, e.g. কানুর পীরিতি চন্দনের রীতি ঘসিতে সৌরভময় (চণ্ডীদাস, পদাবলী, p. 151); or

এতেক বলিয়া চরণে পড়িয়া
যত বৃদ্ধ নারীগণে।
কহয়ে কাকুতি করিয়া পীরিতি
আশীর্ব্বাদ কর মনে॥

চৈতন্যমঙ্গল (*A.B. Patrika* ed., p. 16).

In the time of Bharatchandra we find the word being used in both the senses স্নেহেতে চক্ষুর জল অঞ্চলে মুছিয়া, কহিছেন প্রজাপতি পীরিতি করিয়া (affection), (অন্নদামঙ্গল, *Basumati* edition, p. 52) but in বড়র পীরিতি বালির বাঁধ, ক্ষণে হাতে দড়ী ক্ষণেকে চাঁদ (বিদ্যাসুন্দর, p. 74) the word is used in a somewhat bad sense. In modern Bengali however the word signifies only 'illicit

love.' Dr. Dineshchandra Sen remarks that it was the promiscuous mixing of men and women in the lower orders of Vaishnava Society, which by leading to immorality, caused the degeneration in the meaning of this word. (*History of Beng. Lang. and Lit.*, pp. 826 ff.)

There are certain words which by their association acquire a degraded sense. রক্ষিতা (paramour), মহাজন (money-lender) originally meant 'protected' and 'great man' respectively. It is an irony of fate that cooks in Hindu families, who are mostly Brahmainas should be given highly honoured names all over Northern India. Bengalis call them ঠাকুর (God), Oriyas call them পূজারি (worshipper) ; Biharis use বাবাজী (father), and U.P. people মহারাজ (great king) for them. A maid-servant is ordinarily called ঝি (lit. daughter). The original meaning is still to be found in phrases like ঠাকুর-ঝি (father-in-law's daughter), বোন-ঝি (sister's daughter), ঘোষের-ঝি (Ghose's daughter) মায়ে-ঝিয়ে (mother and daughter) and in some proverbs (which may be said to be the repository of old usage), such as ঝিকে মেরে বৌকে শাসন (lit. to chastise the daughter-in-law by beating the daughter), etc. The word চাষা originally meant 'cultivator,' now it means 'unmannerly' because of the rude manners of the cultivator. It is curious to note that this word having acquired a bad sense, a man especially if he belongs to a high caste but lives on agriculture is called চাষী to distinguish him from a চাষা, e.g. চাষী গৃহস্থ (a family living on agriculture).

Certain words acquire a degraded sense when they pass from one language to another. খয়ের-খাঁ a well-wisher, from Persian *khair-khvāh*, means 'sycophant' in Bengali, চালাক from Persian *cālāk* means 'clever,' but চালাকি means 'wiliness, cunning' in Bengali. Other examples are বাহাদুরি (bravado), ওস্তাদি (meddlesomeness), ইয়ার-কি (vulgar friendship), originally from 'brave,' 'expert,' 'friend.' Perhaps here is reflected through language the attitude of the conquered people towards their conquerors.

Another phenomenon is the tendency to level the meaning by constant use মহারাজ, বাবু, মহাশয় etc., are cases in point ; cf. also Marathi तात्या. Their original use has been preserved in phrases like উলার বাবুরা (the great Zamindar Babus of Ulā), etc. At present the word is used as an ordinary title like English Mr. and Fr. Monsieur, Ger. Herr has also shared the same fate. The following peculiar use of the words মহাশয় (lit. great-minded) and ভদ্রলোক (gentleman) may be noted ভট্টাচার্য্য মহাশয়ের মত নীচমনা (low-minded) লোক আমি দেখি নাই ; তাঁর মত জুয়াচোর (dishonest)

ভদ্রলোকের সঙ্গে আমি সম্বন্ধ রাখি না. The original sense of the word is preserved in the following: চিঠি পড়া শেষ হইলে রামমণি বলিয়া উঠিলেন, বেহাই অতি মহাশয় লোক (চারু বন্দ্যো, পঙ্কতিলক, p. 118). The word বাবু has even come to acquire a bad sense, meaning 'a foppish lazy fellow,' as in বাবুগিরি.

The degradation has extended even to pronouns. The use of the pronoun তুই furnishes an illustration. It is often used in a deteriorated sense. The phrase তুই-মুই-করা means 'slighting one by calling one তুই.' The word, however, is used in a good sense in addressing mother-land, God, mother, etc. in a sense of affection and familiarity, e.g. মা আমায় ঘুরাবি (তুই) কত (রামপ্রসাদ); অঘ্রাণে তোর ধানের ক্ষেতে কি দেখেছি মধুর হাসি 'What beautiful smile have I seen on thy fields of paddy in the month of Agrahayana' (রবীন্দ্রনাথ). The use of the word 'thy' in English is an exact parallel.

The word পাষণ্ড has an interesting history. It was formerly used in quite a good sense. But now it has come to mean the very opposite. A sect of ascetics, who were non-Buddhists, were called, पाषण्डा (पासंडा) by Emperor Aśoka and were awarded royal gifts by him. Manu uses the word in the sense of non-Hindu. Later on the Vaishnavas began to apply the term to sects other than theirs. It then came to acquire the general meaning 'unbeliever' whence 'sinner,' 'rogue.' In Hindustānī the word पाखण्ड (ष=ख) is still used in the sense of 'unbeliever.' In Gujarātī, however, पाखण्ड means a rogue.

বিরক্ত means উদাসীন (indifferent, not attached to the world) in চৈতন্যভাগবত and other old Vaishnava books. It is now used in the sense of 'disgusted,' though the original use is still retained by the Vaishnavas, e.g. বিরক্ত বৈষ্ণব. So also is the word আত্মসাৎ, cf. ভক্তি দিয়া জীবে প্রভু কর আত্মসাৎ 'Make the people thy own by giving them the spirit of reverence.' Now the word denotes 'to make one's own by dishonesty.' প্রচণ্ড is another word used in a good sense in চৈতন্যভাগবত, e.g. প্রচণ্ড অনুগ্রহ. It is now generally used with words denoting something bad, as প্রচণ্ড ক্রোধ, etc.

Effects of party warfare, of the strife of interests and of opinions often give rise to bad senses of words. German *Kultur* has acquired a bad sense since the outbreak of the world-war. The term *Bolshevik*, which has become associated with such tragedy and horror, was in the beginning an innocent word enough, the original Russian meaning being "men of the majority." In India such a bad odour has been attached to the word 'native' used by Anglo-Indians, that a Govern-

ment circular has been necessary for the use of the word 'Indian' instead. The name of the 'moderate' party in India is নরমত দল, lit. 'the party addicted to pride.' The word টিকটিকি (lit. lizard) is used to denote 'detectives.' These words are gradually gaining currency. Here the laws of meaning change and phonetic 'decay' may be found to work side by side.

Sometimes the word may be used in a particular dialect of a language in bad sense, e.g. মাগি in East Bengal dialect is used to mean 'a woman of ill repute.' In West Bengal, however, the word denotes 'a woman' though a sense of contempt is implied.

Indirect Expression of Meaning.

Closely allied in some respects to the previous phenomenon is the peculiar process by which things are meant by terms other than the usual ones. The outward expressions may not correspond to the inner meaning. Sometimes the meaning may be the very opposite. Again in other cases it is expressed only in an indirect manner.

The word শৌচ which only means purity or cleanliness, is used to veil the disagreeable but all the same every day bodily necessity. Wine is sometimes referred to colloquially by the terms ধান্যেশ্বরী (ধেনো মদ—a kind of ale made from paddy, lit. the goddess of the paddy), or লাল-পানি (lit. red water). All this illustrates the humour of the people. In Gujrati also लाल-पानी is used in the same sense. To speak of a man as a মাতাল (drunkard) is rather harsh, so we say তার পান দোষ আছে, in its literal sense 'he has the bad habit of *drinking*.' When a woman goes astray we say সে বেরিয়ে গেছে, lit. 'she has gone out (of her family).' When a man dies we prefer to say তিনি স্বর্গগমন করেছেন (he has gone to heaven), তিনি পঞ্চত্বলাভ করেছেন (he has undergone dissolution into the five elements), তিনি ইহলোক ত্যাগ করেছেন (he has left this world). *Cf.* কৃষ্ণপ্রাপ্তি (to get Krishna, i.e. to die).

On a close examination of the causes it will be noticed that this is the result of a very human disposition, as Bréal says, which prompts men to veil, to attenuate, to disguise ideas which are disagreeable, wounding or repulsive. There is nothing in it all save a feeling of consideration, a precaution against unnecessary shocks,—a precaution which whether sincere or feigned is not long efficient, since the hearer seeks out the thing behind the words, and at once identifies them.

Sometimes the very opposite term is used to express the sense.

চাল বাড়ন্ত (lit. rice is in the increase) is the common expression for 'there is no rice', which is regarded as unlucky to utter. All Indian languages seem to use this method. The Oriyās also say চাউল বাড়িছি. As Gune points out, in some of the native states people speak of बादशाहके दुश्मनकी तबियत् अच्छी है, 'the health of the Emperor's enemy is well,' when what they really mean is, 'the Emperor is ill.' The Bengalis use এস 'come' for 'go' while bidding farewell. দাঁড়াও (lit. 'stand up') is used to mean 'wait.' A man while sitting may also be requested একটু দাঁড়াও (wait a bit).

The Bengali Hindu wife has to take recourse a good deal to this indirect manner of expression. The husband is never referred to by his name, কর্তা or বাবু or the pronoun উনি is used instead. If a gentleman happens to be of the same name as any of the names of the superiors of her husband's family, it is considered a serious breach of decorum on her part to pronounce that name. If the name of her husband's elder brother and that of the servant be identical, say নীলরতন she will call the servant by some such name as ক্ষীনু (for নীনু=নীলরতন) or change the name of the servant. The custom is in vogue all over India and even outside, e.g. the rural districts of England. (Giles, *Manual of Comparative Philology*, p. 238.)

The Kafir women, as we are told by the Rev. J. W. Appleyard, in his excellent work on the Kafir language have many words peculiar to themselves. This arises from a national custom, called *Ukuhlonipa*, which forbids their pronouncing any word which may happen to contain a sound similar to one in the names of their nearest male relations, from *hlonipa*=to be respectful, to avoid mentioning one's name. (Max Müller, *Science of Language*, Vol. II, p. 43.)

Another cause of this indirect process of reference is personal or sectarian hatred or prejudice. A Vaishnava, whose hatred against Śaktas is well known, is said to have spoken in the following manner while reporting that the kid has been cut into two, and weltering in a pool of blood on a field near Durgāpur under a *bel* tree :—হাতীউঁড়োর মা'র নগরের মাঠে তেকাকড়ার গাছের তলে বাছাকে আমার কে দুখানা করে বসিয়েছে, রক্তে সব গা ভেসে গিয়েছে (i.e. দুর্গা (গণেশের মা)-নগরের মাঠে বেলগাছের তলে ছাগলছানাটিকে কে দুখানা ক'রে কেটেছে, রক্তে সব গা ভেসে গিয়েছে). The very names of Durgā, and the fruit of the *bel* which is used for her worship by the Śaktas, and the very idea of cutting into two a living animal, are repellent to the Vaishnava, the chief doctrine of his religion being अहिंसा परमो धर्मः.

In this connection we may notice the various figures of speech Irony, Euphemism, Periphrasis, ব্যাজস্তুতি, etc. When discussing the character of a dishonest man, if we say সে বড় সাধু! we really assert that he is not honest. In ব্যাজস্তুতি censure and praise are expressed in the same language, the words having double meanings.

"বিবাহ করিয়া সীতারে ল'য়ে,
আসিলেন রাম নিজ আলয়ে,
শুনিয়া যতেক বালক সবে,
আসিয়া হাসিয়া কহে রাঘবে,
শুন হে কুমার তোমারি আজ,
কুলের উচিত হইল কাজ।
তব হে জনম অতি বিপুলে,
ভুবন বিদিত অজের কুলে;
জনক দুহিতা বিবাহ করি
ভাসালে তাহাতে যশের তরি।"

(From a quotation in পদ্যপাঠ, ৩য় ভাগ, Introduction.)

Here Rama is praised for marrying the daughter of King Janaka and this is quite worthy of one who is born in the line of অজ the world renowned ancestor of Rama. The other meaning is that Rama has married the daughter of his father (জনক) as befits one who belongs to the race of goats (অজ)!

Sometimes humility on the part of the speaker expresses the meaning in rather an indirect way. When a gentleman requests his guest একটু জল খেয়ে যান (lit. please drink a little water), what is really meant is not water alone, but it may be a good dish along with it. Houses are given names which do not at all represent the nature of the building. মদনমোহন কুটীর may be a many storied big building though the word কুটীর means only a cottage. Sometimes this humility causes reference to persons in the third person. In expressions like প্রভু, দাসের ভাগ্যে কি হবে? "O Lord, what is ordained for the humble servant? (referring to the speaker himself)." अयं जनः a modest phrase to designate the speaker himself is used in Sanskrit. In *Vikramorvaśī*, II, the King when taking leave from Urvaśī says स्मर्तव्योऽयं जनः; cf. ὅδε ὁ ἀνήρ.

In sentences like হুজুর কি বলেন, 'What does your Honour (lit. presence) say?' the same cause operates. In Sanskrit forms like आर्यपुत्र, भद्र, भगवान् etc. are instances of the kind. Sanskrit भवान् and

Bengali আপনি (from Skt. आत्मन् ; Prak. अप्पा) may have the same cause for their being used for the second person, though they themselves are originally third persons.

The colloquial ইয়ে (from ইহা)—East Bengal ইসে—is used in Bengali for all sorts of things, when the idea to be expressed does not at once come forth before the mind of the speaker. Bhojpuri Hindi रथि is a similar instance.

Some uses of the negative in Bengali, while implying emphasis, also give the opposite sense which is positive, e.g. খাও না dost thou eat.

In Hindi also ना is used in the same way. Gujrati has ने and नि used in the same sense. But Bhojpuri uses नु instead. Babu Bijoy Chandra Mazumdar, however, is of opinion that this ना is only another form of Sanskrit नु. Then of course the negative sense does not at all come in.

In the interrogative sentence জিনিষটা কি অমন্দ ? the অমন্দ implies that the thing is not bad, the real form should be জিনিষটা কি মন্দ ? "Is the thing bad ?" In Eastern Hindi we find a similar use in अचपल् 'restless' for Sanskrit चपल (Hoernle, *Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages*, p. 95). But in Bengali the original negative sense is preserved as is illustrated in the following lines :—

পরশমণির প্রদীপ তোমার অচপল তার জ্যোতি,
সোনা ক'রে নিক্ পরশে আমার সব কলঙ্ক কালো ॥ (রবীন্দ্রনাথ)

Sometimes nervousness and superstition cause indirect expression. Small-pox is referred to as শীতলার কৃপা (cf. মায়ের অনুগ্রহ 'the favour of the goddess, Śītalā, the cooler'), a snake at night as লতা (lit. creeper), a ghost as দেবতা (lit. God) and so forth. Cf. the common Greek name for the Furies, *Eumenides* or the well-disposed ones.

Elevation of Meaning.

The contrary of the process of deterioration is what may be called *Elevation* of meaning. Just as rising in the physical, moral and social world is more difficult than falling, so also is the case here. Instances of the degradation are very numerous but those of elevation are comparatively rare.

Some words from Sanskrit have assumed an elevated sense in Bengali. The word साहस is an example. It is defined in Sanskrit as,

मनुष्यमारणं स्तेयं परदाराभिमर्षणम् ।
पारुष्यमनृतञ्चैव साहसं पञ्चधा स्मृतम् ॥

(Cf. सहसा = बलेन < सहस् used in the *R.V.* in the sense of strength.) This practically implies साहस is the term for all sorts of heinous crimes imaginable, murder, theft, rape, haughtiness and falsehood. But strangely enough it has come in Bengali to exclusively mean 'noble courage.'

চাই বল চাই স্বাস্থ্য আনন্দ উজ্জ্বল পরমায়ু
সাহসবিস্তৃত বক্ষপট—(রবীন্দ্রনাথ)

We rather add the prefix দুঃ (viz. দুঃসাহস) to denote rashness, etc. সৎসাহস is also occasionally found. In Gujrâti साहस is used in both the senses.

কাপড় originally meant 'old rag' (cf. पटच्चरं जीर्णवस्त्रं समौनक्तक-कर्पटौ). Pali कप्पट = छिन्नवस्त्र, Oriya কনৃটা = दीर्घ छिन्नवस्त्र. Now it means an entire piece of good cloth. Here the law of restriction also works.

সম্ভ্রম has a similar history. In Sanskrit it means 'fear' (cf. सम्भ्रान्तहृदयो रामः रामायणम्, आरण्यकाण्ड. In old Bengali books like Kavindra and Shrikaran Nandi's *Mahabhāratas* the word is used in its original sense of 'fear,' e.g. সম্ভ্রম না করে ভীষ্ম হাতে ধনুঃশর. In modern Bengali it has the meaning 'respect.' The respect inspires fear perhaps.

মুগ্ধ was used to denote 'beautiful' or 'foolish,' cf. मुग्धस्तु सुन्दरे मूढे; इत्यादिभिः प्रियशतैः अनुरुध्य मुग्धाम्—*Uttararāmacarita*, Act III. তাহাত মুগধী (foolish) রাধা না পাতিল কানে (চণ্ডীদাস, শ্রীকৃষ্ণকীর্ত্তন, p. 27). In old Bengali we find the word used also in its original literal sense: দেখি রাজা মুগ্ধ হ'য়ে (swooned) পড়েন ধরণী. In modern Bengali the word is exclusively used in the good sense—

শ্যামলা বিপুলা এই ধরা পানে
চেয়ে থাকি আমি মুগ্ধ (charmed) নয়নে—রবীন্দ্রনাথ
সাত কোটী সন্তানেরে, হে মুগ্ধ (fond) জননী
রেখেছ বাঙালী করে' মানুষ করনি—চয়নিকা, p. 245.

Words like সাংঘাতিক as in সাংঘাতিক জ্ঞান (striking knowledge), etc. which have been given elsewhere may be taken as illustrations of this law, only in that particular context.

Some words while being used as equivalents for English words

have come to acquire an elevated sense through misapplication, e.g. বাধিত 'obliged' (lit. pained), cf. न तथा बाधते स्कन्धः यथा बाधति बाधते ।

Concretion and Abstraction of Meaning.

These are two allied processes. The process of concretion takes place when an abstract word, instead of keeping its abstract sense, instead of remaining the exponent of an action, a quality or a state, becomes the name of a material object.

Sometimes the modified word preserves both the meanings, e.g. নিমন্ত্রণ as in নিমন্ত্রণ খাওয়া to partake of the food offered by the inviter, but in নিমন্ত্রণ রক্ষা the abstract sense 'invitation' is retained.

The abstract idea is sometimes forgotten, the material signification alone surviving, e.g. জনতা (formerly also denoted মনুষ্যত্ব) now means crowd—ভেদি সে জনতা উঠিল রোল. সন্ততি means 'lines of descendants,' অবরোধ, harem (lit. confinement), অরাতি means 'enemy.'

"অরাতি বিক্রমে পরাজিত হ'লে
চিতানলে যারা তনু দিত ঢেলে ॥

(হেমচন্দ্র, ভারতকামিনী, *Basumati* ed., p. 346.)

জাতি (√জন+তি) seems to have meant originally 'birth.' Now it means genus, species, caste, race, etc., e.g. মানবজাতি, বাঙালীজাতি, কায়স্থজাতি, etc.

The opposite phenomenon abstraction takes place when words denoting concrete things gradually come to be used in an abstract sense. কপাল (forehead) now means 'fate.' The word হৃদয় 'heart' is now used in its figurative sense হৃদয়হীন, আমি তোমার জন্য সিংহাসন পর্য্যন্ত পরিত্যাগ ক'রে এসেছি, তুমি আমায় ত্যাগ ক'রো না (cf. 'to take heart').

In old Bengali we find the word used in its concrete sense—

হৃদয়(অ) মুকুলি হেরি থোর থোর।
খনে আচর দই খনে হোয় ভোর ॥—বিদ্যাপতি, p. 6.
প্রথম যৌবন মোর মুদিত ভাণ্ডার।
হৃদয়ে কাঁচুলী গজমুকুতার হার ॥—শ্রীকৃষ্ণকীর্ত্তন, p. 58.
দাড়ি পড়িয়াছে তার হৃদয় ছাড়িয়া।—গোবিন্দদাসের কড়চা।

The word কপাল retains both its concrete and abstract sense but in the case of the word হৃদয় the concrete sense is altogether gone.

সম্পত্তি is used in its concrete sense only, e.g. সে অনেক সম্পত্তি কিনেছে। Here it means 'landed property'. In old Bengali however it is seen to

be used in an abstract sense. নবদ্বীপ সম্পত্তি কে বর্ণিবারে পারে—'Who can describe the prosperity of Navadvipa?' Cf. বিষয়=country (in Sanskrit).

The phrase বুকের পাটা (lit. the broadness of chest) now means 'courage':

> ভূতলে আনিয়ে মাগো করিলে আমায় লোহাপেটা
> আমি তবুও মা ব'লে ডাকি এমনি আমার বুকের পাটা।—রামপ্রসাদ.

দেবতা probably originally meant the collection of gods, now it means an individual god. The quality of a god is now denoted by the word দেবত্ব in Bengali.

The abstract noun forming suffix অনট্ gives us the words ভবন (habitation), বসন (clothes), etc. which are examples of concretion.

Instances may be multiplied in this way. We shall now close the chapter with the remark that abstraction becomes rather frequent along with the progress of language and the advancement of civilization.

Restriction of Meaning.

"Our languages are condemned to a perpetual lack of proportion between the word and the thing. Expression is sometimes too wide, sometimes too narrow. We do not notice this want of accuracy because, for the speaker, expression adapts itself to the thing through the circumstances, the place, the moment and the obvious intention of the discourse. At the same time the attention of the hearer, who counts for half in all languages, goes straight to the thought behind the word, without dwelling on its literal bearing, and so restricts or extends it according to the intention of the speaker."

The real cause of disproportion between the name and the thing is the nature of the verbs. The roots which are properly called ধাতু in Sanskrit are the "essential and capital" part of our languages. Nouns and adjectives are mostly derived from them. The subjects, object or instruments of an action may be formed from the same verb, which of course has its own general signification. So the special forms derived from it must become restricted in meaning by usage. The verb denotes something like an abstract idea—the name of the action. The absence of roots of general ideas in some primitive and savage speeches is to be noted. Thus several words are formed out of the same verb as one by one they become limited in meaning; the same source is drawn upon and other new words are formed which again in their course be-

come restricted in meaning and thus the process goes on. ভাবনা, ভাবা, ভাব, all belong to the root ভূ 'to be', ভাবনা means 'anxiety', ভাবা 'to think' and ভাব 'feeling'.

This phenomenon of restriction is perhaps the most interesting and at the same time instructive side of semantics, there is hardly any profession or any state of life which does not use the general words of the language to its own advantage and gives them a peculiar impress of their own, making them restricted in meaning.

"The more advanced the civilisation of a nation" as Bréal points out, "the more varied are these Restrictions of meaning." The word গুলি to a soldier means 'a bullet', to a tailor 'a ball of thread', to a boy 'a marble' and so on.

Words which formerly denoted a whole class may gradually come to mean merely a particular portion of that class. মৃগ denoted all sorts of animals (cf. पशवोऽपि मृगाः, *Amara.*) but it now means deer only. The restriction is found even in Sanskrit. The history of the English word 'deer' is also similar. In Persian *murgh* (মোরগ) means 'bird,' a winged creature, but in Bengali we use the word in a restricted sense, namely 'cock' (cf. O.E. *fugol*=bird > *fowl*). অবলা is used to denote the weaker sex, its literal meaning is 'one who has no strength,' and to man the woman was pre-eminently weak, whom they were to protect, e.g. অবলা, অবলো, মূর্খ অবধা সমরে (নবীনচন্দ্র, রঙ্গমতী), similarly অঙ্গনা, সুন্দরী, etc. The Bengali dialectal word মুনিষ now means a labourer. It is same as মনুষ্য (cf. colloquial, মনিষ্যি); the very form মুনিষ্ is found in its general sense of 'man' in some of Aśoka's Edicts; सव मुनिसा मे पजा (Jaugad, 2nd Edict).

The most universal necessaries of life had often very general names at the beginning. This is found in other languages also.

অন্ন—(√অদ্+ক্ত) (cf. ভক্ত > ভাত) which is our staple food, lit. means 'that which is eaten.' ধান্য was originally the same as धन 'wealth' (धन+स्वार्थे य). Grass is called by the most general name 'that which is eaten' (√घस् भक्षणे+अ, कर्म्मणि).

Sometimes it is found that the various meanings of a word grow obsolete excepting one and it goes down to future ages with the meaning which alone has survived. The word সম্বন্ধী is a case in point. It was originally used to mean any relation: एष वः श्लाघ्यसम्बन्धी जनकानां कुलोद्वहः (*Uttararāmacarita*, Act IV). "Here is your esteemed *relation*, the chief of the race of the Janakas." Here the word is used literally in

the sense of 'connection.' But now in Bengali সম্বন্ধী is used only in the sense of wife's brother. In Gujarātī as in Sanskrit सम्बन्धी denotes 'any relation' but in Hindi it has been restricted to one 'by marriage,' वैवाहिक. and is used in the restricted sense of brother-in-law may be noted in this connection. (Cf. German *Schwager* and *Schwagerschaft*, relationship by marriage.) ধুতি and শাড়ী are now restricted to mean the cloth worn respectively by male and female persons. But formerly they used to denote cloths worn by either a man or a woman.

ধবল কমলাসনা ধৌত ধুতি পরিধানা—(ঘনরাম)

পার্ব্বতী রূপবতী, হরিদ্রাযুত ধুতি, পরিয়া বসিলা আসনে—(কবিকঙ্কণ, p. 24.)

পরিয়া লোহিত শাড়ী, বুকে আচ্ছাদিত শাড়ী।

চণ্ডিকারে করয়ে গোহার। (কবিকঙ্কণ p. 287.)

Marathi धोतर < धौत्र means 'washed garment,' धोती in Hindi denotes both the kinds. বাই in Bengali means a Hindustani nautch girl only (cf. বাইনাচ). The word बाई originally means any respectable lady, coming most likely from माइ 'mother' as Pandit Vidhuśekhara Sastri suggests; cf. Marathi बायको = wife and is used in that sense even now in Rajputana, Maharashtra and Gujarat. e.g. अहल्या बाइ, पद्मिता रमाबाइ etc. बाइ also means a mistress in these languages, but that is not the general acceptation of the term. In Bengali the word has only one meaning, viz: 'nautch-girl'. তামাসা is often used in the sense of 'joke' in Bengali—

এ কি রে তামাসা! সকলে অবাক!

কারো মুখে নাহি ভাষা।—দেবেন্দ্রনাথ সেন, অশোকগুচ্ছ.

But Hindi has retained the original sense, 'show.' জট in old Bengali meant 'hair', now it means 'matted hair' only.

ময়ূরপুচ্ছে বান্ধি চূড়া, কেশপাশে দিআঁ বেড়া

কনয়া কুসুমে বান্ধি জটা।—শ্রীকৃষ্ণকীর্ত্তন, p. 346.

জটে দড়ি দিয়া বীরে বান্ধিলেক চালে।—কবিকঙ্কণ, p. 102.

The restriction of meaning in synonymous words is sometimes very peculiar. শ্রীযুক্ত and শ্রীমান্ (lit. endowed with শ্রী or fortune) were originally used without distinction before names of persons, e.g. पुनर्व्यपाहनत् श्रीमान् पक्षिराजो महाबलः (*Rāmāyaṇa*). Now in Bengali শ্রীমান্ is used only before the names of younger people. দুগ্ধ and ক্ষীর meant the same thing. ক্ষীর means now only a special preparation of milk. In some

cases the synonym extends and contracts itself by just so much the domain of its companion. জ্ঞাতি and কুটুম্ব were originally synonyms. Now জ্ঞাতি is reserved for 'kinsmen' and কুটুম্ব means 'relations by marriage'.

A word may receive a particular impress from a particular class of people and emerge with a restricted meaning, e.g. গরম মশলা means দারুচিনি, ছোট এলাচ and লবঙ্গ only; and পাঁচফোড়ন denotes not any five kinds of spices but only কালজিরা, মৌরি, মেতি, রাঁধুনী and শ'ষে. The words মহোৎসব (commonly মচ্ছব) and সঙ্কীর্তন being used in connection with Vaishnavism have acquired a peculiar significance. The particular festivity of the Vaishnavas in which cooked food is indiscriminately distributed amongst the people assembled is called মহোৎসব. The word literally means a 'great festivity' and in Sanskrit it is always used in that sense. সঙ্কীর্তন, the Sanskrit meaning of which is 'reciting' or 'singing,' is used to denote a particular kind of singing of God's name by a procession of Vaishnavas.

At other times it is found that a word changes its meaning and becomes restricted in sense on account of the influence of some historical event. ভেক which used to denote Sanskrit वेष (or वेष्म dress; cf. Marathi भेष्म or भेस, Apabhramśa Hindi, भेष or भेख, ष=ख) took with Vaishnavism the special meaning, 'dress of a Vaishnava.' "Once impressed with the seal of religion, all other usages came to an end." ভেক লওয়া now means 'to become a Vaishnava.' In old Bengali the meaning 'dress' is found :—

তাজিয়া আপন ভেক, নারদ হইল সেক

পুনরন্দর হইল মলানা।

—শূন্য পুরাণ, *Parisat* Ed., p. 141.

The use of the word in the same sense in modern Bengali is only accidental, the speaker trying to transfer the association in another similar field.

তার এই মুসলমানী বেশ দেখিয়া কমলা হাসিয়া জিজ্ঞাসা করিলেন—ও কি রে! গোবিন্দ হাসিয়া বলিল—গুরুঠাকুরের দেখেই বুঝতে পারা চাই ত যে এই শিষ্যটি কি রকম ভক্তিমান! ভেক নইলে পরিচয় পাবেন কেমন ক'রে?—চারু বন্দ্যো, পঙ্কতিলক, p. 199.

Sometimes the vulgar form of a word is used in a restricted sense while the learned form retains the general signification, e.g. দেয়া in the sense of cloud is used by the ordinary folk, while the original দেবতা means 'god'. In poetry দেয়া is even now used in the sense of cloud.

পিছনে ঝরিছে ঝরঝর জল
গুরু গুরু দেয়া ডাকে।

—রবীন্দ্রনাথ, গীতাঞ্জলি, p. 14.

অষ্টমী তিথি কৃষ্ণপক্ষ আঁধারে নিখিল হারা,
গুরু গুরু ডাকে বরষার দেয়া অঝোরে ঝরিছে ধারা।

—যতীন বাগচি, নাগকেশর, p. 29.

In our every day language we use a large number of words in their restricted sense, which use varies according to time and place and leaves no durable traces. The word শহর means to all country folk the nearest town. We had a maid servant who came from a village near Berhampur, which to her was the town *par excellence*. But even when she was in our house at Krishnagar, which was as good a town as Berhampur, she always meant Berhampur by using the word শহর. London is the *town* in England. In Krishnagar College the word সাহেব is used to denote the Principal, who is the only European on the staff at present (1920), (cf. the use of the word সাহেব itself, when it means an Englishman or European). বাবা (father) রান্নাঘর (kitchen) etc. are used in the sense of proper nouns in individual families.

Expansion of Meaning.

"Expansion of meaning is the counterpart of what we have just been observing. It may be thought surprising to find two movements in opposite directions existing simultaneously. But we must note that the cause is not the same in both cases: while restriction depends, as has been seen, on the fundamental conditions of language, expansion has an exterior cause: it results from the events of history."

A thing is given a particular name after some of its prominent characteristics. This characteristic may retire into the background and even be wholly forgotten. Then the name may come to denote the whole class instead of designating a particular kind, e.g. কালি is a black liquid for writing (from কাল, black). Now the word means all sorts of fluids for writing; even the combination লাল কালি is found to denote 'red ink.' सियाही in Hindi has a similar history, Pers. *siyāh* is black, लाल सियाही is red ink (or more commonly सुर्ख सियाही; Av. *suxra*, Pers. *surkh*, red: cf. शुक्र).

An action or thing may be given a name first on account of its association with a particular circumstance which may be only casual.

But afterwards the particular association which occasioned the giving of the name may be quite forgotten and the word comes to acquire a general meaning. গৌরচন্দ্রিকা originally meant "a prologue or preliminary verses in praise of Gour (Shri Chaitanya) in the collection of Vaisnava verses." The word means "anything said or even done at the beginning." It is used almost as an equivalent of 'introduction' but generally in a deriding tone.

Sometimes proper names are used by people in the sense of the genus to which the thing belonged. The word গাঙ from গঙ্গা, the Ganges, is an example. It is used for any river (even in Ceylon), e.g. মরা গাঙে বান এসেছে, জয় মা ব'লে ভাসাও তরি. The word is similarly used in Marathi to designate big and probably holy rivers like Godavari, Krishna, Kaveri, etc. A woman in Sangli, as Gune points out, will always say गङ्गेवर गेलें होतें when she only means—कृष्णेवर etc Here the idea is to ascribe to the Krishna equal holiness with the Ganges. A village woman, asked the name of the little stream near the village, will always say গঙ্গা. The word লঙ্কা (লাঙ্ক) is used to denote a distant country in বৌদ্ধগান ও দোহা, p. 49 perhaps on account of the distance of Lanka from here.

উজুরে উজু ছাড়ি মা লেহুরে বঙ্ক ।
নিঅড্ডি বোহি মা জাহুরে লাঙ্ক ॥
(ঋজু ঋজু ছাড়ি না লও রে বক্র
নিকটে শমুদ্র না যাও রে লঙ্কা ॥)

In the Bengali phrase সাতলঙ্কা in 'সাতলঙ্কা ঘুরে কিছুই হ'ল না' the same sense seems to have entered.

The word ফিরিঙ্গী, discloses a very interesting history. The origin of the word has differently been traced by different scholars. Mr. Jogesh Chandra Roy derives it from English 'Frank', while Moulavi Sahidullah from Persian *Firangi*. Principal Ramendra Sundar Trivedi says: "the European word 'Frank' in the sense of inhabitant of Western Europe was used in Turkish and Arabic as ফরঙ্গ, ফর্ঙ্গ, ফরাঙ্গ *Faranj* (in Arabic) ফরঞ্জ, etc. whence comes Persian ফরঙ্গী whence Hindi ফিরাঙ্গী from which comes Bengali ফিরিঙ্গী." (*Sāhitya Parisat Patrikā*, Vol. XXV, 1.) Whatever might be the origin of the word its original meaning in Bengali was 'Portugeese pirates,' then 'their children by Indian women,' and now 'Eurasians' generally. Even it is sometimes used to denote 'Europeans' also; cf. ফড়্না কাড়্না ফিরিঙ্গী সব বাংলা হ'তে হ'ল

দূর—(গিরীশচন্দ্র); cf. also Persian *Firangistān*. In Bombay the native Christians of Goa are called *Firangī*.

The familiar word মেয়ে shows another case of expansion. It originally denoted 'mother' and we have it on the authority of Mr. Dinesh Chandra Sen (বঙ্গভাষা ও সাহিত্য, p. 257) that it is even now used in the same sense in the form মাইঞা by the people of Ujanpur, Tippera. In old Bengali and Hindi the more original form মাই signifies 'mother'; cf. Bejoy Gupta's *Padmapurāṇa*. মাই and মাইঞা gives us মেয়ে which now means 'daughter,' whence 'woman' in general. Peculiarly enough মেয়ে in Raniganj means 'wife.' Compare the forms মেয়েলোক and মেয়েমানুষ, used to denote 'woman.'

বঙ্গবাসী, the first weekly in Bengali of considerable circulation, and হেরিকেন (hurricane lantern)—perhaps the first of its kind to be introduced—are still used by the people in remote villages, in the sense respectively of 'newspaper' and 'lantern' in general; cf. Marathi कादम्बरी=novel, Hindi रामकहानी=a romance, a wondrous tale; cf. *ogre*=Uigur tribe of Turks, *turn Turk*='become Mahomedan,' *Saracen*=Mahomedan, etc.

We call a measure by the name of some object which in some way resembles it in dimensions একহাত (one cubit), একরশি (one chain) etc. are examples. So also a 'pen' originally of feather (the Latin word for 'pen' is *penna* connected with the Latin *pinna*, feather) is now used for any writing instrument and may be even a 'steel-pen'. Cf. German *Stahl-feder*, French *plume*.

Words expressive of conceptions of time are transferred to conceptions of space and *vice versa*, as—

আগে চল আগে চল ভাই—রবীন্দ্রনাথ।

দাঁড়াও আমার আঁখির আগে—Ib.

and আগে ভাগেই বাজিয়ে দিলি বাঁশী—Ib., বলাকা, p. 63.

Here আগে means 'fore' in the first two, and 'early,' in the last sentence.

Words which in their proper sense denote sensual and corporeal ideas only, are transferred to the denotation of ideas spiritual and intellectual, e.g. আত্মা 'soul' originally meant 'breath' whence body, etc. Cf. आत्मादेहे स्त्रीजीवे स्वभावे परमात्मनि: also German *atmen* 'to breathe,' Grk. ἀτμός 'vapour.'

Words which properly denote one species only are fallaciously

given a wider extension in meaning, e.g. as in তিমি মাছ (whale), চিংড়ি মাছ (lobster), etc.

We make proper names pass into class names as when we speak এখন দেশে হাজার গান্ধীর আবশ্যক, 'a thousand Gandhis are now required in the country.'

Sometimes the word denoting the male sex is used for the whole class—male and female. ঘোড়া signifies both male and female horses. But when any special distinction is meant we say মাদী ঘোড়া (a female horse). In Gujarati घोडा has its feminine in घोड़ी which is also sometimes found in the vocabulary of our village people in the form of ঘুড়ী. কুকুর, গাধা etc. are used for both the sexes. All this is due generally to familiarity.

The opposite process is also met with, the name for the female sex may denote the whole class, e.g. কাঠবিড়ালী (squirrel, fem.), মুরগী (hen), etc. In Gujrati the feminine बिलाडी (बिडाली) is used to denote 'cat' while in Bengali the masculine form is used. बेटा is used in Gujrati for boys and girls alike, there being no degraded sense; the word is used also as a term of abuse in Bengali. We see the word বালা lit. 'girl' used to signify a boy in Old Bengali, e.g. নান্দোঘরে বালা বাড়ে তোমা বধিবারে (শ্রীকৃষ্ণকীর্ত্তন, p. 5); চারি বছরের হ'ল বানিয়ার বালা। (কবিকঙ্কণ)। Even now the word is used in this sense in Hindi. The form is a decayed one from বালক > বালঅ > বালা.

A number of words in feminine gender are used in connection with males, probably originally by females themselves. লক্ষ্মী ছেলে (a boy as gentle as Lakshmī) is as right as লক্ষ্মী মেয়ে (a girl as gentle as Lakshmi). Even সতী (good, fem.) is used in a similar way; cf. সতী ছেলে, নিজে বড় সতী, etc.; also মাণিকচন্দ্র রাজা বঙ্গে বড় সতী (মাণিকচন্দ্র রাজার গীত, *J.A.S.B.*, 1878, p. 14).

ভাই (brother) is used as a form of address amongst themselves by the women of West Bengal especially. In Eastern Bengal বোন্ (sister) is rightly used.

Compound words often acquire an expanded sense. The reason is that when the words are linked together, the mind perceives the combination as a whole and does not pay attention to the meanings of the component parts: e.g. রাজপুত, রাউং (lit. the son of a king) now means a whole tribe.

The word গোয়াল (গো + শালা) originally signified 'a shed for cows'. It is now used for any similar shed, e.g. ভেড়ার গোয়াল 'a shed for sheep'.

"Sanskrit अश्वगोष्ठ means a stable for horses, although गोष्ठ is a compound containing the word गो cow" (Bréal).

Sometimes the use of a word is extended from one profession to another. চাষ is literally cultivation of the soil, but the use of the term in connection with fishery as মাছের চাষ (pisciculture) is perfectly current now.

Another kind of allied extension is found in the use of words in metaphorical sense. সোজা (straight) may be used in সোজা পথ (straight way), সোজা কথা (straight word), সোজা মন (straight mind) and মাথা in গাছের মাথা (the top of a tree), গাঁয়ের মাথা (the head of a village), কলমের মাথা (the end of a pen), etc. Idiomatic uses of verb roots would come under this, e.g. মাথা খাওয়া (to ruin), ভয় খাওয়া (to fear), ঘুষ খাওয়া (to take bribe) etc.

Words are also frequently transferred from one department of sensation to another. মধুর স্মৃতি (sweet memory) does not remind us of the original use of the word মধুর 'sweet (to the taste)' in connection with material substances. Words like মিষ্ট etc. are used in the various domains of our senses as মিষ্ট কথা (sweet word), মিষ্ট গন্ধ (sweet smell), মিষ্ট স্বাদ (sweet taste), মিষ্ট স্পর্শ (sweet touch) and so on.

Expansion takes place when we call a part of one object after the part of another object which corresponds to it in appearance, etc. We talk of বোতলের গলা (the neck of a bottle), ঘুড়ির লেজ (the tail of a kite), নদীর গর্ভ (the bed of a river), আলুর চোক (the eye of a potato).

As pointed out by Gune, Yaska in his Nirukta notices a similar process and derives कक्ष्या as कक्षं सेवते, अयमपीतरो मनुष्यकक्ष एतस्मादेव बाहुमूलसामान्यादश्वस्य. Here is some expansion due to association by similarity. पाद is 'foot,' then 'part,' as part of a book, etc. cf. Nirukta पादः पद्यतेः अयमपीतरः प्रभागपादः पशुपादप्रकृतिः। (ü. 7.1.)

This brings us to the close of this chapter. As Prof. Strong points out the great number of phenomena occurring under this head renders it hard to classify them: so only a few of marked peculiarity are mentioned here.

Transference of Meaning.

As Prof. Whitney points out, all sorts of meaning change can be summed up under two heads: *Generalisation* and *Specialisation*. Transference of meaning takes place under both the circumstances. Illustrations of this have already been met with in previous chapters. Here we

want to deal with cases which for their peculiarity and importance deserve special notice.

This kind of change in meaning, as may be already noticed, is caused by the transference of the idea to what is connected with the fundamental conception of the word by some relation of place, or time, or cause.

The phenomenon takes place when a part is substituted for the whole or the effect for cause. When we say গ্রামের সব পাকা মাথা এক হ'য়ে পরামর্শ করতে হ'বে, 'all the *grey heads* of the village must hold consultation jointly'; here মাথা is substituted for the whole man. Again ঘাম in Bengali means 'sweat,' it is derived from (घर्म) 'heat' of which 'sweat' is the effect. Gujarātī and Hindī use the word घाम in its original sense also. It may be noticed here that the word গরম which comes through Persian (cf. Avestan *garəma* which is again the same as (घर्म) means 'heat' in Bengali.

Names are given to objects from some prominent features with which they are commonly connected, e.g. লাল পাগড়ি 'police.' सफेद पागड़ि is used by Parsis for 'priests', *poilu*, lit. 'bearded,' is used for French soldiers.

Name of the country is used to denote the people, e.g.

কি জানি হারায় বিদ্যা হাসিবেক গৌড়,
দেখি আগে বিদ্যার বিদ্যার কত দৌড়।—বিদ্যাসুন্দর, p. 73.

here গৌড় denotes 'the people of Gauḍ (Bengal),' cf. विषमभराक्रान्ता गौडिव पर्य्याकुला उज्जयिनी आसीत्—*Mṛcchakaṭika.*

Writings are denoted by the name of their authors e.g. বঙ্কিম, নবীন, etc.

The different kinds of change may follow each other and unite. A বাঁশী is a wind instrument which may be, but is not commonly, made of bamboo (বাঁশ < वंश). The name may equally apply to an instrument made of other materials. We may compare the semantic history of 'pen,' which has been already noticed.

It frequently happens that some idea foreign to the essence of a word and connected with it merely by accident, becomes absorbed into its signification as a mere accessory; and this is then thought of as the proper meaning, the primary meaning being forgotten. বালাম is a kind of boat used in Noakhali and other places in East Bengal, in which rice is carried. Hence the word came to mean the particular kind of rice imported from East Bengal. Even now the word ঢেকো বালাম, i.e. a kind

of rice produced in Rāḍh in West Bengal, resembling *bālām* is gaining currency. মলয় is supposed to be the name of a mountain in Southern India. The name is transferred to the wind blowing from the south, e.g. মলয় বহিছে সুরভি লুটিয়া রে—রবীন্দ্রনাথ and মলয় আসিয়া ক'য়ে গেছে কানে, প্রিয়তম তুমি আসিবে— দ্বিজেন্দ্রলাল—গান, 3rd. ed., p. 28. *Urdu* (cf. Eng. *horde*) in Turkish means 'camp', whence 'the language of the Turkish camp', whence again comes the meaning 'the Persianised Hindi'. The word উরুদু in the sense of military camp is used in Bharatchandra's work *Mānasiṃha* (*Basumati* ed., p 114), in which the poet describes a flood that destroyed a considerable portion of Mansingh's army—

পানি খেয়ে মরে লোক হাজারে হাজার।
তল গেল মালমাত্তা উরুদু বাজার॥

"Thousands of men were drowned and the *urudu* bazar (i.e. the bazar attached to the military camp) with all its goods lay under water".

আমাশয় which literally means "mucus-bag" (corresponding to the globe-cells in the gastro-intestinal tract) is now used in the sense of 'dysentery'. নামাবলী, lit. the lines of names printed on a piece of cloth, means the cloth itself. লেডিকেনি, which is a kind of sweet-meat much liked by Bengali children, received its name from Lady Canning whose husband is still held in revered memory for his 'clemency.' To take ডিঃ গুপ্ত means to take an anti-malarial mixture prepared by D. Gupta. The inventor of Batliwala's Ague Mixture was himself given the name of 'Ague-mixture'!

The name of the material of which a thing is composed is used to denote the thing itself, e.g. তার (wire, telegraph), কোম্পানীর কাগজ (Government Promissory Notes).

আঁঠি means the 'stone of a fruit': it is transferred from Prakrit अट्ठी, Sanskrit अस्थि which means 'bone'.

There are a good many words in Bengali which come from Sanskrit but with their meanings sometimes completely changed. A list of such words has been given in a separate place. आमोद in Sanskrit means दूरगामी सुगन्ध but in Bengali it means 'enjoyment'. In the *Taitt. Up.* it means a special kind of 'religious ecstacy'. We find in the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* the use of the word in the Bengali sense: शंसामोदैवोम् [19] "Read the शस्त्र and pleasure will come".

[19] *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (33. 21).

This is a rejoinder of the Adhvaryu-priest in answer to the Hotṛ-priest's request for permission while reading Śāstras.

Even within the same language this phenomenon is seen. The following examples will show how আকুল and করুণা have changed their meanings.

আকুল (scattered) কইলে কুন্তলভার—শ্রীকৃষ্ণকীর্ত্তন, p. 142 : now আকুল means 'overwhelming'.

> ধাঁরে বহে রাধিকার নয়নের পানী ।
> আধিক করুণা (weep) করে চন্দ্রাবলী রাণী ॥—শ্রীকৃষ্ণকীর্ত্তন, p. 157 :
> but now করুণা means 'mercy'.

Metaphor.

"Unlike the preceding causes, which work slowly and imperceptibly, Metaphor changes the meaning of words and creates new expressions on the spur of the moment. It is born from the instantaneous glimpse of a similarity between two objects or two acts. If it be accurate or picturesque, or even if it merely fill a gap in the vocabulary, its adoption is assured. But the metaphor remains such at its outset only; soon the mind becomes accustomed to the image; its very success causes it to pale; it fades into a representation of the idea scarcely more coloured than the proper word."

We use comparisons metaphorically which are at once suggested to our mind—e.g. when we say সোজা লোক, তীক্ষ্ণবুদ্ধি, গুরুজন, we mean 'the man is straight (in his ways as it were like a stick),' 'his intelligence is sharp (as an arrow) which can at once penetrate a thing,' 'the superior whose wisdom is *weighty*,' and so forth.

When a man does not speak more than what is necessary and that, too, thoughtfully we say সে ওজন ক'রে কথা বলে, when a man does a thing in a calculating spirit we say সে মেপে মেপে চলে, lit. 'he walks measuringly.'

There is a kind of metaphorical use, which, as we have already seen, is a prolific source of expansion of meaning. Words which are used in connection with a particular organ of sense are often transferred from one department of sensation to another, e g. the sensations of sight into the domain of hearing, the ideas of taste into the domain of touch and so on. Illustrations are গম্ভীর শব্দ (deep sound), মিষ্ট কথা (sweet word), মধুর স্মৃতি (sweet memory), উচ্চরব (high sound), etc.

Adjectives which are used chiefly in connection with persons are

transferred to inanimate objects also and are thus used in a metaphorical sense, e.g. অন্ধকূপ (a blind well), কানাপুকুর (a blind pond), etc.

Phrases are sometimes used in a metaphorical sense, a touch of irony being implied therein. A person may be বকধার্ম্মিক (from a crane who assumed piousness to kill frogs), or ভিজে বিড়াল (a wet cat full of wrath but seemingly quiet), দেবাক্ষর (handwriting like that of gods, the implied meaning being 'bad handwriting'), জেঠা মহাশয় (pretending wisdom and authority like the uncle, father's elder brother), শ্বশুরবাড়ী (jail, lit. father-in-law's house) are used in an ironical meaning with reference to persons and things.

Terms of endearment such as: সোনা, মাণিক, ধন, চাঁদ (lit. gold, jewel, wealth, moon) are examples of metaphorical use. Sometimes words with a bad sense used as terms of endearment lose their opprobiousness, e.g. দুষ্টু (< lit. দুষ্ট 'corrupted,') usually merely 'naughty,' পাগলা (lit. mad).

Terms of abuse such as the names of animals like বাঁদর (monkey), উল্লুক (baboon), গাধা (ass), শূয়র (hog), ছুঁচো (mole), etc. are used in a metaphorical sense. Only animals marked by some peculiar opprobiousness are selected for this purpose. This is the case in all languages.

No one uses the words ঘোড়া, সিংহ, বাঘ and the like in this way. But in Skt. we get नृशार्दूल, etc. Sometimes even good words acquire bad meanings by being constantly used as terms of abuse e.g., শালা (lit. wife's brother), বেটা, (lit. son), ইতর (lit. other), ছোটলোক (lit. small man).

Sometimes a whole historical perspective is discovered in a metaphor as in রামরাজ্যে বাস করা (to live in perfect peace and safety as in the kingdom of Rāma), ইতিগজ করা (to tell the truth half-heartedly just as Yudhiṣṭhir did), লঙ্কাকাণ্ড হওয়া (the happening of a destructive event like that of the burning of Laṅkā by Hanumān).

The special characteristics of different nations are shown in some of their metaphors. Bengali মাতৃভূমি and German *Vaterland* perhaps show the feminine tenderness of our imagination and the masculine nature of the German way of thinking.

Polysemia.

"The new meaning of a word, whatever it may be, does not make an end of the old. They exist alongside of one another. The same term can be employed alternately in the strict or in the metaphorical sense, in the restricted or in the expanded sense, in the abstract or in the concrete sense. In proportion as a new signification is given to a word, it appears to multiply and produce fresh examples, similar in

form, but differing in value." Bréal calls this phenomenon of multiplication Polysemia, from πολύς, 'numerous' and σημεῖον, 'signification.' "All the languages of civilised nations," Bréal further remarks, "have their part in it. The more meanings a term has accumulated, the more it may be supposed to represent the various sides of intellectual and social activity. The manifold meanings of a word show the proportionate advancement of culture."

The word মূল which comes from agriculture is equally connected with philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, economics, philology, etc. It means First Cause, capital, original text, root, price etc., e.g. যিনি জগতের মূল (First Cause) তাঁহাকে প্রণাম করি; লাভ আশে নাহি কেহ মূল (capital) নাশি যায়—ঘনরাম; মূলের (original text) বঙ্গানুবাদ; গাছের মূল (root); মালিনী লইয়া নিভৃতে বসি, মালা মূল করে (settles the *price*) ঈষৎ হাসি—চণ্ডীদাস.

The word ধাতু has similarly a lot of meanings. It signifies God, the five elements, ingredient, vitality, semen, nature, root, metal and so forth. In music it denotes what is called গ্রাম as স, রি, গ, ম, etc., and with the Buddhists it means 'relic' as the tooth-relic দন্ত-ধাতু of the Buddha and so forth.

The surroundings and context of a word pre-determine its meaning. If we see the word সম্পাদক written on a door, say in the *Baṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat*, we will think only of the 'secretary' of the Pariṣat. But if the same word be seen on a signboard in the *Bengalee* office, we will think only of the 'editor' of the paper. If we hear the word বাবু (Head Assistant) in a business firm we would never think of the barrister's clerk, who is also called by the same name.

It may be asked why a confusion of ideas does not arise in our minds when we use a word, which is possessed of several meanings. The answer is that when we use such a word, we do have before our mind only the idea which is required in the context, the other meanings not at all appearing in our consciousness for the time being. The little Bengali word তা as a result of 'phonetic decay' has come to acquire a large number of meanings coming from various sources. Yet in the following sentences it does not at all give us any trouble to make out the meaning. In তা কি করি (from Prakrit তহ, Sanskrit তদ্), গোঁফে তা দেওয়া (from Sanskrit তাব; cf. গোঁফে দেয় তাব—কবিকঙ্কণ, p. 57), ডিমে তা দেওয়া (from Sanskrit তাপ), এক তা কাগজ (from Arabic *tā*)—the meanings are easily understood from the very context.

The different meanings of the word যোগ are apparent in the following :—

সন্ন্যাসী যোগ (*Yoga*-austerities) করেন ;

আজ সকালে যোগ (auspicious moment) আছে ;

and অঙ্কটা যোগ (addition) দাও.

One sound may denote several ideas. "A new acceptation is equivalent to a new word." Each time the word is used in a different sense, it serves practically as an altogether new word, though the outward form is the same. So a word is required to be repeated when it is used successively in two different meanings.

কীর্ত্তিবাস কীর্ত্তিবাস কবি এ বঙ্গের অলঙ্কার—মাইকেল, মেঘনাদবধ, canto IV.

In poetry the same word is sometimes used in different meanings and is even allowed to rhyme with itself.

সুবর্ণ সুবর্ণ জিনি মুখ কমলজ (lotus) ।
কিরূপ ! কিরূপ করি কৈল কমলজ (Brahma, the Creator) ।

The proper meaning of a word may have been long forgotten and the word may still be in use with an indirect meaning. শ্মশান in its strict sense which is 'place of slaughter' exists no longer, but it continues to be used as শবদাহ-স্থান or প্রেত-ভূমি. Its old meaning is somewhat preserved in the form মশান (=শ্মশান)>Prakrit মছয়াণ as in শ্রীমন্তের মশান, the slaughter of Śrīmanta in কবিকঙ্কণ. মসাণ is used in Gujarāti as also in Bihāri dialects as a sort of equivalent for 'cremation ground (where spirits dwell).'

The same word may have different meanings in the different dialects of a language, e.g. জামাই in East Bengal is used to mean husband, while in West Bengal it denotes 'son-in-law'; মেয়ে in Ranigunj signifies 'wife,' elsewhere it means 'daughter.'

A word may mean the same thing in two different but cognate languages, while it may be used in another sense in a third allied tongue, e.g. বরাবর 'straight' in Bengali and Gujrāti generally. In Hindi it means 'equal.'=Persian 'breast to breast.'

Sometimes a word possessed of two meanings becomes restricted in one sense, the other meaning being expressed by a new device—

রাগ দেশ মোহ লাইঅ ছার (রাগ দ্বেষ মোহ)
পরম মোখ লবএ মুত্তিহার।—বৌদ্ধগান ও দোহা, p. 21.

Here রাগ means both love and anger as given by MM. H. P. Sastri in his notes on the book, রাধে, তেজ ভয় মান রাগে (ক্রোধ)—কৃষ্ণকীর্ত্তন, p. 39.

রাগে (love) ডগমগ প্রভু দেয় সম্বরণ।
পাড়ে দাঁড়াইয়া যত ভক্তগণ ॥—গোবিন্দদাস, কড়চা.

রাগ is now only used in the sense of ক্রোধ (anger), in the sense of 'love' it has অনু prefixed to it. But in Oriya, অনুরাগ means anger.

In tracing the semantic history of a word we are sometimes surprised to see that the word has come to mean almost the very opposite to that which it first signified. The word বাবু originally implied great respectability, then through many intermediate stages, it has come to mean 'a foppish dandy.'

Sometimes the same word acquires a different meaning, having assumed a second form in the mouth of the people, e.g. দৃঢ়, দড়; মুণ্ড, মুড়ো; বাতুল, বাউল. বাউল now means a class of Vaishnava mendicants, the old meaning which is the same as that of বাতুল is seen in old Bengali and even in modern poetry: বাহু পসারিয়া বাউল (বাউল=বাতুল=mad) হইয়া তখন সেদিকে ধায়—জ্ঞানদাস. In কে চায় শুনিতে বল বাউলের গান—অশোকগুচ্ছ, the word may be taken in both the senses. বাঁশের চেয়ে কঞ্চি দড় (strong), thus runs the proverb; মানুষের মুণ্ড but মাছের মুড়ো; but মুড় in Bihāri is the head of man.

Sometimes a vowel change gives the new meaning in a similar manner, e.g. সিদ্ধ-পুরুষ but সেদ্ধ চা'ল (boiled rice); মূল root, but মূলা radish, just as in Gujarāti also. প্রহার, আহার, etc. are different words, made by the addition of different prefixes to the same root.

In some cases the change of accent gives a new meaning to a word. This is to be met with in all languages. In the Vedic language *kripáṇa* means 'misery' but *kripaṇá* with accent on the last syllable means 'miserable' (Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 1150 g., p. 427); so also *kár-aṇa* means 'deed', but *kar-aṇá* is 'active'. (Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar for Students*, p. 255). Cf. *Índra-śatru* and *Indra-śátru*. In Bengali চিনি means 'sugar,' but it is used to mean 'know' as a verb with a change of accent. Of course, it should be noted here that though the form is the same, the sources of the word are different. পড় denotes both 'fall' and 'read' but with a variation of accent. আপনি একটা গান গা'ন—here the two words গান and গা'ন have *different accents*, the first is a noun, the second a verb.[20]

Similarly the pronominal particle কি gets different values according as it is accented or unaccented. Mr. Dvijendra Nath Tagore has

[20] These observations refer to the pronunciation of the Nadia District where the standard dialect is spoken.

pointed this out very clearly (প্রবাসী, অগ্রহায়ণ, ১৩২৫, পৃঃ ১৫২). He makes out the distinction thus. কি is not accented in connection with questions relating to verbs or adjectives, e.g. তুমি কি খাইয়াছ ? (have you taken your food ?), তুমি কি ব্রাহ্মণ ? (are you a Brahmana ?). But it is accented কী in connection with questions relating to objects, e.g. তুমি কী খাইয়াছ (কি দ্রব্য) ? (what have you eaten ?).

A Special Cause of Polysemia.

"A very frequent cause of Polysemia, which evades foresight and classification, is abridgment. It happens for example, that of two words primitively associated, the one is suppressed. At this sudden removal the remaining term seems to change its meaning abruptly. In this case it would not be accurate to say that there was either expansion or restriction. The event which has come to pass is of a different nature ; like an heir who becomes the sole owner of a property which had previously been a joint possession, the last survivor succeeds to an entire idiom and absorbs its signification. When once the meaning of the two are combined, they thenceforward constitute a single sign. Now a sign can be cut, clipped, reduced by half, provided it is recognisable, it still fulfils its original function."

The object or the complement of a verb may be left out owing to constant use and the verb acquires a new signification, the meaning of the object or complement being present therein, e.g. খাওয়া-পরা, পড়া-শুনা.

The adjectives are also enriched by the value of an implied substantive সাধু (=সাধু ব্যক্তি), and whole phrases may be compressed into single words, e.g. পরিষৎ used for বঙ্গীয় সাহিত্য পরিষৎ—by the people familiar with it. It is in this way, as Bréal aptly remarks, that from age to age words assume the meaning of lost companions. "Without this kind of intussusception language would soon take undue developments." The particular situation in which a word is used gives us an association of ideas which requires hardly anything more to make the meaning explicit.

The epithet which serves to specify the idea is alone expressed—সৈন্ধব (সৈন্ধব লবণ), গাঁজা দিয়ে কাজ করা, ভাজা (ভাতে) পোড়া দিয়ে খাওয়া ।

Hence we see a large number of adjectives turn into substantives in course of time.

The word frequently acquires a characteristic signification in a particular profession or department, by absorbing into it the meaning

implied by its companion. অষ্টম in the legal vocabulary means Act VIII of 1819; so also পাঁচ আইন is Act V of 1861; ডেপুটি means a Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector, in the post office it denotes the Deputy Post Master and so on. মাষ্টার মহাশয় in a school means a teacher, in a railway station the station master, and in a post office, the post-master.

When the hearer is conversant with the subject matter talked of, it is quite natural to suppress what is self evident from the very nature of the topic. কংগ্রেস in Indian politics means the Indian national political organisation of the name and so on. To a student of European history it would mean the Vienna Congress of 1815 and it may be used by an American for the American legislative body called Congress.

Articulated Groups.

Language contains words which have been so long united by usage, that, for our intelligence, they no longer exist separately. These are called *Articulated Groups* by Bréal. Their importance in syntax is very great. There is no language without a certain number of these.

"The most of men make use of them without having ever given them a thought. Everybody knows that the word, in its isolated state, has no very clear existence in the popular consciousness, and that it is apt to join on to that which precedes or follows it."

The Articulated Groups taken as a whole have a special meaning which their component parts do not give, যা'চ্ছে-তাই (=যাহা ইচ্ছা তাহাই) in Bengali means 'bad,' e.g. যা'চ্ছে তাই খাবার. But when the literal meaning is emphasised the words are juxtaposed otherwise সে যা ইচ্ছে তাই দাম নেবে (he will take whatever price he wishes), বোধ হয়, যে-আজ্ঞে, কি না, তা' ন'লে (তাহা না হইলে) are other examples. In Gujarātī मकुंजे (में कह्यु जे) is used in a similar manner meaning 'I say that.'

These Groups sometimes contain forms which are not otherwise used in the ordinary languages, e.g. তথাস্তু, যৎকিঞ্চিৎ, যৎপরোনাস্তি, etc.

These groups also pass from one language to another for their aptness, e.g. সবজান্তা, নামকে-ওয়াস্তে, কুচপরোয়া নেই have gained currency in Bengali from Hindi through Anglo-Indian English where also they are used.

Examples of the Articulated Groups are not many. Those current in Bengali are given above.

Compound Nouns.

"The formal aspect of the question of composition of nouns have been considered all important up till now. The semantic aspect of the

question has long been neglected. It must be borne in mind that it is the meaning and nothing else, which makes the compound, and which finally determines its form."

There are some combinations of terms which are scarcely thought of as compounds, e.g., ভালবাসা, লোকদিগের, কায়স্থ, সুহৃৎ, পঙ্কজ, etc. The mind takes cognition only of the whole without paying attention to the meaning of the individual parts of which these are composed, e.g. আমি আপন চাকরেরদিগকে আজ্ঞা করিয়া দিলাম (Translation of a letter from Nawab Sirajuddowla to Drake by Rajiblochan). The combination লোকদিগের is equal to লোকেরদিগের, দিগের being supposed to be a separate word. This is also to be found in Rammohan Ray's works and also in the তত্ত্ববোধিনী পত্রিকা. My professor of Sanskrit, Pandit Janaki Nath Bhattacherjee, lately of Krishnagar College, a man of 60, coming from 24 Pargannas, still (1920) uses the words uncompounded.

Sometimes the first term bears the mark of an inflection yet the whole thing may be a compound, e.g. কলের-গান, গায়ে-হলুদ, অবশ্যম্ভাবী. It is quite correct to say আজ কাল কলের-গানের দাম বেড়েছে; কাল তার গায়ে-হলুদের দিন।

As soon as the two ideas are taken as a whole, it becomes possible for the first term to get reduced or clipped, e.g. রাজবাড়ী=রাজার বাড়ী.

The question of the order of terms is only of minor importance, the usual order is that the principal word comes last and assumes the case inflections, the whole compound being taken as a single word. The order of words is generally determined by usage, e.g. লেখাপড়ার, পড়াশুনার.

Sometimes individual attempts may be seen to work in the subversion of the ordinary order. This is found especially in the case of proper nouns compounded of words which have independent values. Cf. proper names like চন্দ্রভূষণ and ভূষণচন্দ্র; মোহনলাল and লালমোহন.

In Bengali there are a few compounds the second member of which contains an inflection, e.g. জল-খাবার. The whole idea is so united and the meaning is so specialised that we decline the already inflected word just as it had no inflection and even the sign of the genitive is added to খাবার as in জল-খাবারের, though খাবার already contains the genitive inflection —খাবার জিনিস. খাবার is already a noun before it is compounded with জল. In Magura, Sub-division of Jessore, খাবার দোকান is rightly used.

There are some combinations of words in Bengali the members of which, if compounded, would coincide with stereotyped forms which mean quite a different thing; e.g. পত্রপাঠ, 'as soon as the letter is read,' i.e. 'immediately,' but পত্রের পাঠ 'the superscription of a letter.' Cf.

also মামাশ্বশুর and মামার শ্বশুর. The latter cannot be compounded into মামাশ্বশুর, which, however, would mean 'the maternal uncle of one's wife (or husband).'

The Bengali double compounds like চিঠিপত্র, জনমানব, বাসনকোসন are of great interest from the semantic point of view. They cannot be done justice to here, so we leave the subject for the present simply mentioning it.

In Sanskrit a whole phrase may be expressed in the form of a compound. Thus composition is a sort of alternative course in Sanskrit which permits it to evade syntax almost entirely. Of course this is a gross abuse of the faculty. which brings in starving of all other means of expression. प्राप्तजीविकः in Sanskrit means 'one who has the necessaries of life.' In Bengali we have a few examples, e.g. হাভাত (he who has the word হা (alas) and ভাত (rice) in the mouth) i.e., he who is extremely needy.

One wonders, as Bréal points out, if there is not hidden behind the so-called compounds which are nothing but small phrases with fairly loose construction, a less strictly regulated condition of language. Bengali, which is a growing language, shows the forms সব-পেয়েছির দেশ, প্রাণ-জুড়ানো ধন, পাগল-করা হাওয়া, মুখ-পোড়া বাঁদর, etc., which may be taken as illustrations in point.

Says Bréal: Whatever the length of a compound it never comprises more than two terms. This rule is not an arbitrary one: it arises from the nature of the human mind. which associates ideas in couples. It may chance that each of these two terms is in itself a compound. But it is clear that each of the two parts counts for one element only. The important question in such a case is to make the division at the right place.

"Aristotle, taking the side of Democritus, who has held that the meaning of words is put into them by the speaker, and that there is no necessary connection between sound and sense, laid down that words 'symbolise' objects according to the will of those who use them." (*Sayce* in *Encyclopædia Britannica.*)

In the time of Pāṇini there were some grammarians who held that the meaning of a compound is determined by the principal word contained in it. But Pāṇini (1. 2. 56) is against this opinion and rightly says that the meaning of a word is not fixed by grammatical rules but by usage and idiom.

How names are given to things.

We shall now proceed to deal with this intricate subject from the semantic point of view.

"It is an undoubted fact that language designates things in an incomplete and inaccurate manner. 'Incomplete'—since we have not exhausted all that can be said of the horse when we have declared it to be the swift animal. 'Inaccurate'—since we cannot say of the sun that it shines when it has set, or of the horse that it trots when it is at rest, or when wounded or dead."

When one uses the words অমরতা, সরলতা, etc., in their abstract sense all that is to be found in the idea is to be found also in the word. But if some real object, existing in nature, be taken, it will be impossible for language to introduce into the word all the ideas which the object brings before the mind. Language is therefore compelled to make a selection out of all the ideas and thus gives a name which is not long in becoming a mere sign, e.g. সূর্য (sun, lit. that which moves in the sky), পৃথিবী (earth, lit. that which is widely extensive), সর্প (snake, lit. that which moves in a zig-zig manner), পর্ব্বত (mountain, lit. that which has wings), etc.; the literal meanings of these do not now arise in our mind.

Names are at first given to things after some prominent characteristics. But as soon as the mind is satisfied that such and such names could be given for such and such characteristics the names represent mere signs, the mind no longer giving heed to the connection between. Many objects are thus inaccurately named through the ignorance of their original authors, e.g. হাওয়াগাড়ী (motor-car, lit. a car driven by wind) যাদুঘর (museum, lit. a magic house), or by some intervening change which disturbs the harmony between the sign and the thing signified, e.g. গ্রন্থ, (book, lit. that which is knotted), বাঁশী (flute, lit. that which is made of bamboo), চীনামাটি (cement, lit. China-clay).

This name may sometimes reveal a lot of interesting facts. It may reveal to us the ignorance of the people who gave the name, or of their prejudices, or it may furnish us with valuable pieces of historical information of which it is the voluntary depository. Examples are: যাদুঘর (lit. 'magic-house') is used to denote 'museum'; হাওয়াগাড়ী (lit. car driven by wind) for 'motor-car'; ছাতুখোর (lit. eaters of barley or oatmeal) is used as a name for the upcountry people in India in a sense of contempt; একচাকার গাড়ী (lit. one-wheeled carriage) is used by the vil-

lage folk for a bicycle; and কেরোসিন কাঠ is a kind of wood of which boxes for kerosene are made but it looks as if it meant 'kerosene wood.'

The word सिनोर (from Port. *senhor*) in Bombay means the head of a firm, perhaps from its association with the Portuguese in olden days. The following set of words reminds us of Mahomedan supremacy and luxury: কুঁড়ে (hut) is a 'Hindu' word, if I am permitted to use it in the sense of 'derived from Sanskritic languages'; দালান, এমারত names of huge buildings are taken from the Mahomedan vocabulary; গাঁ (> ग्राम), village) is a Hindu word, শহর the name for town is a Mahomedan word. The words of respectable address, হুজুর, সাহেব, etc., are all taken from the Mahomedans.

'Proper names are also not beyond the pale of language. The word শঙ্করাচার্য্য has now become a common adjective to the religious heads of the sect founded by শঙ্করাচার্য্য. Similar is the word *Cæsar* from which the German *Kaiser* is derived. Proper names from foreign languages when imported into other languages sometimes repeat the word giving the particular class to which a thing belongs. Thus the words meaning the same thing are repeated over again; e.g. পাঁউরুটি from Portuguese, *pão* (bread), রুটি=bread; মলয়গিরি, *malai* in Dravidian means 'mountain', yet we add the word গিরি which also means the same thing, and মলয়গিরি is now a proper noun, 'the Malaya Mountain.' The English people similarly use 'Nilgiri Hills' (গিরি=hill); 'Hoang-ho-river' (*ho* in Chinese is 'river'); 'Tian-shan mountain' (Chinese *shan*=mountain); etc.

The real cause of this is that the foreigner perceives the whole combination as one and adds his own word to help his memory.

The names of places and persons furnish a very interesting field for semantic investigation. But that remains to be dealt with independently as an entire subject. We shall here only notice by passing some of the interesting points.

Names of persons.—There might be no correspondence between the object named and the meaning of the name. A man with the name পদ্মলোচন (lotus-eyed) may be blind, cf. কানা ছেলের নাম পদ্মলোচন (lit. a blind boy with the name lotus-eyed). A person may be called কালীর মা even after কালী, her child, has long been dead. Some of the names, especially nicknames, are often meaningless; e.g. নিমচুন, ভুতু, etc. In West Bengal a name like দেবেন্দ্র is ordinarily reduced to দেবেন which gives no meaning; the East Bengal people always use দেবেন্দ্র, the preser-

vation is due to accenting on the last syllable. Other names like ইন্দুভূষণ, কুমুদিনীকান্ত are shortened to ইন্দু, কুমুদিনী, etc. which give quite different meanings; thus, ইন্দুভূষণ is Śiva, but ইন্দু is Moon. From Mr. Jogesh Chandra Roy we learn a Marathi gentleman took রেবতী (বাবু) to be the name of a lady! Sometimes whole phrases are used as names. When daughter after daughter is born to a dowry-ridden Bengali father, he wishes not to have any more and gives the name আর-না-কালী to his last child, which means 'Kali, no more.' So when children die young, the names থাকো-মণি (stay my jewel), or রাখো-হরি (keep him, O, God) are given; so also the আবার-খাবো সন্দেশ. Cf. Puritan names like *Praise-God Barebone.*

The names of individuals of various Indian nationalities are interesting to observe. The Bengali method gives us only the name of the person and the surname. Sometimes even that is not given; e.g. রামচন্দ্র সরকার where the last word indicates a title denoting the profession of the ancestors of রামচন্দ্র. But রামচন্দ্র বসু is all right, বসু gives the caste and the surname of the family to which রামচন্দ্র belongs.

The Beharis and U.P. people have names which sound incomplete to our ears. Only रामप्रसाद or मनोहरलाल may constitute a name which furnishes no information as to the caste or surname of the family. The names of the people of the Southern and Western Presidencies are perhaps the most complete in this respect; a lot of information is contained in them. In गोपाल कृष्ण गोखले the first name denotes the name of the person, the second that of the father, the third the surname. The names of Parsis sometimes go even a step further. The name of the person, that of his father, then that of his grandfather, and lastly the name of his village may all be given. The Slav names also give the name of the father. In Madras the name of the place is put *before* the name of the person; e.g. ताञ्जोर माधव राओ, चित्तूर शङ्करन् नायार.

The study of Bengali surnames is an interesting problem by itself. These surnames have come from non-Aryan, Mahomedan, Christian sources, besides the Aryan which furnish the majority. Some are due to occupations in life, others have been taken from the names of vegetables, fruits, animals, musical instruments and so on.

Names of places.—Places may be named according to some prominent characteristics of their own. নবদ্বীপ, it is said, formerly consisted of nine islands. গোয়াড়ী (গোপ + বাড়ী) is the name of my own place, for it had numerous milkmen. But the reason for which the name is given

may in course of time disappear, yet the name continues. The village তালপুকুর may still be so-called, though there may not be a single tank with a palm tree within its limits.

There are several names of places in Bengal which mostly come from non-Aryan origin, have become unintelligible to us, so far as their meanings are concerned. Examples are :—

হাবড়া, রিষড়া, চাপড়া, চুঁচুড়া, বগুড়া ;

ঘাটাইল, টাঙ্গাইল, নড়াইল, নন্দাইল, সরাইল, বাসাইল ;

মরিয়াকান্দি, ভৈলাকান্দি, হাইলাকান্দি ;

শিলিগুড়ি, জলপাইগুড়ি, ময়নাগুড়ি, ধুপগুড়ি ।

The endings show that there must have been some meaning common to these names, which may be discovered after careful and laborious investigations.

Popular etymology plays a considerable part in giving names to things. A word or phrase borrowed from a foreign language or for any reason unfamiliar, a word which has no intrinsic or derivative meaning to the speaker, is altered by him to a word that has such a meaning. Mr. Gilchrist's name was transformed into গিরগিটি (a kind of lizard) by the chaprasis, and Mr. Mackenzie becomes মাখনজী. Hospital, motor, etc., have turned into হাসপাতাল, মটর, etc., in our vernaculars. And thus the list can be swelled.

Folk-etymology is a very interesting subject for investigation. In all languages nations revelled in giving new meanings to words. The *Brāhmaṇas* of the Vedas are replete with such examples.

Laxity in the use of words.

Under this we shall deal with words used in a wrong way owing to ignorance or misapprehension. Here the transfer of meaning is not actually meant, but the word wrongly used gives a different meaning. The word is used owing to its similarity with the word actually meant. This may either be due to form or to meaning. Illiterate or half-educated people and sometimes children are found using words in this way. Malapropism falls under this head. আপনি কবে এসেছ ?—here এসেছ is used for the more correct and more polite এসেছেন. আপনি কি আমায় ইতিহাস করছেন ?—here what is really meant is উপহাস করছেন (joke). Sometimes learned forms being used cause confusion—আপনাকে আমি যে দিন অবধি প্রদর্শন করেছি, সেই দিন অবধি আপনার প্রতি মন আকৃষ্ট হয়েছে, আপনি অতি সজ্জন ও

প্রকাণ্ড অক্ত। আপনার বন্ধুত্ব যাজনা করি, আপনার সৌহার্দ্দ্য জন্ম আমি একান্ত স্থলিত, আপনি ভদ্রলোক এবং বিশিষ্ট দৃষ্ট।—গিরিশ ঘোষ, প্রফুল্ল, Basumati ed., Vol. I, p. 31; the correct words should be দর্শন, আকৃষ্ট, বিজ্ঞ, বাঞ্ছা, লালায়িত, শিষ্ট. Old Gobbo in Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice is guilty of such speech. As these people try to imitate the higher class in their manner of speaking, so also gentlemen try to avoid vulgarisms by shunning certain pronunciations and thus sometimes commit mistakes. The uneducated classes of people put in র in words where there is not any র at all, to give their speech a gentlemanly form; so the upper classes do at times think it beneath their dignity to pronounce certain words without র where there are none; e.g. রুই, ধূম্র, মুদ্রিত, চন্দ্রিমা, which are frequently used for উই, ধূম, মুদিত and চন্দ্রিমা respectively.

Half-educated Bengalis with a smattering of English often commit mistakes of this kind when speaking. One of my friends used to recite a sentence, though a bit artificial, yet finely illustrative of the point: "প্লাটফরমে গিয়ে দেখি, কেবল messenger আর messenger (passenger আর passenger), আমরা একেবারে enterprised (surprised) হ'য়ে গেলাম, তার পর কোনো গতিকে একটা apartment (compartment) preserve (reserve) ক'রে বেশ privilege -এ (comfort -এ) যাওয়া গেল।"

Some of the following words have acquired the right of full citizenship in what is called chaste diction, though originally through laxity of use. Their claim is now firmly established.

A good many of these forms which are grammatically incorrect are used even by the best writers, e.g. নিষ্ফলা মেঘ (abortive cloud), নির্জ্জলা দুধ (waterless milk). Here there is no reason why the adjectives should be in the feminine gender. In many places the adjectives do not follow the grammatical gender. This is a special tendency of the Bengali language, which may be compared to Dravidian in this respect. The declension of adjectives is a learned importation from Sanskrit. Now-a-days the idea denoted by the word seems to be the guiding factor in determining the gender; e.g. হে আদি জননী সিন্ধু, বসুন্ধরা সন্তান তোমার।—রবীন্দ্রনাথ, চয়নিকা, p. 111; সে ভাব থাকিত যদি, পার হ'য়ে সিন্ধুনদী, আসিতে কি পারিত যবন?[21] In this connection the following use of গরীয়সী may be noted, perhaps this is due to the oft-quoted sentence जननी जन्मभूमिश्च स्वर्गादपि गरीयसी; e.g পরাধীন স্বর্গবাস হ'তে গরীয়সী স্বাধীন নরকবাস।—নবীনচন্দ্র, পলাশীর যুদ্ধ, canto IV.

Sometimes words have their feminine forms which are unwarranted

[21] যদি has also something to do with নদী here.

by grammar: শুন রজকিনী রামী, ও-দুটি চরণ শীতল বলিয়া শরণ লইনু আমি।—চণ্ডীদাস, p. 332); যথা চাতকিনী কুতুকিনী ঘন দরশনে।—মদনমোহন তর্কালঙ্কার; সুকেশিনী শিরশোভা কেশের ছেদনে (পদ্যপাঠ); and so on.

The rules of composition in compound words are sometimes violated, yet the forms are regarded as correct; e.g. নিরপরাধী, মহাপাপী, মহারথী, দিবানিশি, and so on.

Nouns are used for adjectives and vice versa though wrongly; ইস্কুল বন্ধ আছে; the Eastern Bengal people use the correct form বন্ধ আছে; সে সাক্ষী (সাক্ষ্য=evidence) দিবে[34]; তা'র মান্য (মান=honour) বেড়ে গিয়েছে; সে আরোগ্য (নীরোগ) হয়েছে; আমি নৈরাশ (নিরাশ) হ'লাম।

There are some words in Bengali which look like pure and correct Sanskrit words which they never are; e.g. অপরূপ, উপরন্তু, তত্রাচ, ভাদ্রবধূ, পুঙ্খানুপুঙ্খ, পুনরায়, পৌত্তলিক, প্রতুল, বঙ্কিম, বিদ্রূপ, সংকুলান, etc.

Forms which show redundancy have become current through use —শ্রেষ্ঠতম, বিবিধপ্রকার, কেবলমাত্র, etc.

Thus examples can be multiplied. Many of the above examples are incorrect only when judged by the *Sanskritic-Bengali* grammar. Otherwise the forms are all right.

Such forms were first admitted into chaste language through laxity of use by their original author; analogy also played a very important part in this connection.

APPENDIX.

Some Vedic and Sanskrit words that have changed their meaning in Bengali:

Word.	*Sanskrit meaning.*	*Bengali meaning.*
অথর্ব	A priest who has to worship fire and Soma.	invalid, old.
অথচ	Then + and	Even then, on the other hand.
অবকাশ	occasion, room	leisure.
আমোদ	diffusive fragrance, joy.	pleasure.

[34] সাক্ষী is used for সাক্ষি which should be the phonetically corrupted form of সাক্ষ্য: cf. সত্য and সত্যি.

Word.	*Sanskrit meaning.*	*Bengali meaning.*
আক্ষেপ	chiding	repent.
ইতর	others	low.
উদাসীন	neutral	indifferent.
উপন্যাস	introduction	novel.
এবং	thus	and.
কাতর	discouraged, afraid, perplexed.	overwhelmed, ill.
কুটুম্ব	dependants, family	relation by marriage. (Cf. Oriya পোষ্য and জ্ঞাতি, also Hindi कुटुम्बी he who has a large family.)
কষায়	fragrant, red, astringent	astringent.
ক্ষীর	milk	milk boiled to hardness.
কৃপণ	miserable	miser.
ঘর্ম্ম	heat	sweat.
তত্ত্ব	truth, message	sweets sent with a messenger to get news (in West Bengal).
তটস্থ	standing aloof	afraid.
নিমেষ	wink	moment.
নির্ভর	sound (adj.)	depend.
নিরাকরণ	prevent	ascertain.
প্রবন্ধ	trick (কৌশল)	essay.
প্রচণ্ড	very hot	awful.
পরামর্শ	seizing, pulling, consideration, etc.	consultation.
প্রসাদ	grace	food left.
প্রশস্ত	praised	large.
প্রস্তুত	proposed, praised	ready.
পরিষ্কার	clearness	clear.
ফলাহার	eating fruits	dinner.
বিরক্ত	unattached	disgusted.
বিজ্ঞান	the knowledge of *mokṣa*.	science.
বিবেক	true knowledge	conscience.

Word.	*Sanskrit meaning.*	*Bengali meaning.*
বিদায়	gift	farewell.
বিষয়	a thing of enjoyment.	subject, property.
বিস্তর	a stretch of words, বাক্প্রপঞ্চ	many. (Cf. সবিস্তরে বলিতেছি.)
ব্যবসায়	effort	trade.
ব্যাপার	business	event. (Cf. আদার ব্যাপারী.)
ব্রাহ্ম	relating to Brahma	a member of the Brahmo Samaj. (Cf. ব্রাহ্মমুহূর্ত.)
ব্যস্ত	divided	busy.
ব্রত	course, protection (Ved.)	vow.
ভক্তি	division (Ved.)	reverence.
ভানু	light ,,	sun.
ভাবনা	feeling, thought	anxiety.
ভূত	being	ghost.
মন্দির	room	temple.
মুগ্ধ	beautiful, simple	charmed.
মহাজন	great man	money-lender.
মমতা	selfishness	attachment.
রাগ	love	anger.
রহস্য	secret	joke.
লৌকিকতা	social custom	presents sent.
লৌহ	org. any metal	iron.
হংস	swan	duck.
শস্ত্র	a hymn of praise (Ved.)	weapon.
শুশ্রূষা	willingness to hear	nursing.
সুতরাং	all the more	necessarily.
সচরাচর	the world with its animate and inanimate beings (সহ + চর + অচর).	generally.
সংবাদ	discussion	news.
সমাজ	assembly, meeting	society.
সম্বন্ধী	any relation *by marriage.*	brother-in-law.

Word.	*Sanskrit meaning.*	*Bengali meaning.*
সাহস	rash courage	noble courage.
স্বপন	sleepy (Ved.)	dream.
সঙ্কীর্ত্তন	reciting	singing God's names.
সহজ	native (adj.)	easy
সমস্ত	compounded	all.
সম্ভ্রান্ত	bewildered	respectable.
সন্ধান	joining, uniting	search.

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